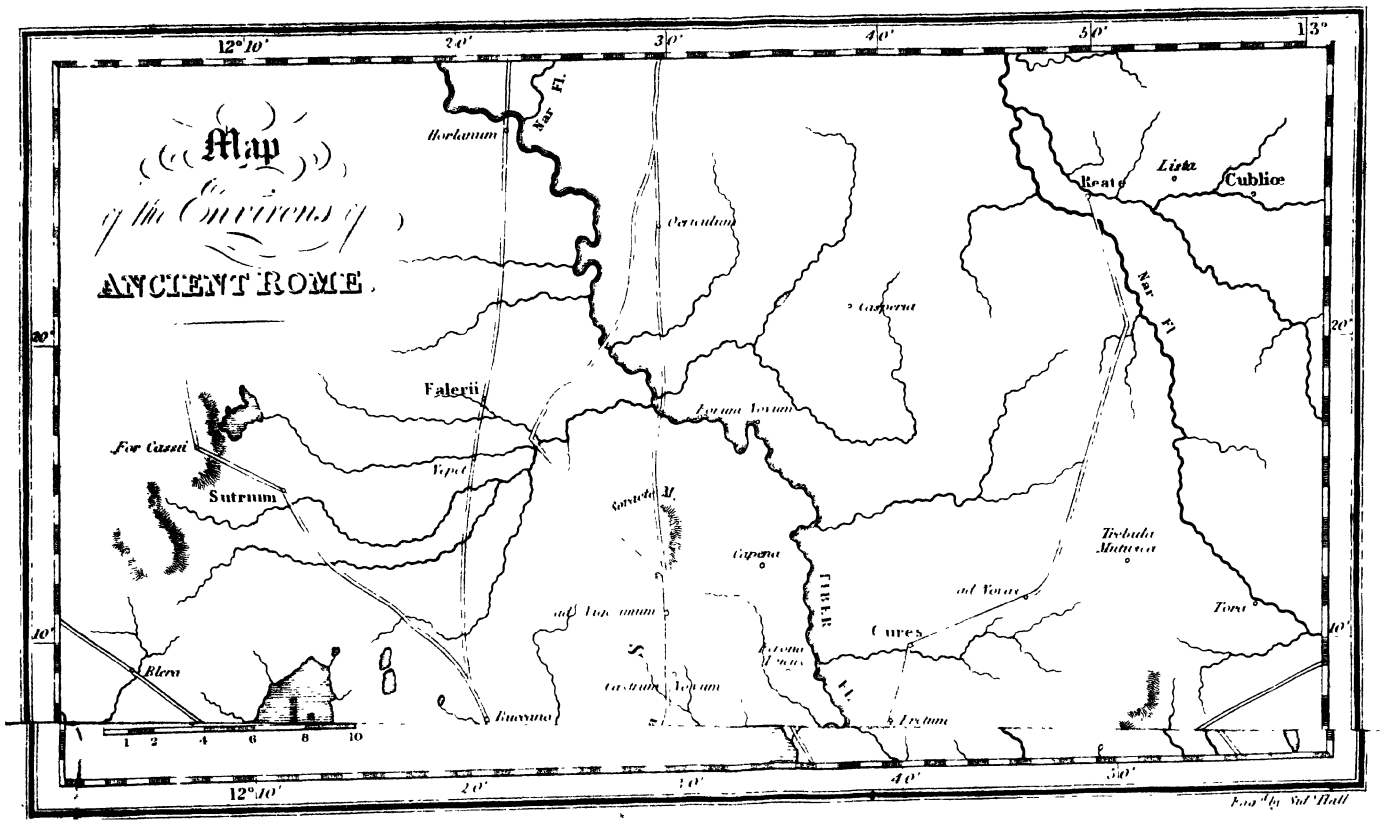

Map
of the Environs of
ANCIENT ROME.
12°10'
20'
30'
40'
50'
13°
42°
40°
Nar Fl.
Horlanum
Crustumium
Falerii
Fic Cassii
Sutrum
Vejes
Capena
Reate
Lista
Cubliae
Tivoli
Cures
Ficana
Fidenae
Ostia
Tiber Fl.
1 2 4 6 8 10
Engd by Sid Hall

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THE

ROMAN HISTORY.

BOOK IV.

CONTINUED.

CHAP. XVII.

Hannibal, after subduing all the country between the Iberus and the Pyrenees, passes those mountains with his army, in his way to Italy. He proceeds to the banks of the Rhone without molestation. There the Gauls in vain oppose his passage; nor can the consul Scipio, who, arriving at the mouth of the Rhone, gets notice of the place where Hannibal is, advance expeditiously enough to stop him. Scipio re-embarks his forces, sends the major part of them forward to Spain, but returns himself to Italy, that he may meet Hannibal at his descent from the Alps. The Carthaginians with great danger and fatigue pass those mountains, lay siege to Turin, and take it. The Romans, astonished at the news of Hannibal's being in Italy, whom they thought to have confined to Spain, dispatch orders to the consul Sempronius, now at Lilybæum, to hasten to the defence of his country. Scipio, in the mean time, crosses the Po, and advances to meet the enemy.

HANNIBAL, having passed the Iberus, subdued in a short time all those parts of Spain which he had not before entered, and which lie between that river and the Pyrenees. His successes however cost him many hard conflicts, in which he lost abundance of men. Of this newly-conquered country he appointed one Hanno to be governor, instructing him to have a particular watch over the Bargusians, of whom he had the greatest jealousy, on account of the friendship they had contracted with the Romans. And for the support of his government, he left under his command 10,000 foot and 1000 horse; and he committed likewise to his keeping all the heavy baggage of the main army, who left it behind them, that they might march light and disencumbered.

Year of ROME 535. B.C. 217. 234th consul-ship. Polyb. b. 3. c. 33. et seq. Livy, b. 21. c. 23. et seq.

Being arrived at the borders of Spain, 3000 of his

Year of ROME 535. B. C. 217. 234th consulship.

Spanish soldiers (not so much from fear of the war, as of the fatigue of so long a march, and of passing over the Alps) returned home without asking leave; which that others might not also do or attempt, he courteously dismissed above 7000 more, who seemed willing to be gone; a condescension that made the journey seem less tedious to those that did follow him, as not being enforced by compulsion. His army consisted now of but 50,000 foot and 9000 horse; but they were good men, and had been long trained, and in continual action during the wars in Spain, under the ablest captains that Carthage could ever boast. With these he passed the Pyrenees and entered into Gaul. He found the Gauls that bordered upon Spain, ready in arms to forbid his entrance into their country. However, by gentle words and rich presents to the leaders, he gained them over to favour his expedition, which he assured them was not designed against them; and he continued his march without any dangerous molestation, till he arrived upon the banks of the Rhone.

Polyb. b. 3. c. 42.

Here he bought up from the Gauls (who on the west side of the river favoured his passage for money and to get rid of him) all the boats, large and small, he could meet with, whereof the inhabitants, practising commerce, had a great number; and he also amassed prodigious quantities of timber for making floats, of which the soldiers, labouring in that employment with great diligence, in two days' time made abundant provision. Nevertheless, the Carthaginian found that it would be impossible to compass his passage without some stratagem, because of the opposition of the Gauls on the east side of the river, who, in great multitudes, had determined to defend their bank. Wherefore, after three days' deliberation, he in the night detached an officer named Hanno with a considerable part of the army, to go a good way up the river, then cross it, and endeavour to get behind the enemy. Hanno passed the stream about

twenty-five miles from the Carthaginian camp, made silent marches towards the camp of the Gauls, and, in the morning after the fifth night, by smoke in several places (the appointed signal) gave notice of his approach to Hannibal, who thereupon immediately began to attempt his passage. He put into the larger boats a part of his cavalry ready for action. The horses of the rest, which could not be embarked, swam in tow after the small boats, one man, on each side of a boat, holding three or four horses by the bridles. The horsemen and the infantry went in small vessels and on floats; and, that their passage might be the easier, the largest vessels were so disposed, a little higher up the stream, as to break the force of the current. When the Gauls perceived the Carthaginians advancing on the river, they by dreadful howlings (according to their custom) signified, that they waited the attack with resolution. But when they heard a great noise behind them, saw their tents on fire, and themselves assailed in rear as well as front, they made but a short resistance. Vanquished and broken, they fled every man to his own village.

Year of ROME 535. B.C. 217. 234th consulship. Polyb. b. 3. c. 43.

It has been already observed, that the Romans, without waiting the return of their ambassadors from Carthage, had ordered the consul P. Cornelius Scipio into Spain, and Tib. Sempronius into Sicily, from whence he was to go into Africa.

See vol. 2. p. 595. Polyb. b. 3. c. 40.

Cornelius, though, before he set out, the news arrived that Hannibal had passed the Iberus, was still in hopes he should be able to hinder him from marching out of Spain. For this end having embarked his forces at Pisa, on board the fleet of sixty galleys, which had been assigned him, he steered along the coast of Liguria,* and in five days arrived at Marseilles. Learning here that Hannibal had already passed the Pyrenees, he proceeded no farther in his voyage than to the nearest mouth of the Rhone, where he landed his men, with intention to wait for the enemy on the banks of that river,

c. 41, 42.

* Genoa.

Year of ROME 535. B.C. 217. 234th consulship.

and there put a stop to their farther progress. The difficulties of the way from the Pyrenees, and the divers nations through which Hannibal was to make his passage, induced the consul to conclude, that he was yet a great way off. The Carthaginian however was at this time actually employed in passing the Rhone, at the distance of about four days' march from the sea.* The consul heard a report of this; but it seemed so incredible, that he could not believe it. Nevertheless, thinking it advisable to endeavour after such intelligence as he might rely on, while the army lay to refresh themselves after the fatigue of their voyage, he commanded out 300 chosen horse to make discovery, giving them, for guides, some Gauls in the service of Marseilles.

* A little above Avignon.

This detachment met with a party of 500 Numidian horse, not far from the Carthaginian camp. For Hannibal, the next morning after his passage, and while his men were wafting over the elephants, having received intelligence of the consul's arrival at the mouth of the Rhone, had sent this party out to bring him an account of the strength and situation of the enemy. The conflict between the Romans and Numidians was very bloody, 160 of the former were left dead upon the spot, and more than 200 of the latter. The Romans had the honour of the day, forcing the Numidians to quit the field, and pursuing them so near their intrenchments, as to be eye-witnesses of what they were sent to learn. After which they returned with all diligence to carry the news to the consul.

Livy, b. 21. c. 29.

Polyb. b. 3. c. 45.

c. 44. Hannibal, while these things passed, was giving audience, in the presence of his whole army, to Magilus, a Gallic prince, who was come to him from the countries about the Po. Magilus (with whom the Carthaginian had before had a private conference) assured him by an interpreter, that the Gauls impatiently expected his arrival, and were ready to join him; and that he himself would be the guide to conduct the army through places

where they would find every thing necessary, and by a road which would bring them speedily and safely into Italy. When the prince was withdrawn, Hannibal in a speech to his troops reminded them of all their exploits to that time, and of the success they had met with in every occasion of danger, by following his counsels. He exhorted them to continue their confidence in him, and to fear nothing for the future; since, having passed the Rhone, and secured such good allies as they found the Gauls to be, the greatest obstacles to their enterprise were now surmounted. The soldiers applauded all he said, expressing great willingness, and even ardour, to follow him withersoever he should lead the way. He commended their good dispositions, made vows to the gods for the preservation of all his troops, admonished them to refresh themselves well, and prepare to march next day, and then dismissed the assembly.

Year of ROME 535. B. C. 217. 234th consulship.

Just at this time, the Numidians, who had survived the skirmish, returned with an account of their adventure. Hannibal, as he had before resolved, broke up his camp the next morning as soon as it was day, and posting his horse as a body of reserve, a little down the river, ordered his infantry to march. He himself stayed behind, waiting the arrival of the elephants, that were not yet all wafted over the stream.

Polyb. b. 3. c. 45.

The method of doing it was this: from the bank of the river they threw a large float of timber, which, being strongly held by great ropes twisted about some trees, they covered over with earth, that the elephants might be deceived by this appearance, and take it for firm ground. At the end of this first float was fastened a second, but so, as it might be easily loosened from it. The female elephants were brought upon the first float, the males followed them; and when they were all got upon the second float, this was loosened from the first, and, by the help of small boats, towed to the opposite shore. It does not appear how many of these animals

c. 46.

Year of ROME 535. B.C. 217. 234th consulship.

were transported at a time; but when the first were landed, the float was sent back to fetch others, and so on till the whole number was brought over. Some of them being unruly, fell into the water, but they at last got safe to shore; not a single elephant was drowned, though some of their conductors were.

And now Hannibal, making his horse and elephants the rear-guard to his infantry, marched along the banks of the river northward* (though that was not the shortest way to the Alps), being resolved to avoid an engagement with Scipio, that he might lead his troops as entire as possible into Italy.

* Polybius (c. 47.) says eastward, but this agrees not with the context. Livy, b. 21. c. 31. Polyb. b. 3. c. 49.

Scipio, upon the information brought him by his discoverers, having immediately ordered all the baggage on board his ships, was coming by long marches with his whole army to attack the Carthaginians; but he did not arrive at the place where Hannibal had passed the Rhone, till three days after he was gone from thence. Despairing therefore to overtake him, he made haste back to his fleet, embarked his army, dispatched his brother Cneius, with the greatest part of it, into Spain, to carry the war into that country, and set sail himself for Italy, in hopes, by the way of Hetruria, to reach the foot of the Alps before Hannibal could arrive there.

The Carthaginian, after four days' march, arrived in a country, which from its situation was called the Island, being washed on two sides by the Rhone, and another river[a] which runs into that. Its form is triangular, and

[a] It has been much disputed whether this other river was the Arar [now called the Saone] or the Isara [the Isere].

"The text of Polybius (says M. Rollin), as it has been transmitted to us, and that of Livy, place this island at the conflux of the Rhone and the Saone, that is, in the place where the city of Lyons now stands. But this is a manifest error. It was in the Greek, Σκώρας, instead of which ὁ Ἄραρος has been substituted. J. Gronovius says, that he had seen, in a manuscript of Livy, Bisarat, which shews that we are to read *Isara, Rhodanusque amnes*, instead of *Arar, Rhodanusque;* and that the island in question is formed by the conflux of the Isara and the Rhone."

Chevalier Folard, who knows perfectly well the road from the place where Hannibal passed the Rhone (which is agreed to be between Orange and Avignon) to Lyons; and who also knows perfectly well what an army like Hannibal's is capable of doing, maintains, that it was absolutely impossible for it to march to Lyons in four days, it being thirty-five leagues; and, though he does not omit the reasons brought by M. Rollin, he lays the main stress of his argument (in behalf of the Isere) on the

resembles the Delta of Egypt, with this difference, that the country here spoken of, is bounded on its third side

Year of ROME 535. B.C. 217

length and badness of the way to the Saone, there being three rivers to pass, and almost the whole way being through defiles.

234th consulship.

I know not whether some aid to this cause might not be drawn from the time employed in Scipio's march, who was so eager to come up with the Carthaginians and give them battle. It is said, that he did not arrive at the place where Hannibal had passed the Rhone till three days after he was gone from thence. Now it is reasonable to suppose that he began his march the very same morning that Hannibal began his: the skirmish between the parties having happened the morning before, and there being time enough for Scipio to receive intelligence by his scouts where the enemy was; and though, to get to that place, he had not half the way to make that Hannibal had to reach Lyons, it cost him, with all his expedition, three days' march.

On the decision of this question, another is made very much to depend: Over what part of the Alps the Carthaginian army passed into Italy? whether over the Alpes Penninæ, that stand a good way to the north of Turin, or over the Alpes Cottiæ, that stand a little to the west of that city? Livy is for the latter, and wonders that this fact should ever be questioned, since it is agreed that the part of Italy which Hannibal first entered was the territory of the Taurini [the people of Turin], into which country the other passage would not have brought him; nor does he believe that passage was then open. He tells us, also, that the army crossed the Durance in its way to the mountains, which agrees very well with the opinion of its going over the Alpes Cottiæ, as may be seen by the maps. But the rest of Livy's account does not well accord with these particulars, nor indeed with common sense.

Chevalier Folard, who is well acquainted with the Alps, and all the roads thither, is sure that Hannibal went the shortest road, from the country of Prince Brancus to Turin; not only because it was the shortest, but because it was the safest and the best. He will not allow that Hannibal went so far northward, along the banks of the Rhone, as even to the conflux of that river and the Isere. He says, there was no occasion to do it on account of any danger, either from Scipio or any allies of Rome. According to the chevalier, Hannibal, leaving Grenoble on his left, passed the Drac [which runs into the Isere] over against Vizille. Thence he successively marched to Bourg d'Oisons, Le Mont de Lens, Le Lantaret, Briançon, Le Mont Genevre, Sezanne, Le Mont Sestrieres, Suze, Col de la Fenestre, and Pignerol; at a small distance from which last he encamped in the plains.

The fathers Catrou and Rouillé differ from the chevalier in both these questions. According to them, Hannibal crossed the Rhone at its conflux with the Saone, and then turning eastward, marched along the Rhone on its north side; then crossed it again, marching on its south side to the Durance (which they suppose to be Livy's Durance), and thence to the foot of the Alpes Penninæ, which they passed, by the Great St. Bernard.

As to the objection of the thirty-five leagues' march in four days, they think it is sufficient to say, that Hannibal was in haste to get out of Scipio's way.

And as to Σκώρας [Scoras], the supposed ancient name of the Isere,* "It can only impose (say they) on those who do not know that the Saone was anciently called Scona, and by corruption Saucona. Ammianus Marcellinus calls it so, and it had the name of Matiscona, because Macon is situated upon its banks. So that here is correction for correction. Is it not more natural and more probable that Scoras should be changed into Sconas, than that Scoras should be changed into Isaras?"

*Cluverius.

But the main strength of their argument is from Polybius, who tells us, that Hannibal continued his march along the Rhone eastward. "Now (say the reverend fathers) it is evident by a cast of an eye on the map, that if the Carthaginian army marched up the Rhone from west to east, it must first have marched along it as far as to Lyons." The necessity of this consequence I do not see. However, much doubtless might be built on this passage of Polybius, if we did not meet with it at a time when it is impossible it should be true; but it is just when Hannibal is setting out to go northward along the river, and even thirty-five leagues northward, if he went to the conflux of the Rhone and the Saone. Casaubon seems to have been shocked at this inconsistency, for in his translation he has neglected the words παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν (along the river).

B. 3. c. 47.

As to the passage of the Alps, "There are six reasons (say the Jesuits) which incline us to believe that Hannibal crossed the Alps by the Great St. Barnard [one of the Alpes Penninæ]."

Year of ROME 535. B.C. 217. by high mountains, whereas the Delta, which the Nile washes on two sides, is bounded on the third by the sea.

234th consulship. Polyb. b. 3. c. 49. Livy, b. 21. c. 31. Here he found two brothers disputing for the kingdom, and the nation engaged in a civil war. The two armies were just ready to give battle, when Hannibal arrived. At the request of the elder brother (named Brancus) he assisted him, and forced the younger to retire. Hannibal had foreseen that it would be very advantageous to him to have the friendship of a prince of this country; and he immediately reaped many benefits from it. The Gaul furnished his troops, not only with provision and arms, but with clothes; for they were in a tattered condition, most of them barefoot, and very ill provided for a march over the snows and ice of the mountains. But the most essential service he did, was by putting his troops in the rear of Hannibal's army (which could not, without great dread, enter the territories of the Gauls called Allobroges), and escorting it to the place where it was to ascend the Alps.

Polyb. b. 3. c. 50. Hannibal, thus attended, marched 100 miles in ten days without molestation. So long as he was in the flat country, the petty princes of the Allobroges made no opposition to his progress, either fearing the Carthaginian cavalry, or being held in respect by the Gauls that were in the rear of the army. But when these had retired to go home, and the Carthaginians began to ascend the mountains, they perceived that the moun-

I shall mention only three of them.

1. "Livy and Polybius say, that this general, to encourage his troops, shewed them from the top of the mountain the rich plains of Italy that lay near the Po. Now supposing he had marched by the Alpes Cottiæ, as Livy pretends, he could not possibly from thence discover those plains; other mountains would have intercepted his view."

2. "Polybius reckons 1400 stadia, or about 175 miles, from the place where Hannibal passed the Rhone to the foot of those Alps which he ascended to go into Italy. And if we say with Livy, that he passed any of the Alpes Cottiæ, it is impossible to make out that distance.

3. "Polybius tells us that Hannibal passed the Alps near the place where the Rhone rises. Consequently, he passed over the Alpes Penninæ."

These reasons seem decisive, as to the passage of the Alps (whatever becomes of Scoras and the thirty-five leagues' march), Polybius's authority being unquestionable; since, as he tells us, he made a journey on purpose to visit the place where Hannibal had passed, that he might be the better able to give an account of them.

taineers had possessed themselves of the highest cliffs that commanded the strait through which the army was to pass, with a resolution to oppose its passage. Here Hannibal, therefore, was obliged to make a halt and encamp. Had the mountaineers, says Polybius, concealed their designs till the Carthaginian army was advanced a good way into the narrow passes, it had been inevitably destroyed. Hannibal having learned by the means of some of those Gauls who served him for guides, that the enemy quitted their posts every night, retiring to a town not far off, he took his opportunity, with a detachment of his best men (leaving the greatest part of his forces with the baggage), to advance by night and seize those posts, before the return of the barbarians; who in the morning were extremely surprised to find themselves thus dispossessed. However, as they perceived the cavalry and beasts of burden moving forward in the straits at a great distance, they ran thither, and fell with fury upon the rear-guard of the army. The Carthaginians suffered a great loss of men, horses, and beasts of burden, upon this occasion; which destruction was owing more to the difficulty of the passage than the swords of the enemy. For the horses, when wounded by the mountaineers, or frighted by their howlings, rushed upon the beasts of burden, oversetting them and every thing else that stood in their way, and hurrying all down the precipices that bordered the road.

Year of ROME 535. B. C. 217. 234th consulship.

Polyb. b. 1. c. 51.

Hannibal being sensible that the loss of his baggage would alone be sufficient to destroy his army, hastened with his detatchment to the succour of the troops that were thus embarrassed. Falling on the enemy from the higher ground, he slew most of them, and put the rest to flight, yet not without sustaining considerable loss of men himself. What remained of his horses and beasts of burden now passed the strait, but with much difficulty, because of the ruggedness of the way. After

Year of ROME 535. B. C. 217. 234th consul-ship. which, taking with him those of his men who were the least fatigued with the combat, he attacked the town, from whence the enemy had sallied upon him, and he easily made himself master of it, the inhabitants having been almost all drawn out of it by the hopes of plunder. This conquest proved of great advantage to him. For he recovered a good number of men, horses, and beasts of carriage, which had fallen into the enemy's hands. He also found a sufficient quantity of corn and cattle to sustain his army for two or three days. And he gained this farther benefit, that the mountaineers of these parts were now so struck with dread, that they thought no more of interrupting his march.

Polyb. b. 3. c. 52. Here he encamped, and staid a whole day to refresh his troops. He then pursued his march, which for some days was unmolested. On the fourth, the people inhabiting the places near the road, having contrived a stratagem to attack him by surprise, came to meet him with olive-branches and garlands, the usual signals of peace among these nations. Hannibal, mistrusting them, was very inquisitive concerning the intention of their coming. They told him, that having been informed of what had happened to their neighbours, and being themselves unwilling either to do or to suffer any injury, they were come to assure him of their peaceable dispositions; of which, if he doubted, they would give him hostages for his security.

Hannibal was for awhile in suspense what resolution to take; but considering that if he accepted their offer with condescension, they might possibly become more easy and tractable, and that if he rejected it, he should have them immediately for open enemies, he at length pretended a great willingness to be upon terms of friendship with them.

Upon which they brought him hostages, furnished him with cattle, and seemed to place entire confidence in the Carthaginians. Hannibal seeing this, and either

having, or seeming to have, a better opinion of them, told them, they should be his guides to conduct him through the remaining part of his way over the mountains. Thus for two days they marched at the head of the army. But when it was got into a hollow way, overlooked by the steep and craggy rocks, these faithless friends, in concert with others of their countrymen who had lain concealed, fell suddenly upon the troops in front, flank, and rear. The greatest number attacked the rear. The army would have been utterly destroyed, says Polybius, if Hannibal, who all along retained some diffidence of these barbarians, had not taken his precautions to guard against them, by placing his baggage and his cavalry in the van, and his heavy armed infantry in the rear guard.—These sustained the shock of the enemy. Nevertheless, he lost a great number of men, horses, and beasts of burden. For the Gauls having possessed themselves of the cliffs, and advancing thereon as the Carthaginians advanced in the hollow way, rolled down upon them huge stones, which occasioned an exceeding terror among them. Hannibal was obliged, with one half of his army, to remain all night in the open air, upon a rock, to defend the horses and beasts of carriage, as they filed along through the strait below; for which movement that night was hardly sufficient, the train was of such a length.

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The next day, the enemy being retired, Hannibal rejoined his horse and baggage, and continued his march. The Gauls after this made no more attempts upon him, except in small parties, that, sallying out by surprise from their lurking-places in the hollows of the rocks, sometimes upon his van, sometimes upon his rear, seldom failed to carry off a part of his baggage, which was their chief purpose. The elephants were of great use to the Carthaginians on these occasions; for wherever they chanced to appear, they struck such a terror into the mountaineers, as made them instantly take to their heels.

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Hannibal at length, after nine days' march from the first ascent, gained the summit of the mountain. Here he stayed two days, that those of his men, who with infinite toil had climbed to this height might take breath; and that his sick and wounded, who were still behind andmoving slowly on, might have time to crawl up. And Polybius adds, that while the troops continued here, they had the agreeable surprise of seeing many of the horses and beasts of burden which had fallen in the way, or had by fear been driven out of it, and were thought lost, arrive safely at the camp, having followed the track of the army.

It was now about the end of autumn, and abundance of snow was newly fallen on the top of the mountain. Polyb. b. 3. c. 54. Hannibal perceiving his soldiers to be extremely discouraged by the sufferings they had already undergone, and by the apprehension of those that were to come, called them together, that he might try to revive their hope. Having led them to a convenient spot for taking an extensive view of the plains below; "There! (said he) cast your eyes over those large and fruitful countries. The Gauls who inhabit them are our friends. They are waiting for us, ready and impatient to join us. Livy, b. 21. c. 35. You have scaled not only the rampart of Italy, but the walls of Rome itself. What remains is all smoothness and descent. One battle gained, or two at most, and the capital of Italy will be ours."

The next day he broke up his camp and began to descend. But now, though he had no enemies to encounter, except a few lurking robbers, he is said to have lost almost as many men and horses in going down the mountain as in coming up. The way was so steep and slippery in most places, that the soldiers could neither keep on their feet, nor recover themselves when they slipped; and the ground being covered with snow, it was difficult to hit the right path, and if they missed it, they fell down frightful precipices, or were swallowed

up in depths of snow. Nevertheless, being inured to such dangers, they supported this with fortitude. But at length they came to a place much worse than any they had before met with, and which quite took away their courage. The path, for about a furlong and a half, naturally very steep and craggy, was rendered much more so by the late falling away of a great quantity of earth, so that neither elephants nor horses could pass. Here therefore, they stopped short. Hannibal, wondering at this sudden halt, ran to the place, and having viewed it, plainly saw there was no advancing farther that way. His first thought was to try another by fetching a compass.—But he quickly desisted from this attempt, it being found impracticable. For though the snow that had last fallen, being soft and of no great depth, yielding good footing enough for the soldiers and horses that marched foremost; yet when this had been so trampled upon by them, that the feet of those who followed came to the hard snow and ice under it, the latter could by no means advance, or even keep upon their feet. And when they endeavoured to sustain themselves on their hands and knees, they often slid down and were lost in pits and precipices. And as for the horses and beasts of burden, when they struck their feet into the ice to preserve themselves from falling, they could not draw them out again, but remained there as if they had been themselves frozen.—It was necessary, therefore, to seek some other expedient.

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Polyb. b. 3. c. 55.

Hannibal having caused all the snow to be removed that lay upon the ground near the entrance of the first way, he there pitched his camp; and then gave orders to cut out a winding path in the rock itself;[b] and this

[b] Mr. Rollin seems very loath to part with Livy's vinegar, which was poured upon the rock to soften it, after this had been first made red-hot under flaming piles of huge trees. "Many," says Mr. Rollin, "reject this fact as fabulous Pliny observes, that vinegar has the force to break stones and rocks. *Saxa rumpit infusum, quæ non ruperit ignis antecedens.* Lib. 23. For which reason he calls vinegar, *Succus rerum domitor*, lib. 33. c. 2. Dio, speaking of the siege of Eleutherus, says that the walls of it were made to fall by the force of vinegar." L. 36. p. 8.

"It is likely" [*apparemment*], adds Mr. Rollin, "what makes people question the

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work was carried on with so great diligence and vigour, that at the end of one day the beasts of burden and the horses were able to descend without much difficulty. He immediately sent them forward, and, removing his camp to a place that was free from snow, put them to pasture. It now remained to enlarge the way, that the elephants might pass. This task was assigned to the Numidians, and it took up so much time, that Hannibal did not arrive with his whole army in the plains below, on the confines of Insubria, till four days after he began to descend. He had been fifteen days in passing the Alps, and, these included, five months and a half in his march (of about 1000 miles) from New Carthage.

Polyb. b. 3. c. 5. 6.

Of the 38,000 foot with which the Carthaginian general had crossed the Rhone, he had now but 12,000 Africans, and 8000 Spaniards; and his 8000 horse were reduced to about 6000. This enumeration is according to Hannibal's own register, which he afterward caused to be engraved on a column near the promontory of Lacinium in Calabria.

C. 60.

His first care, after entering Italy, and pitching his camp in the plain at the foot of the mountain, was to refresh his men, who stood in great need of it. Famine and fatigue had so disfigured them, that they looked like savages. But as soon as he saw that both men and horses had recovered their strength, and were fit for action, he marched against the Taurini,* who were at that time in war with the Insubrians, and who had rejected his repeated solicitations to enter into an alliance with him. He sat down before their chief city, and took it in three days, putting all who had opposed him to the sword. This expedition struck such a terror

*The people of Turin.

truth of Livy's account, is the difficulty that Hannibal would have to procure in those mountains a sufficient quantity of vinegar for the operation." Doubtless the unbelievers do imagine this to be an insuperable objection to the story. But this is not all. For a better authority than Livy assures us, that Hannibal had no wood to make a fire with; that there was not a tree in the place where he then was, or near it. Polybius, b. 3. c. 55. Τῶν γὰρ Ἀλπεων τὰ μὲν ἄκρα, καὶ πρὸς τὰς ὑπερβολὰς ἀνήκοντα, τελέως ἄδενδρα καὶ ψιλὰ πάντ' ἐστί.

into the Gauls of this neighbourhood, that they came of their own accord and surrendered themselves at discretion. The remoter Gauls of the plains about the Po, would have also been glad to join him, as they had long intended to do. But as the Roman legions had passed beyond those plains, and had escaped the ambushes there laid for them, these Gauls thought it better now to keep quiet; nay, some of their nation were constrained to take arms for the Romans. Hannibal, therefore, judging that he had no time to lose, resolved to march into their country, and endeavour by some exploit to raise the courage of a people who were so well disposed to favour him. Year of ROME 535. B.C. 217. 234th consulship.

He was full of this design, when he received intelligence that Scipio had passed the Po with his army, and that he was not far off. The two generals are said to have conceived a high opinion of each other. Hannibal's name had been long renowned, even before the taking of Saguntum; and, that Scipio must be a captain of eminent worth, the Carthaginian had well concluded, from the Romans having chosen him, preferably to all others, to be his opponent. But this mutual impression was now become much stronger by the hardy enterprise of the one to march over the Alps, with the happy execution of it; and the expeditious courage of the other, in coming from the banks of the Rhone, to meet him at the foot of those mountains. Polyb. b. 3. c. 61. Livy, b. 21. c. 39.

But nothing had ever so astonished the people of Rome, as the news of the Carthaginians being so near. They had scarce ordered one of their consuls into Africa to attack Carthage, and another into Spain to stop Hannibal, when they hear, that this same Hannibal is in Italy, at the head of an army besieging towns. Such terror seized them, that they immediately dispatched an express to the consul, Sempronius, then at Lilybæum, to postpone every other affair, and come with all expedition to the defence of his country.

Year of ROME 535. B.C.217. 234th consul-ship. Polyb. b. 3. c. 41. Livy, b. 1. c. 49. et seq.

Sempronius, to whom a considerable army, and a fleet of 160 galleys, had been committed, and who had made mighty preparations at Lilybæum for a descent upon Africa, was so elated with ambitious hope, that he thought of nothing less than laying siege to Carthage itself, when he had first cleared the coasts of Italy and Sicily of the Carthaginian fleets.—Before he went into Sicily, the Roman prætor of that province had gained some considerable advantages by sea over the Carthaginians, and had disappointed a design formed by him to possess themselves of Lilybæum by surprise. When the consul arrived at Messina, he was there met by king Hiero, who, continuing his friendship to the Romans, not only clothed the legions and furnished them with corn at his own expense, but with his fleet accompanied theirs to Lilybæum. From this place Sempronius made a successful attempt upon the island of Malta; a conquest which served to cover Sicily on that side. After which, being returned to Lilybæum, and having learned there that a Carthaginian fleet was ravaging the coasts of Calabria, he made preparations to drive the enemy from thence; but while he was getting ready for this expedition, he received the order above mentioned to return into Italy, to the assistance of his colleague.—Hereupon he gave one part of his fleet to his lieutenant Pomponius, to guard the coast of Italy, another to Æmilius, prætor of Sicily, and with the rest, having embarked his army, set sail for Ariminum in the Adriatic.

CHAP. XVIII.

The Roman horse and light-armed infantry under Scipio are defeated at the Ticin by the Carthaginian cavalry. The consul retires to the neighbourhood of Placentia: Hannibal follows him, and offers battle; which the Roman declines. Scipio, distrusting the Gauls, some of whom had gone over to the enemy, removes to the high grounds near the Trebia, and there waits the arrival of his colleague. Battle of the Ticin.

WHILE the forces of Sempronius from Sicily were in their voyage, Hannibal and the consul Publius Scipio were advancing to meet each other. Scipio (as was before observed) had, from the mouth of the Rhone, sent almost all his own consular army, under the conduct of his brother Cneius, into Spain. The forces which he now commanded, were chiefly the remains of an army which had been aasigned to the prætor Manlius, to guard the province of Gaul, and which had since been defeated by the Boii. Year of ROME 535. B. C. 217. 234th consulship. See p. 6. See vol. 2. p. 595.

For these Gauls had no sooner heard of Hannibal's passing the Iberus, in his way to Italy, but, regardless of the hostages they had given at the conclusion of the last war with Rome, they rose in arms against her, and drew the Insubrians into the revolt. What made the Boii so forward in this matter, was their extreme dissatisfaction with the republic, for planting two colonies in their neighbourhood, at Placentia and Cremona; an affair which, though long intended, was not quite finished when the Carthaginian began his march from Spain.—The Boii fell first upon those lands which had been destined for the new colonies, pursuing the Romans, who fled before them, to Mutina,* another Roman colony. In this place, which they besieged, were three Romans of great distinction (one of them having been consul, and the other two, prætors), who had been commissioned to make the partition of the lands. The Gauls, contrary to their faith given, seized upon the persons of these commissioners at a conference for an accommodation, hoping by this treachery to recover their hostages. The news of it roused the prætor Man- Polyb. b. 3. c. 40. * Modena.

Year of ROME 535. B.C. 217. 234th consul-ship.

lius. He hastened to the relief of Mutina: but the Gauls, having got notice of his approach, fell upon him by surprise, in his passage through a forest, and cut off a great part of his army, he himself narrowly escaping with the remainder to Tanetum, a small town on the banks of the Po. To this place the enemy pursued him, and there held them invested, till the prætor Attilius, with a legion that had been raised for Spain, and 5000 men of the allies, was sent from Rome to his assistance. Upon the approach of these troops, the Gauls raised the sieges of both Mutina and Tanetum, and retiring thence dispersed themselves about the country.

Livy, b. 21. c. 26.

Polyb. b. 3. c. 56. Livy, b. 21. c. 39, 40.

The forces of Manlius and Attilius, which had been thus employed, composed the army which Scipio (who had landed at Pisa, and gone thence to Placentia) led against Hannibal. Having passed the Po, he turned to the left and advanced to the Ticin,[c] over which he caused a bridge to be laid. But before he marched farther, he thought it proper to assemble his soldiers, and endeavour to animate their courage for the approaching occasion.—He spoke to them in words to this effect:

"Were you, soldiers, the same army which I had with me in Gaul, I might well forbear saying any thing to you at this time. For what occasion could there be to use exhortation to a cavalry that had so signally vanquished the squadrons of the enemy upon the Rhone; or to legions, by whom that same enemy, flying before them to avoid a battle, did, in effect, confess themselves conquered? But, as those troops, having been enrolled for Spain, are there with my brother Cneius, making war under my auspices (as was the will of the senate and people of Rome), I, that you might have a consul for your captain, against Hannibal and the Carthaginians, have freely offered myself for this war. You then have a new general, and I a new army. In this

[c] A small river on the north side of the Po, and running into it.

circumstance a few words from me to you will be neither improper nor unseasonable. Year of ROME 535. B. C. 217.

"And that you may not be unapprized of what sort of enemies you are going to encounter, or of what is to be feared from them, they are the very same, whom in a former war you vanquished both by land and sea; the same, from whom you took Sicily and Sardinia, and who have been for these twenty years your tributaries. You will not, I presume, march against these men with only that courage with which you are wont to face other enemies, but with a certain anger and indignation, such as you would feel if you saw your slaves on a sudden rise up in arms against you. Conquered and enslaved, it is not boldness, but necessity, that urges them to battle: unless you can believe, that those who avoided fighting when their army was entire, have acquired better hope by the loss of two-thirds of their horse and foot, in the passage of the Alps. 234th consulship.

"But you have heard, perhaps, that though they be few in number, they are men of stout hearts and robust bodies, heroes of such strength and vigour as nothing is able to resist—mere effigies! nay, shadows of men! wretches emaciated with hunger, and benumbed with cold! bruised and battered to pieces among the rocks and craggy cliffs! their weapons broken, and their horses weak and foundered! Such are the cavalry, and such the infantry, with which you are going to contend; not enemies, but the fragments of enemies. There is nothing which I more apprehend, than that it will be thought Hannibal was vanquished by the Alps, before we had any conflict with him. But, perhaps, it was fitting that so it should be; and that with a people and a leader, who had violated leagues and covenants, the gods themselves, without man's help, should begin the war, and bring it near to a conclusion; and that we, who, next to the gods, have been injured and offended, should happily finish what they begun.

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"I need not be in any fear that you should suspect me of saying these things merely to encourage you, while inwardly I have different sentiments. What hindered me from going into Spain? That was my province; where I should have led the less dreaded Asdrubal, not Hannibal, to deal with. But hearing, as I passed along the coast of Gaul, of this enemy's march, I landed my troops, sent the horse forward, and pitched my camp upon the Rhone. A part of my cavalry encountered and defeated that of the enemy; my infantry not being able to overtake theirs, which fled before us, I returned to my fleet, and with all the expedition I could use in so long a voyage, by sea and land, am come to meet them at the foot of the Alps. Was it then my inclination to avoid a contest with this tremendous Hannibal? And have I lit upon him only by accident and unawares? Or am I come on purpose to challenge him to the combat? I would gladly try, whether the earth within these twenty years has brought forth a new kind of Carthaginians; or whether they be the same sort of men who fought at the Ægates; and whom, at Eryx, you suffered to redeem themselves at eighteen *denarii** per head: whether this Hannibal, for labours and journeys be, as he would be thought, the rival of Hercules; or whether he be what his father left him, a tributary, a vassal, a slave of the Roman people. Did not the consciousness of his wicked deed at Saguntum torment him and make him desperate, he would have some regard, if not to his conquered country, yet surely to his own family, to his father's memory, to the treaty written with Amilcar's own hand. We might have starved them in Eryx; we might have passed into Africa with our victorious fleet, in a few days have destroyed Carthage. At their humble supplication we pardoned them; we released them when they were closely shut up without a possibility of escaping; we made peace with them when they were conquered. When they

* 11s. 7½d. Arbuth.

were distressed by the African war, we considered them, we treated them as a people under our protection. And what is the return they make us for all these favours? Under the conduct of a hair-brained young man, they come hither to overturn our state and lay waste our country.—I could wish, indeed, that it were not so; and that the war we are now engaged in, concerned only our glory and not our preservation. But the contest at present is not for the possession of Sicily or Sardinia, but of Italy itself. Nor is there, behind us, another army which, if we should not prove the conquerors, may make head against our victorious enemies. There are no more Alps for them to pass, which might give us leisure to raise new forces. No, soldiers, here you must make your stand, as if you were just now before the walls of Rome. Let every one reflect, that he is now to defend, not his own person alone, but his wife, his children, his helpless infants. Yet let not private considerations alone possess our minds; let us remember that the eyes of the senate and people of Rome are upon us, and that as our force and courage shall now prove, such will be the fortune of that city and of the Roman empire."

Year of ROME 234. B. C. 217. 234th consulship.

This discourse, supported by the authority of the speaker, the certainty of some things he had said, and the probability of others, had the wished for effect on the minds of the hearers.

On the other side, Hannibal made use of a new kind of rhetoric to inspire his soldiers with resolution. He had taken prisoners some young men of the mountaineers who opposed his march over the Alps; and, to prepare them for his purpose, had caused them to be treated in the severest manner, loaded with irons, tormented with hunger, and macerated with stripes. In this miserable condition he had them brought into the presence of his whole army; where, shewing them such weapons as the Gallic princes were accustomed to use in single combat, and placing also before their eyes

Polyb. b. 3. c. 62. Livy, b. 21. c. 42, et seq.

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horses and handsome suits of apparel, he demanded who of them would be willing, with those weapons, to fight in duel one against another, to the death of one of the duellists, on the condition that the victor should have his liberty, and the prizes they beheld? There was not a single wretch of these prisoners who did not instantly and eagerly call out for the arms; for, at worst, they were sure of this advantage, to be by death delivered from all their miseries. Hannibal hereupon directed that they should draw lots for entering the lists. At the hearing of this order, all the young men lifted up their hands to heaven, each conjuring the gods that he might be of the number of the combatants; and all those, whose fortune it proved to be so, exceedingly rejoiced and exulted, while the rest were as much dejected.

When these duels were over, those of the prisoners, who had been only spectators, seemed to envy the conquered, no less than they did the conquerors.

The spectacle had made the like impression on the greater part of the Carthaginians, who comparing the fortune of the dead with that of the living, who had not fought, compassionated these, and thought the others happy.

Hannibal, having thus brought his soldiers to the temper and disposition he desired, advanced into the midst of them, and then spoke in the following manner:

"If, in the estimation of your own fortune, you will but bear the same mind which you just now did, in contemplating the fortune of others, the victory, soldiers, is ours. What you have seen, was not a mere show for amusement, but a representation of your own real condition. I know not whether you or your prisoners be encompassed by fortune with the stricter bonds and necessities. Two seas enclose you on the right and left; —not a ship to fly to, for escaping. Before you is the Po, a river broader and more rapid than the Rhone; behind you are the Alps, over which, even when your

numbers were undiminished, you were hardly able to force a passage. Here, then, soldiers, you must either conquer or die, the very first hour you meet the enemy. But the same fortune which has thus laid you under the necessity of fighting, has set before your eyes those rewards of victory, than which no men are ever wont to wish for greater from the immortal gods. Should we by our valour recover only Sicily and Sardinia, which were ravished from our fathers, those would be no inconsiderable prizes. Yet, what are those? The wealth of Rome, whatever riches she has heaped together from the spoils of nations,—all these, with the masters of them, will be yours. You have been long enough employed in driving the cattle upon the vast mountains of Lusitania and Celtiberia; you have hitherto met with no reward worthy of the labours and dangers you have undergone. The time is now come to reap the full recompense of your toilsome marches over so many mountains and rivers, and through so many nations, all of them in arms. This is the place, which fortune has appointed to be the limit of your labours; it is here that you will finish your glorious warfare, and receive an ample recompense of your completed service. For I would not have you imagine that victory will be as difficult as the name of a Roman war is great and sounding. It has often happened that a despised enemy has given a bloody battle, and the most renowned kings and nations have by a small force been overthrown. And if you but take away that glitter of the Roman name, what is there wherein they may stand in competition with you? For (to say nothing of your service in war for twenty years together with so much valour and success), from the very pillars of Hercules, from the ocean, from the utmost bounds of the earth, through so many warlike nations of Spain and Gaul, are you not come hither victorious? And with whom are you now to fight? with raw soldiers, an undisciplined army, beaten, vanquished, be-

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sieged by the Gauls the very last summer, an army unknown to their leader, and unacquainted with him.

"Or shall I, who, I might almost say, was born, but certainly brought up, in the tent of my father,[d] that most excellent general; shall I, the conqueror of Spain and Gaul, and not only of the Alpine nations, but, which is greater yet, of the Alps themselves, shall I compare myself with this half-year captain? a captain, before whom, should one place the two armies, without their ensigns, I am persuaded he would not know to which of them he is consul? I esteem it no small advantage, soldiers, that there is not one among you, who has not often been an eye-witness of my exploits in war; not one, of whose valour I myself have not been a spectator, so as to be able to name the times and places of his noble achievements; that with soldiers, whom I have a thousand times praised and rewarded, and whose pupil I was before I became their general, I shall march against an army of men, strangers to one another.

"On what side soever I turn my eyes, I behold all full of courage and strength; a veteran infantry, a most gallant cavalry;[e] you, my allies, most faithful and valiant; you, Carthaginians, whom not only your country's cause, but the justest anger, impels to battle. The hope, the courage of assailants is always greater than of those who act upon the defensive. With hostile banners displayed you are come down upon Italy; you bring the war. Grief, injuries, indignities, fire your mind, and spur you forward to revenge.—First, they demand *me*, that I, your general, should be delivered up to them; next, *all you*, who had fought at the siege of Saguntum; and we were to be put to death by the extremest tortures. Proud and cruel nation! Every

[d] Here we have another proof from Livy himself, of his own inadvertency in delivering the idle story mentioned, vol. 2. p. 517.

[e] Livy's expression is, *Generosissimarum gentium equites frænatos et infrænatos*, horsemen that ride with bridles, and those that ride without bridles; by the latter meaning the Numidians, who had no bridles nor saddles to their horses, and who in action resembled the modern hussars.

thing must be yours, and at your disposal? You are to prescribe to us, with whom we shall make war, with whom we shall make peace? You are to set us bounds, to shut us up within hills and rivers; but you, you are not to observe the limits which yourselves have fixed?[f] Pass not the Iberus. What next? Touch not the Saguntines; Saguntum is upon the Iberus;[g] move not a step towards that city. Is it a small matter then, that you have deprived us of our ancient possessions, Sicily and Sardinia: you would have Spain too? Well, we shall yield Spain; and then—you will pass into Africa. Will pass, did I say?—This very year they ordered one of their consuls into Africa, the other into Spain. No, soldiers, there is nothing left for us but what we can vindicate with our swords. Come on, then. Be men. The Romans may with more safety be cowards; they have their own country behind them, have places of refuge to fly to, and are secure from danger in the roads thither; but for you there is no middle fortune between death and victory. Let this be but well fixed in your minds, and once again I say, you are conquerors."

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Livy reports, that Hannibal, further to animate his men, assured them, that they should have every one of them lands in property, either in Africa, Spain, or Italy, or else an equivalent in money, if they preferred money. And these assurances he ratified in form. Taking a flint in one hand, and holding a lamb with the other, he said, "Great Jupiter, and all ye gods, if I do not perform my promise, slay me as I do this lamb!" at which words he broke with the flint the skull of the lamb; a solemnity which much augmented the confidence of his troops.

Livy, b. 21. c. 45.

The next day the two armies advanced towards each

Polyb. b. 3. c. 65.

[f] By the words which Livy here puts into the mouth of Hannibal, it is plain, that the Saguntines were not included at first in the treaty with Asdrubal; that this treaty only restrained the Carthaginians from passing the Iberus, as Polybius declares; and that the alliance of the Romans with the Saguntines was posterior to it, and a real infraction of it. See vol. 2. p. 604, 605.

[g] Hannibal, the more to incense his hearers against the Romans, makes these assert an impudent falsehood, that Saguntum is upon the Iberus.

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other along the Ticia, on that side of it which is next the Alps, the Romans having the river on their left, the Carthaginians the same river on their right. The day following each army, receiving intelligence by its foragers that the enemy was near, encamped in the place where it then was. The third, Scipio with his cavalry and light-armed foot marching forward to discover the strength and situation of the Carthaginians; and Hannibal, with his cavalry only, coming on with the like intention, they soon perceived each other's approach by the dust they raised in the plain, and thereupon immediately prepared for battle. The Roman general sent before him his Gallic horse, assisted by his dartmen, to begin the fight, he himself with the rest of his cavalry in one line following slowly in good order. The Gauls behaved themselves courageously; but the foot, that should have aided them, shrunk at the first onset, or rather fled cowardly through the intervals of the squadrons without casting a dart, fearing to be trodden down by the enemy's horse. Nevertheless the Gauls maintained the fight, as presuming they should be well sustained by the Roman horse behind them. Nor did the consul neglect his part, but hazarded his person so far, that he received a dangerous wound, and had been left upon the place, if his son,[h] a mere youth (afterward the great Africanus), had not, by a surprising effort of courage, brought him off. Whilst the Romans were busied in assisting their consul, an unexpected storm came driving at their backs, and obliged them to look to their own preservation. For Hannibal had ordered his Numidians, who were in the wings, to wheel and give upon the Romans in flank and rear, while he with his Spanish and other horse sustained their charge in front. The Numidians performed their instructions, and having first cut in pieces the scattered foot that had

[h] So Livy is inclined to believe, with the greater number of authors; but adds, that Celius the historian gives the honour of the consul's rescue to a Ligurian slave.

run away at the beginning of the action, fell instantly upon the backs of the Roman cavalry, who by this impression were entirely broken, and forced to betake themselves to their speed, leaving to their enemies the honour of the day. Year of ROME 536. B. C. 217. 234th consulship.

Scipio, the night following, decamped secretly, and marched with expedition over the plains to the Po, which he now repassed, retiring to the neighbourhood of Placentia.[i] For he thought it not safe, wounded as he was, to stay in a flat open country, with an enemy so near, that was much superior to him in horse. Hannibal, who had expected to have an engagement with the enemy's infantry, no sooner learned that the Romans were retired, but he followed them as far as to their bridge upon the Ticin.[k] Here he surprised and made Polyb. b. 3. c. 66.

[i] Livy says, that Scipio retired to Placentia; which, if true, Placentia must have had a different situation from what it has now, and must have been, not on the east but the west side of the Trebia.* For we find, that Scipio, after this first retreat, passed the Trebia to get farther from Hannibal. Polybius's words import no more than that the Romans retired to the neighbourhood of Placentia, *περὶ πόλιν Πλακεντίαν.* C. 74.

[k] Livy, who, in this part of his history, plainly borrows from Polybius, seems to have misunderstood him with regard to the bridge, at which Hannibal is said to have arrived in his pursuit of the Romans. The Latin historian makes it to be their bridge over the Po, as if they had no river to pass in their way to the Po; which, if true, we must say, that the battle was fought on the east side of the Ticin, the side towards Placentia: for Polybius expressly affirms, that Scipio, at the head of the battle, had the Ticin to his left, and Hannibal the same river to his right. Yet, that the battle was fought on the west side of the Ticin, we have Livy's own authority. He makes Scipio's march, in order to meet Hannibal, to have been from Placentia to that river, over which he passed by a bridge, before he gave battle to the Carthaginian. *Ponte perfecto traductus Romanus exercitus in agrum Insubrium,* B. 21. c. 45. And in this he does not disagree with Polybius. Now, if the battle was fought on the west bank of the Ticin, and Scipio had this river to his left, it is evident that the Carthaginians were between him and the Po, and that he could not steal a march to the Po (in the way to Placentia) without first repassing the Ticin; which Hannibal must also have crossed in the pursuit of his enemy to the Po. But not one word is any where said of Hannibal's passing, or attempting to pass, the Ticin. B. 21. c. 39.

* The bridge therefore to which Hannibal came, in pursuit of the Romans, must have been their bridge over the Ticin; at the entrance of which, according to Livy, Scipio had raised a fort, and placed a guard. And it was this guard which Hannibal surprised.

The reason which Polybius assigns for Hannibal's turning back, when he came to the broken bridge, is the distance of the enemy; he heard that the Romans were got a great way off (too far to be overtaken). This furnishes another proof, that the river in question was the Ticin, and not the Po. For as he had determined to pass the Po with all expedition, how could he find a more convenient time to lay his bridge, than when he had no enemies to oppose him? But the distance of the enemy was a good reason why he should not lay a bridge over the Ticin; since this would be only loss of time and labour, and could not in the least further his intention of passing the Po, or coming up with the Romans. And what necessity could he be under of spending two days (as Livy says he did) in search of a convenient place to lay a bridge over the Po, if he was already at that very place where the

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prisoners 600 men who had been left behind to destroy the bridge so soon as the army should be passed. The work was however effected; the boats which had composed the bridge being loosed from one another were floating down the stream; which Hannibal perceiving, and hearing also that the Romans were far advanced in their march, he immediately turned back, went down the Ticin, and then up along the banks of the Po, to find a convenient place where he might lay a bridge of boats over this river. After two days' march, a proper place being found, and the bridge formed, he ordered Asdrubal to lead over the army, while he himself was employed in giving audience to ambassadors come to him from the Gauls of the neighbouring countries, who, after his success at the Ticin, retaining their first design, now offered to join their forces to his, and to furnish him with whatever he wanted.

When the army was all passed, the Carthaginian took his march down the river, and at the end of the second day came within view of the Romans. The third, he drew up his forces in battalia, in the face of the enemy: but finding his challenge not accepted, he retired and pitched his camp about six miles from them.

Polyb. b. 3. c. 67.

At this time certain Gauls, to the number of 2000 foot and 200 horse, who served in the consul's camp, observing the fortunate state of Hannibal's affairs, plotted together to desert to him. After supper they retired to their tents, and there kept quiet till towards daybreak; but then, having suddenly armed themselves, they fell upon the sleeping Romans, who lay nearest to them, slew a great number, and wounded many others; after which they fled out of the camp, carrying with them to Hannibal the heads of those they had slain. The Carthaginian received these traitors

Romans had laid their bridge over that river? Chevalier Folard's translator of Polybius understands him as Livy does. Yet the Chevalier, in his comment, regardless of his text, speaks of the bridge in question as the bridge over the Ticin, tom. 4. p. 129.

kindly, exhorted them to continue their zeal, and promised them rewards proportionable to their services; but, distrusting perhaps their fidelity, he did not enrol them among his troops, but dismissed them to their respective towns and villages, that they might publish among their countrymen the success of his arms, and exhort them to enter into alliance with him. There was in truth little need, for that end, of the exhortations of these emissaries, whose recent treachery alone sufficed to put the rest of the Boii under a necessity of siding with the Carthaginian. A party of them, at this very juncture, brought to Hannibal's camp the three Roman commissioners, whom, contrary to faith given, they had seized at a conference (as was before mentioned), and they put them into his hands. Hannibal, after many kind words and promises to these Gauls, made a treaty with them, and then restored to them the three captives, whom he advised them to keep under strict guard, and to make use of (as they had at first proposed) to recover their hostages from the Romans. Year of ROME 535. B. C. 217. 234th consulship.

Scipio, alarmed at the bloody treason of his Gallic deserters, and not doubting but the Gauls in general would quickly declare themselves in favour of Hannibal, thought it advisable to retire into a country where the friendship of the inhabitants was more to be depended upon. He decamped therefore about three hours after midnight to pass the Trebia,[1] and take post upon the eminences near that river, where he believed the enemy would not have the boldness to attack him. Hannibal, upon notice of this motion of the Romans, detached his Numidian cavalry after them, he himself soon following with the rest of the army. The Numidians, finding the Roman camp deserted, stopped to set fire to it, a delay very fortunate to the Romans, who, had they been overtaken in the plain, and before they had got their baggage over the river, would have been extremely Polyb. b. 3. c. 68.

[1] A small river running northward into the Po, near Placentia.

Year of ROME 535. B.C. 217. 234th consul-ship.

embarrassed. But when the Numidians came up, the main body of the consul's army, together with the baggage, had already passed the stream. There remained on the other side some of his rear-guard only, of which the enemy slew a part, and took the rest prisoners.

The consul, having fortified himself in his new camp, resolved to wait there the arrival of his colleague Sempronius with the troops from Sicily, and, in the mean time, to attend carefully to the cure of his wound, that he might be in a condition to act, when, after the junction of the two armies, a favourable opportunity should present. Hannibal advanced, and pitched his camp about five miles from that of the consul, the Trebia running between them. Great numbers of Gauls from the circumjacent country flocked to the Carthaginian, and supplied him abundantly with arms and provisions.

CHAP. XIX.

The Trebia. 536.

Sempronius, having joined Scipio, and being encouraged by a slight advantage he had gained over a party of the enemy, ventures, notwithstanding the remonstrances of his colleague, to fight a pitched battle with them at the TREBIA. The Roman army is totally defeated, and all the nations of the Gauls declare for Hannibal. The senate make vigorous preparations to support the war. Cn. Servilius and C. Flaminius are raised to the consulate, and the affairs of the republic prosper in Spain, under the direction of Cn. Scipio. Hannibal, to gain friends in Italy, dismisses, without ransom, all those of his prisoners who are of the Roman allies. Dreading the levity of the Gauls, he crosses the Apennines, and enters Hetruria through the marshes, where his army suffers extremely, and he himself loses one of his eyes.

Polyb. b. 3. c. 68.

WHEN the news came to Rome of the action upon the Ticin, though the public expectation was much disappointed by the ill success, yet they endeavoured to account for it by reasons that would leave no discouragement upon their minds. Some imputed the misfortune to rashness in the consul, stimulated by too eager a desire of fighting: others to perfidy in the Gauls of his army, whom they supposed to have designedly suffered themselves to be vanquished; a conjecture founded on the subsequent treachery of some of their countrymen; and as the Roman infantry remained unbroken, no dan-

ger to the republic was yet apprehended, from a defeat which the horse alone had sustained. The arrival of Sempronius, from Sicily, at Ariminum, with his legions, confirmed this confidence. It was imagined, that when these had joined the forces of Scipio, the very appearance of so powerful an army would alone be sufficient to put the Carthaginians to flight. Year of ROME 535. B.C. 217. 234th consulship.

Sempronius marched with all diligence from Ariminum to join his colleague. Having pitched his camp near him, and refreshed his legions, which had been fatigued by their voyage[m] and march from Lilybæum to Ariminum, which took up forty days, he gave orders to get all things ready for battle. While these preparations were going forward, he made frequent visits to Scipio, inquiring of him all the circumstances of the late action upon the Ticin, and consulting with him upon future measures.

In the mean time Hannibal found means to get possession of Clastidium, a small town on the confines of Liguria, where the Romans had formed a magazine of arms and provisions. To give an impression of his clemency, and engage more of his enemies to have recourse to it, he treated the garrison with all gentleness. And as the governor had betrayed the place to him, he most richly rewarded him, in hopes thereby to allure other officers intrusted by the Romans to the like treachery. Polyb. b. 3. c. 69.

Soon after this, having notice that certain Gauls, who inhabited between the Trebia and the Po, and who had made alliance with him, continued nevertheless (that they might have refuge in all events) to hold a secret correspondence with the enemy, he detached 2000 foot and 1000 horse to pillage and lay waste their lands. His orders were punctually executed, and the booty proved considerable—the plundered Gauls flocking to the Roman intrenchments to ask succour.

[m] Livy sends the troops of Sempronius, all the way from Lilybæum to Ariminum, by sea. Polybius represents them traversing the city of Rome, and marching from thence to Ariminum.

Year of ROME 535. B. C. 217. 234th consulship.

Sempronius, who had impatiently waited an occasion of fighting, seized this pretext. He sent out the greater part of his cavalry with a thousand light-armed foot, who, expeditiously passing the Trebia, attacked the pillagers that were carrying off the booty, put them to flight, and obliged them to retire within their intrenchments. But a vigorous sally being made from thence, the pursuers were repulsed, and obliged in their turn to fly to their camp. Hereupon Sempronius put all his cavalry and all his light-armed troops in motion, so that the enemy were once more forced to retire. Hannibal, who was not prepared for a general action, and who thought it not the part of a prudent commander to hazard one lightly, and without a premeditated design, contented himself with stopping the flight of his men, and making them face about. He forbade them by his officers, and by his trumpets, either to charge or pursue the enemy; who, after they had continued some time upon the place, retreated to their camp.

Polyb. b. 3. c. 70.

The loss of men had not been very considerable on either side; but as the Romans had lost fewer than the Carthaginians, Sempronius, much elated with this trivial advantage, could think of nothing now but a decisive action. Nevertheless, he continued to observe the decency of advising with his colleague. Scipio's opinion was, that in prudence they ought to avoid fighting, till the troops, having been trained and exercised during the winter, might more reasonably be depended upon than at present: he added, that the Gauls were naturally too fickle and inconstant to keep long in friendship with the Carthaginian, and would infallibly turn against him, if they found him out of a condition to enterprise any thing of importance; and he therefore entreated Sempronius to lay aside, for some time, all thoughts of a general battle; an occasion in which (he modestly added) he himself, when his wound was healed, might perhaps be of some use. Sempronius could not but be sensible

that this advice was judicious; but his passion to distinguish himself overpowering his reason, and begetting a confidence of success, he, notwithstanding the repeated remonstrances of his colleague, bent his whole mind to bring on a general action as soon as possible; that so neither Scipio's cure, nor the election of new consuls (the time for which drew near), might prevent his acquiring the sole glory of finishing the war. And thus, says Polybius, as he considered not what was seasonable for the public, but for himself, it was impossible but he must take wrong measures. Year of ROME 535. B. C. 217. 234th consulship.

Hannibal formed the same judgment as Scipio, upon the situation of things, and was therefore no less desirous than Sempronius of coming to a decisive battle without delay. He was well aware of his present advantages in the favourable disposition of the Gauls to him, the inexperience of the Roman troops, and the inability of Scipio to be in the action. But his strongest motive was, the necessity an invader is under of being almost incessantly active, and of performing repeated exploits, if he would preserve to himself the esteem, and keep alive the hopes, of his confederates.

The Carthaginian had viewed and fully examined the ground between the two armies. It was an open plain, through which ran a winding rivulet. The banks of this small stream being pretty high, and also thick set with bushes and brambles, Hannibal perceived that it was easy not only for foot, but even for horsemen, to be there concealed. Having imparted to his chief officers the design he had formed, and finding it universally approved, he after supper sent for his brother Mago, a young man of great spirit, and a good soldier, and directed him to choose out 100 horse and 100 foot of the bravest men in the army, and to bring them before night to his tent. This done, and the general having exhorted the 200 to behave themselves gallantly in the post he should assign them, he bid each man go and choose out Polyb. b. 3. c. 71.

Year of ROME 535. B.C. 217. 234th consul-ship.

of the corps to which he belonged, nine others, such as he knew to be the stoutest soldiers in it, and then to repair to him at a certain place in the camp. The whole number came, 1000 horse and 1000 foot. He furnished them with guides, and under the conduct of his brother, to whom he signified the time when they should fall upon the enemy, sent them to the place he had chosen for the ambush.

The next morning, at day-break, he assembled his Numidian cavalry, a hardy people, inured to fatigue; and when he had promised ample rewards to every one that should distinguish himself in the discharge of his duty, he ordered them instantly to pass the Trebia, brave the enemy in their camp, skirmish with them if they sallied out, and, in skirmishing, retire and repass the river.

Hannibal's view in making this movement so early in the morning, was to provoke the Romans to an engagement while they were yet fasting, thoughtless of fighting, and unprepared for it.

Polyb. b. 3. c. 72.

Sempronius no sooner saw the Numidians approach, but he sent out his cavalry to attack them. The cavalry were followed by 6000 dartmen; and the general himself not long after came out of his intrenchment with all the rest of his army. His numerous forces, and the light advantage he had gained the day before, made him vain enough to think, that there needed little more than his appearance in the field to secure the victory.

It was yet winter, it snowed, the weather was extremely cold, and the soldiers had begun their march before they had eaten any thing to sustain them. And, therefore, though they moved forward briskly at first, and with an eager desire of fighting, yet when they came to ford the river, which, being swelled by the rain of the night before, was breast high, they began to shrink; and when they had waded through it (the day being then pretty far advanced) they found themselves extremely

pinched and weakened both with cold and hunger; whereas, on the other hand, the Carthaginians had, by Hannibal's order, taken a good repast in their tents, rubbed themselves with oil, and put on their arms before the fire. Year of ROME 535 B. C. 217. 234th consulship.

When Hannibal perceived that the Romans had passed the Trebia, which was the favourable moment he had waited for, he instantly sent out to the succour of his Numidians, the slingers of the Baleares, and his other light-armed infantry to the number of 8000; after which he led forth his main army. His foot consisted of 20,000 men, Gauls, Spaniards, and Africans. His cavalry, including the Gauls, his allies, amounted to above 10,000. He drew up the whole horse and foot, in one line, about a mile from his camp, posting the horse on the wings. His elephants he placed before the points of his body of infantry.

In the mean time, Sempronius, by a signal, called off his cavalry that were fatiguing themselves to little purpose against the Numidians. For it was the custom of these to attack briskly; then on a sudden break their ranks, turn their backs and fly; and presently after return to the charge in as good order and with as much boldness as at first: a manner of fighting, which being entirely new to the Roman cavalry, perplexed and disconcerted them.

The consul's infantry consisted of 16,000 Roman legionaries,[n] and 20,000 foot of the allies. He formed his battle after the usual manner of the Romans, the infantry in three lines, and the horse, amounting to 4000, upon the wings. In this order he advanced slowly towards the enemy. The light-armed troops on both sides began the action, much to the advantage of the Carthaginians; for the dartmen of the Romans having suffered cold and hunger ever since the morning, and Polyb. b. 3. c. 73.

[n] Livy says, 18,000. He adds, that the consul's army was strengthened by a body of the Cenomani, the only nation of the Gauls that continued faithful to the Romans.

Year of ROME 535. B. C. 217. 234th consul-ship.

having spent the most of their darts against the Numidians, were by no means a match for those of Hannibal, who had but just left their camp, well armed, fresh, and vigorous.

When these skirmishing troops had retired through the intervals of the respective armies to which they belonged, a general charge ensued. The Roman cavalry being soon routed and driven from their ground by the superior numbers of the Carthaginians, left the wings of their infantry exposed to be attacked in flank. The Numidians, who had been employed to provoke the battle, and the light-armed troops who had begun it, were ready on the part of Hannibal for this service, having, after their retreat, posted themselves to the right and left behind the Carthaginian cavalry; falling furiously therefore on the two wings of the Roman infantry in flank, they put them into great disorder, and disabled them from defending themselves against the elephants, that attacked them in front. These wings, utterly broken and put to flight, were chased into the river.

Polyb. b. 3. c. 74.

At the same time, the 2000 men who had lain in ambush in the brook before mentioned, came out, and fell upon the rear of the Roman legions in the centre, which caused a terrible confusion there. The foremost ranks of this centre were the only troops of the consul's army that could keep their ground. They fought a long time with undaunted bravery, against the heavy-armed forces of the enemy, and at length, urged by necessity, broke their way through them with great slaughter. But seeing that their wings were defeated, and not thinking themselves able either to succour them, or to return to their camp, by reason of the enemy's numerous horse, and the river, that were in the way, they formed themselves into a close compact body to the number of 10,000, and took the direct road to Placentia. Hither they retreated, without the least danger or opposition; and they were followed by all those of the

rout, horse and foot, that could escape out of the field without passing the river. Of the remainder of the Roman army, some had the good fortune to get safely over the stream to their camp; but the greater part perished on the banks of it, either trodden down by the elephants or slain by the horse. The Carthaginians pursued the enemy no farther than to the river, which the rigour of the season restrained them from passing. They returned to their intrenchments. Their victory was complete, and their loss inconsiderable. A few only of the Africans and Spaniards remained upon the field; the Gauls suffered most. Yet after this victory the Carthaginians, through the inclemency of the weather, lost a great number both of men and horses; and of the elephants all died but one.° Year of ROME 535. B. C. 217. 234th consulship.

As for the consul Scipio, and those that were with him, they stole away from their camp, the very night after the battle, crossed the Trebia upon boats or upon rafts, and got safe to Placentia; the enemy either not perceiving their flight, or not being able to pursue them, for cold and weariness. Livy, b. 21. c. 56. Polyb. b. 3. c. 75.

Sempronius, to conceal the shame of his defeat, sent messengers to Rome, whose tidings imported only, that there had been a battle, and that the severity of the weather had snatched the victory out of his hands. This report passed currently at first, but the true situation of affairs was quickly known; that the Roman forces had been utterly vanquished; that the routed had fled to the neighbouring colonies for refuge; that Scipio after his flight to Placentia, not to ruin that place by keeping too great a number of soldiers there, had crossed the Po with his part of the army, and retired to Cremona; Livy, b. 21. c. 56.

° Livy, b. 21. c. 58. speaks of seven elephants that after this time perished of cold, in a fruitless attempt which Hannibal made to pass the Apennines, being forced back from the top of those hills by a hurricane. The same author relates a battle that presently followed Hannibal's return into the plains, and was terminated by the night's coming on, when there had been no great slaughter on either side. Polybius says nothing of all this, and there is nothing of probability in the story, but a good deal of poetry.

Year of ROME 535. B.C. 217. that the troops had no provisions but what were brought by sea and up the Po; and, lastly, that all the nations of the Gauls had declared for Hannibal.

234th consulship. The people of Rome were yet in their first fright and consternation at all this bad news, when Sempronius himself, after escaping many dangers from the enemy's cavalry that were dispersed in parties over the country, arrived in the city. His business was to hold the *comitia*, by centuries, for electing new consuls.

Notwithstanding the late disasters and present distress, party favour had a greater share in the elections, than a due regard to the exigences of the state. For with Cn. Servilius was raised to the consulate C. Flaminius, a rash, hot-headed man, who, when in the same station six years before, had signalized himself by his disobedience to the senate, and his contempt of religion.

Sec. b. 4. c. 14. His merit with the people, and what now procured him the fasces, was his having been the only man of the conscript fathers, that assisted in promoting a law, which

Livy, b. 21. c. 63. enacted that no senator, nor father of a senator, should have a ship at sea carrying above eight tons or thereabouts. A vessel of that burden was thought sufficient for transporting to Rome the produce of any man's lands; and it was intended by this law to confine commerce to the plebeians.

Sempronius's year not being yet expired, he immediately after the elections returned to his winter quarters at Placentia.

Polyb. b. 3. c. 75. The senate provided for the next campaign. They made new levies amongst the allies, ordered troops into Sicily and Sardinia, put garrisons into Tarentum, and other places where they were most wanted, and sent provisions to Ariminum and into Hetruria; through which country the army was to march against Hannibal. They also dispatched ambassadors to ask assistance of king Hiero, who furnished them with 500 Cretan archers, and 1000 other light-armed soldiers. And

lest the Carthaginians should from Africa attempt to land troops in Italy, they equipped sixty quinquiremes to guard the coast. In a word, they omitted nothing that was necessary for carrying on the war with the utmost vigour, it being the peculiar character of the Romans, says Polybius, that they are then most to be feared when they are most afraid. Year of ROME 535. B.C. 217. 234th consulship.

On the side of Spain all was safe; for in that country, during the late unfortunate campaign in Italy, the arms of the republic, under the conduct of Cn. Scipio, had prospered beyond expectation. He had entirely defeated Hanno, the Carthaginian general, and reduced almost all the nations between the Iberus and the Pyrenees to the obedience of Rome. Polyb. b. 3. c. 76. See b. 4. c. 17. Livy, b. 21. c. 57.

As for Hannibal, he did not remain inactive after his victory at the Trebia. Wounded and repulsed in an attack upon one town belonging to the Romans, he assaulted and took another called Victumviæ, in Insubria, and gave it up to be plundered by the soldiers.

The Carthaginian, during his winter quarters among the Gauls, with whose levity he was well acquainted, and who, he feared, might repent of their newly-contracted alliance with him, is said to have put in practice some of his Punic arts, to preserve himself from their snares. He not only wore false hair, but at different times the habits of different ages, frequently changing his dress in order to disguise himself. And because the Gauls were extremely dissatisfied that their country continued to be the seat of the war, and were impatiently desirous (from a hatred, as they pretended, to the Romans, but in truth, from an eagerness to enrich themselves with plunder) of being led into the territories of the allies of Rome, he resolved to pass as soon as possible over the Apennines into Hetruria. Just before he entered upon this expedition, he assembled all his captives that were of the Roman allies, and when he had assured them that he was come into Italy, not as their Polyb. b. 3. c. 78.

Year of ROME 535. B. C. 217 enemy, but their friend, to restore them to liberty, and to the possession of the towns which the Romans had taken from them; and when he had exhorted them to join with him in the common cause, and to engage their countrymen to do the same, he dismissed them all without ransom.

234th consulship. Polyb. b. 3. c. 77. c. 78. After this, having made inquiry about the several roads into Hetruria, he learned that there was one much shorter than any of the rest, but very difficult to pass, as it led through marshy grounds; the other roads more easy, but known to the enemy, and in their possession. Hannibal, for these reasons, or perhaps because he had naturally a turn for those dangerous enterprises, which are apt to raise men's admiration of a general, and strike his enemies with terror, chose the difficult road, which was now rendered more so by the overflowing of the Arnus. Having passed the Apennines, he entered the marshes. His Africans and Spaniards, who were inured to this sort of fatigue, and who marched first, went into the water without hesitation, and kept their order. The Gauls had more difficulty (the way being made much worse by the multitudes of men and beasts of burden that had gone before them), and many of them were killed with the fatigue: for, to add to the distress, they were obliged to march thus in mire and water four days together, with but very little sleep, such as they could get lying upon their baggage, or upon the beasts which had carried it, and had perished in the mud. Hannibal himself was not without his share of the inconveniences of this march, for though he rode upon an elephant (the only one remaining), his continual watchings, and the unwholesome damps, brought such a defluxion upon his eyes that he lost one of them. When he was come out of the marshes, he halted for some days, that he might refresh his army, and inquire into the situation of the country, the strength and designs of the enemy, and the character and disposition of their general.

Livy, b. 22. c. 2. Polyb b. 3. c. 16. c. 80.

CHAP. XX.

THE SECOND YEAR OF THE WAR.

Flaminius, raised to the consulship by the favour of the people, fears lest the augurs should declare his election invalid. Neglecting, therefore, the usual ceremonies of religion, he hastens to Ariminum, where he takes upon him the command of the forces, and from thence, at the head of four legions, marches to Aretium in Hetruria.—Hannibal lays an ambush for him on the banks of the lake Thrasymenus, and routs his whole army. The consul himself is slain in the action; and a few days after, a body of 4000 horse, that had been sent to his assistance, fall into the hands of the enemy. Rome, terrified at these misfortunes, names Q. Fabius Maximus to be pro-dictator, and appoints Minucius Rufus to be his general of the horse. Hannibal, in the mean time, ravages Italy quite to Apulia. Thither Fabius follows him, but keeps on the hills, and declines a general engagement. The Carthaginian, to provoke him to fight, pillages the fine country of Campania. Hannibal, by a stratagem, deceives Fabius, who imagined that the Carthaginian would not be able to get out of Campania, a country surrounded partly by high mountains and partly by the sea. The cautious circumspective conduct of Fabius giving offence at Rome, the *comitia* divide the command of the army between him and his general of the horse. Minucius, now at the head of half the troops, and proud of an advantage he had gained in an encounter with the enemy, descends into the plain, hazards a battle with Hannibal, and is on the point of being totally routed; but Fabius rescues him from danger. The two brothers, Publius and Cneius Scipio, in the mean time, carry on the war with success in Spain, where the hostages, which Carthage had obliged the Spaniards to give her, are betrayed into the hands of the Romans.

The lake Thrasymenus.

FLAMINIUS, as was before observed, had obtained the consulship by the favour of the people, contrary to the inclinations of the senate.—Being apprehensive that the augurs, influenced by his enemies, would, to render his election invalid, pretend some defect in the auspices, he took a bold unprecedented step, left Rome without performing the usual ceremonies of religion, went straight to Ariminum (where he had ordered the army to rendezvous), and was there invested in the consulate. The senate, highly offended at this proceeding, sent two of their body to recall him to Rome, that he might perform those ceremonies which he had despised. But the consul paid no regard to their orders. At the head of four legions (two of which he received from Sempronius, and the other two from the prætor Atilius) he crossed the Apennines, and encamped his army under the walls of Aretium in Hetruria: and there he still was when Hannibal came out of the marshes.

Year of ROME 536. B.C. 216. 235th consulship. Livy, b. 21: c. 63.

The Carthaginian having learned that Flaminius's chief talent was haranguing the people, in whose assemblies he was a leading man, but that he wanted the skill

Polyb. b. 3. c. 80. 82.

Year of ROME 536. B.C. 216. 235th consulship.

for conducting a war, was of a hasty disposition, easy to be inflamed, and confident of his own abilities, did not doubt but he should be able, by provoking his high spirit, to lead him whithersoever he pleased. With this view, having put his army in march, he laid waste, before the consul's eyes, the fertile fields of Hetruria, and, in seeming contempt of him, passed by his camp at Aretium, and advanced nearer to Rome, as if he intended to carry on his devastations to the walls of the capital. Flaminius beheld the lands of Cortona (one of the most considerable cities of Hetruria) in a flame behind him. Enraged at being thus insulted by Hannibal, he immediately called a council of war, but would not listen to his officers, who advised him to continue in his camp till he was joined by his colleague, and in the mean time content himself with sending out strong parties to hinder the enemy from ravaging the country. He rushed out from the council in great wrath, and gave orders for marching. And when word was brought him that one of the standards stuck so fast in the ground that they could not pull it out, he asked the messenger whether he had not likewise brought letters from the senate forbidding him to fight. He added, "Since fear has not left the soldiers strength enough in their hands to pull up the standard, bid them dig it up." He then began his march, with a full resolution to fight Hannibal as soon as he could overtake him. And though his officers were greatly dissatisfied, yet the common soldiers applauded the confidence of their general, who to such an extravagant height had raised the hopes of the vulgar, that an immense number of them followed the camp in expectation of booty, and went loaded with chains for the multitude of enemies that were to be taken prisoners.

Livy, b. 22. c. 4.

c. 3.

Polyb. b. 3. c. 82.

Hannibal was pursuing his march in the way towards Rome, having the lake Thrasymenus (now Lago di Perugia) close on his right, and the town of Cortona

at some distance on his left, when he learnt that the consul was following him. Upon this advice, he turned his thoughts to seek out a convenient spot of ground, where he might draw the enemy into an ambuscade. Nor was it long before he found a place fit for his purpose. He came to a valley, which, extending lengthways from the lake to a hill very steep and difficult of access, was lined on the two sides by ridges of little hills. Upon the steep hill Hannibal posted himself, with his Africans and Spaniards in open view. Behind the ridge of hills, on the right of the valley, he placed in a long line the Baleares and other light-armed infantry; and, behind that, on the left, his cavalry and the Gauls, who formed a line, the extremity of which reached to a narrow pass, whereby he had entered the valley. These dispositions being made in the beginning of the night, he continued the remaining part of it in quiet and silence in his camp. Year of ROME 536. B. C. 216. 235th consulship.

It was late before the consul arrived at the lake; he therefore encamped that night by the side of it. But, next morning, by break of day, without examining the ground, he marched into the valley through the pass before mentioned. As soon as Hannibal was apprised that the Roman army was entered, and that their vanguard was not far from him, he gave orders for a general onset. So thick a fog from the lake at this time covered the valley, that the Romans found themselves attacked in front, flank, and rear, almost before they saw the enemy. Many of them were slain in the order of their march, not having had time to form themselves for battle: and so closely was the greater part hemmed in, that they could neither fight nor fly:[h] 15,000 were slaughtered in the valley, among whom was the consul Flaminius. Great numbers being pushed into the lake,

[h] Livy and Plutarch tell us that this battle was fought with so much eagerness and fury on both sides, that the combatants were not sensible of an earthquake, which happened during the engagement, and which ruined many cities in Italy, overturned mountains, and changed the course of rivers. Livy, b. 22. c. 5. Plut. Life of Fabius.

Year of ROME 536. B.C. 216. perished there. A body of 6000 men forced their way through the enemy. Could those brave legionaries have seen (says Polybius) what passed, they might, by facing about, and falling upon the backs of the Carthaginians, have given a turn to the fortune of the day. But they expecting to encounter new enemies, continued advancing on till they arrived at the summit of a hill; from which, when the fog was dispersed, seeing the total defeat of the rest of the army, they retreated to a neighbouring village. The Carthaginian general detached Maharbal after them with a large body of horse and foot, to whom they surrendered next day upon a promise of their lives, and, if we may credit Livy, their liberties: whence he takes occasion to reproach Hannibal with breach of faith, because when the next day he had assembled all his prisoners to the number of 15,000, and had separated the Romans from the other Italians, he delivered the former to his soldiers, to be kept in chains, and released only the latter. Polybius tells us, that Hannibal declared he did not think himself bound by the promise which Maharbal had made, as being without authority from him; but then, according to the same historian, that promise was only of their lives, which, if true, Hannibal cannot on this occasion be charged with breach of faith, whether he was in reality bound by Maharbal's promise or not. The loss on the side of the Carthaginians amounted only to 1500 men, most of them Gauls.

235th consulship.

B. 22. c. 6.

B. 3. c. 83

The first report of the defeat of the Roman army spread an unspeakable consternation in Rome. The people flocked in crowds to the Forum, calling upon their magistrates to give them an account of the battle. It being impossible for these to conceal or disguise the truth for any long time, the prætor Pomponius, towards sunset, mounted the rostra. All he said was, "We are vanquished in a great battle." And the people, little accustomed to misfortunes in war, much less to hear their magistrates plainly and publicly own that they

were conquered, could not bear this so heavy a calamity with patience and moderation. In this universal dejection the senators alone preserved their steadiness. The prætors assembled them, and kept them sitting several days together from sunrising to sunset. Before they came to any fixed resolution in what manner to oppose the conqueror, they were alarmed with the news of a second defeat. The consul Servilius having heard at Ariminum that Flaminius was following Hannibal with an intention to give him battle, had detached C. Centenius with 4000 horse to strengthen the Roman army. But this reinforcement had come too late. And Hannibal, after the action, hearing of Centenius's approach, had sent Maharbal, with the light-armed foot, and part of the cavalry, to encounter him. Near 2000 Romans were killed in the engagement; the rest fled to a rising ground, but, being invested by the enemy, were next day obliged to surrender. Year of ROME 536. B.C. 216. 235th consulship.

It was thought by the senate that the present exigencyrequired a magistrate with dictatorial authority. Yet, because there was no precedent of the people's naming a dictator, and because their only consul, Servilius, to whom that nomination legally belonged, was absent, and all communication between him and Rome cut off by the enemy, it was agreed that the *comitia* should create a magistrate, whose authority should be superior to the consular, but somewhat inferior to the dictatorial; and that he should be styled pro-dictator. Fabius Maximus was the person pitched upon; and the only privilege he seems to have wanted of those belonging to a dictator, was that of naming his general of the horse. To this office the people appointed M. Minucius Rufus, a young man much in their favour.. Fabius was a senator distinguished for the coolness of his temper, and the great caution with which he proceeded in all his actions. He was as wary and circumspect in his conduct as Sempronius and Flaminius had been rash

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and impetuous. The pro-dictator began the exercise of his office by acts of religion. The Sibylline books were consulted, to know the causes of the present calamities: and the guardians of those oracles declared, that the misfortunes of the republic were owing to the undue performance of a vow to Mars; that it ought to be repeated, and four new vows made to several deities, besides a dedication to Jupiter, of all the pigs, lambs, kids, and calves, which should be produced in one spring. This last required the authority of the people; the other was made by the proper magistrates. This done, Fabius and Minucius immediately applied themselves to repair the fortifications of the city. They also posted guards in proper places, caused the bridges over the rivers to be broken down, and sent orders to the people all over the country through which it was thought Hannibal would pass, to burn their houses, destroy the fruits of the ground, and retire into places of strength and safety.

Livy, b. 22

Before the pro-dictator took the field, he advised with the senate concerning the troops that should serve under him. They allotted him the army of Servilius, and decreed that he should make what new levies he pleased, either at Rome or amongst the allies. Fabius raised but two new legions, which having commanded to repair to Tibur upon the Anio, he set out for Oriculum, a city of Umbria, there to meet the troops from Ariminum, under the consul Servilius. These forces he himself led to Tibur, where he was joined by the new recruits. And having been informed that a Carthaginian fleet had taken, near the coast of Hetruria, some Roman ships of burden, which were carrying provisions to the army in Spain, he sent the consul Servilius to equip with all diligence what vessels were at Rome and Ostia, and with them to take upon him the guard of the coast of Italy. After these regulations, Fabius began his march towards Hannibal, in which he proceeded with

great caution, carefully searching all the places through which the army was to pass. Year of ROME 536. B. C. 216.

The Carthaginian, immediately after the defeat of Centenius, had led his army through Umbria and Picenum to the territory of Adria, a considerable town on the Adriatic, destroying the country wherever he passed, and putting to the sword all the Romans he found in his way that were able to bear arms; such was his hatred to the Roman name. Here he halted for some time, because the country abounded with good provisions and store of old wines, which served to recruit the strength of his exhausted troops, who had contracted distempers from bad food, and the fatigues they had undergone. He armed his Africans after the Roman manner, out of the spoils he had taken from the enemy. And being now near the sea, for the first time since his coming into Italy, he laid hold of the opportunity, and sent to Carthage an account of his success. Then, having ravaged the territories of Asculum and Adria, he proceeded to the countries of the Prætutiani, the Marsi, the Marucini, the Peligni, and Frentani. Last of all he entered Apulia, and was laying waste this country, when Fabius arrived, and pitched his camp upon the hills near Æce,[1] within six miles of him. Hannibal instantly led his army to the Roman intrenchments, and offered battle to the enemy. But the prodictator remaining quiet in his camp, the Carthaginian, after waiting some time, drew off his men, openly reproaching the Romans (says Livy), that at length their martial spirit was broken, that the war was at an end, and that they plainly owned themselves vanquished. Nevertheless, he was inwardly grieved to find he had to do with a general very different from Sempronius and Flaminius, and was much more afraid of Fabius's prudence than his strength. He had not yet tried his constancy. To provoke him to battle, he made frequent

235th consulship.

Polyb. b. 3. c. 86.

B. 22. c. 12.

[1] A town on the borders of Apulia.

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incursions into the countries of the Roman allies, and destroyed them with fire and sword; employing likewise all his arts, by sudden marches and counter-marches, to ensnare him. All was to no purpose; he could neither surprise Fabius, nor make him leave his hills, where he kept himself continually on his guard against so active an enemy. He did not suffer his soldiers to stir out of their camp, except in large bodies; he followed the Carthaginians, but at a considerable distance, because he would on no account hazard a pitched battle; yet he had frequent skirmishes with the enemy, and intercepted such parties of them as ventured too far from their camp. And indeed this was the surest method to ruin Hannibal. The Romans were in no danger of wanting men or provisions in their own country; whereas the Carthaginian could only subsist by pillage, and when his men dropped off, had but small opportunities of recruiting. While the pro-dictator was thus baffling his enemy, he had the continual murmurs of his general of the horse, and of his soldiers, to contend with. Minucius being a favourite of the people, and ambitious of the chief command, openly accused Fabius of real cowardice concealed under the appearance of prudence. But neither the invectives of this seditious man, nor the fresh devastations of Hannibal, who passed over the Apennines into Samnium, could make him alter his wise measures.

The Carthaginian, having ravaged Samnium, and taken the town of Telesia, resolved to penetrate into Campania, one of the finest countries in the world, and at the same time the most inaccessible: except on one side, where it is bounded by the sea, it is encompassed by a chain of high mountains, through which there are but three passes, and those very narrow and difficult. It was a bold step in Hannibal, to undertake this expedition in sight of a Roman army commanded by an expert general; but he had his reasons for it. He would

thereby either force the enemy to a battle, or shew plainly to the neighbouring nations that he was master of all the open country; by which means he hoped to draw over some of the towns to his party, not one of which had hitherto fallen off from the republic. Add to this, that the cities of Campania were the richest of any in Italy, and their trade the most considerable. Hannibal entered Campania by a pass at the foot of Mount Callicula,* near the Vulturnus,[r] and encamped on the banks of that river. Fabius was indeed surprised at the boldness of the Carthaginian, but Minucius and the rest of the army, transported with rage at the being thus insulted, impatiently demanded to be led to battle, insomuch that the pro-dictator was forced to pretend the same eagerness to fight, and march with much greater expedition than usual. But when he came near the enemy, he returned to his former conduct, encamped upon Mount Massicus, and from thence quietly beheld the Carthaginian army gathering the fruits and rich harvests of the Falernian fields. This so provoked his soldiers, that they called him in derision the pedagogue of Hannibal. And Minucius, joining in the insolent raillery, said, their general had chosen for them a fine theatre, from whence they might conveniently behold the ravages of Italy. He then asked the friends of Fabius, whether the pro-dictator did not think the earth an unsafe place for him, and was therefore going to pitch his camp in heaven, and cover himself with the clouds.—When these things were told Fabius, he only replied, that he should indeed be more cowardly than they made him, if he changed his resolution through fear of idle railleries or reproaches. He added, "It is

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* Polybius calls it Eribanus

Plut. Life of Fabius.

[r] Livy tells us, (b 22. c. 13) that Hannibal designed to enter Campania by a pass near Casinum, a town of Latium, beyond the Liris, because, by guarding that pass, he was told he might prevent the Romans from assisting their allies But the Carthaginians not pronouncing the word Casinum well, his guides thought he had said Casilinum, and accordingly led him to that town, which was situated on the Vulturnus, at the foot of Mount Callicula. Hannibal was so enraged at the mistake, that he immediately ordered the chief of his guides to be crucified, for a terror to the rest.

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no inglorious thing, to fear for the safety of our country. That man is not fit to rule others who will be influenced by foolish calumnies, or subject himself and his government to the caprice of those whom he ought to command." Fabius continued the same conduct the whole summer, though he was not ignorant that his caution was blamed at Rome as well as in the army.

Livy, b. 22. c. 15.

Hannibal despaired of bringing the Romans to a battle, and therefore having got an immense booty, he began now to look out for a place in which to secure it, and where he might likewise take up his winter quarters; for though Campania abounded with fruits and wine, it yielded not corn sufficient to subsist a numerous army for any considerable time. For these reasons, Hannibal began to draw towards the pass by which he had entered this country. Fabius perceiving his design, detached 4000 men to seize the strait, which being commanded by Mount Callicula, he encamped the rest of his army towards the top of that hill. From thence he sent a garrison into Casilinum, a town on the Vulturnus, on the other side the pass, and ordered L. Hostilius Mancinus, with 400 horse, to observe the enemy. This young officer, rashly engaging with a party of Numidians, was himself slain, together with the greatest part of the detachment. The same day Minucius joined Fabius. He had been sent to guard a pass at Terracina, a city of Latium, to hinder Hannibal from penetrating that way into the territory of Rome.[a]

Polyb. b. 3. c. 92.

Livy, b. 22. c. 15.

Polyb. b. 3. c. 93.

The Carthaginian, not being able to dislodge Fabius, contrived the following stratagem to be executed in the night. Being encamped at the foot of Mount Callicula, he ordered Asdrubal to pick out 2000 of the strongest oxen, to cause faggots of dry wood to be tied to their horns, and then to keep the cattle with the herdsmen

[a] Hannibal, according to Livy, advanced towards Fabius, and sent his light-horse to try once more to provoke him to battle. But though the pro-dictator had greatly the advantage of the ground, he would not hazard a general action, but contented himself with skirmishing with the enemy's cavalry, of whom he killed 800, with the loss of only 200 of his own men.

ready without the camp. After supper, when all things were quiet, the oxen were brought to the foot of an eminence not far from the pass that was guarded by the 4000 Romans. Upon a signal given, the wood on the horns of those beasts was set on fire, and the herdsmen, who had been instructed to drive them if possible to the top of the eminence, immediately set out, being followed by the light-armed infantry. These had orders to assist the herdsmen as long as the cattle kept together, but upon their dispersing to seize the top of the hill, making as great a noise as they could, and be in readiness to defend themselves in case they were attacked by the enemy. In the mean time Hannibal led his army to the very entrance of the pass. The Africans marched first, next followed the cavalry, then the booty, and, last of all, the Spaniards and Gauls. The Roman detachment seeing the fires approach the top of the eminence, thought Hannibal was endeavouring to escape that way; they therefore left the pass in all haste, and marched up in order to oppose him. But as they came nearer the cattle, which now were running up and down, firing the bushes wherever they went, they knew not what to think of these lights, their imaginations suggesting to them a thousand fears. In this perplexity they began to skirmish with the Carthaginians on the top of the hill, but the cattle running in among the combatants, separated them; after which both parties continued quiet waiting for day-light. Fabius was surprised at what he saw, but suspecting it to be some stratagem of the enemy, would not stir from his camp, lest he should be entrapped, or, contrary to his intention, be forced to hazard a general action. Hannibal finding the pass open, marched safely through it, with his army and baggage; but that his light-armed foot might not be overpowered by the Romans on the eminence, he, as soon as it was day, sent his Spaniards to their assistance, who brought off the detachment, with the slaughter of 1000

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of the enemy. The Carthaginian continued his march to the neighbourhood of Alifæ, a city on the confines of Samnium and Campania.

Livy, b. 22. c. 18.

Fabius, though rallied by his soldiers for being thus overreached, kept steady to his first resolution; he marched directly after Hannibal, but encamped on the eminences near him. The latter having again pillaged Samnium and the country of the Peligni, returned to Apulia, where he took Geronium, the houses of which he turned into granaries, and pitched his camp under the walls. From thence he sent out two-thirds of his army to forage; part of the remainder he kept to guard the camp, and the rest he disposed in different stations to protect his foragers. As these were in great number, and the country was very fertile, vast quantities of provisions were brought in daily. The pro-dictator, continuing to follow him, at length encamped in the territory of Larinum, in the country of the Frentani. From thence he was recalled to Rome, to perform a solemn sacrifice, which required his presence. Both the senate and the people were at this time much discontented with him. For beside that his caution had not succeeded to their wishes, Hannibal, by sparing the lands of Fabius, in the general devastation, had rendered him suspected at Rome of holding a secret correspondence with the enemy. And as he had, without consulting the senate, agreed upon an exchange of prisoners with Hannibal, and to purchase the redemption of 247 captives, which the Carthaginian had more than he, the senate refused him the money.—Fabius, determined to keep his word and release his countrymen, directed his son to sell his lands, and paid the sum stipulated. And though most of the prisoners afterward offered to reimburse him their respective ransoms, he would not consent to it.

Plut. Life of Fabius.

Polyb. b. 3. c. 94.

Fabius, upon his leaving the army, had advised, entreated, and, by his authority, commanded, his general of the horse not to fight during his absence. But Mi-

nucius, even while the pro-dictator was making his exhortation, had his thoughts wholly intent upon a battle, which he was determined to hazard the very first opportunity. After Fabius's departure he indeed stayed some time on the hills, in hopes that Hannibal would give him an opportunity of coming to an engagement with him there. But in this being disappointed, he marched down into the plain, and drew nearer the enemy. The Carthaginian upon his approach, leaving one-third of his army to be employed in foraging, advanced with the rest from Geronium to meet him. Between the two camps there was a rising ground, that would be very commodious to which ever party should possess it. A detachment of 2000 Carthaginian light-armed troops seized it by night. Minucius the next day drove them from it, and there entrenched his forces. As Hannibal's principal affair at this time was to provide abundantly not only for his men but for his horses, that they might be in good condition for action the next summer; and as the Romans did not for several days stir from their camp, the Carthaginian detached great numbers of his soldiers to forage. Minucius laid hold of this advantage, and marched his legions to the very intrenchments of the enemy, at the same time sending out his horse and the light-armed men, in parties, to attack their foragers, who, being dispersed over the fields, and loaded with booty, could make no resistance. Nor had Hannibal sufficient strength within his camp to venture out against those that assailed it. He was induced to keep upon the defensive, till Asdrubal, informed of the danger by those who had escaped the Roman horse, came from Geronium with 4000 men to the assistance of his general. Upon the arrival of this succour, he sallied out, and Minucius retired. The Carthaginian, fearing lest the Romans should attack his camp at Geronium, and make themselves masters of the plunder and provisions he had laid up in it, returned thither, and

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after this time became more cautious in sending out parties to forage.

235th consulship. Livy, b. 22. c. 25.

When Minucius's success was known at Rome, his friends took advantage of it to extol his bravery and abilities above those of Fabius. M. Metilius, a tribune of the commons, assembled the people, and made a speech to them full of injurious reflections upon Fabius's conduct, and concluded with a motion to give the general of the horse an equal authority with the pro-dictator. The latter thought it to no purpose to defend himself in the assemblies of the people, since he had not a favourable hearing even in the senate. There he endeavoured to convince the fathers that their losses had been owing to the rashness of their generals: and he did not scruple to say, that if the dictatorial power continued in him, he would call Minucius to an account, for disobeying his orders; that he hoped soon to make it evident to all the world, that fortune was of small moment to an able general, and that reason and good conduct sufficed; adding, that for his part, he thought it a greater glory for a general to preserve his army (if he did it without ignominy) than to destroy many thousands of enemies. Having assisted at the sacrifice to which he had been called, and presided at the election of a new consul (M. Atilius Regulus, who was substituted in the room of Flaminius), he left the city the night before the *comitia* were to determine in his affair, that he might not be present at the affront which was going to be put upon him. Next day, when the people were assembled, though they were prejudiced against Fabius, and zealous for Minucius, yet scarce any one had courage enough to harangue them in favour of Metilius's proposal. C. Terentius Varro was the only man that seconded the tribune. Varro was the son of a butcher, had been a shopkeeper, then a pleader, undertaking poor men's causes, right or wrong. By this practice, and by railing at the nobility, he had ingratiated

himself with the multitude, and by their favour obtained successively the offices of quæstor, ædile, and prætor, and was now aiming at the consulship. The motion, in short, was carried, Minucius was put upon an equal foot with Fabius, and the senate confirmed the decree of the people. Year of ROME 536. B.C. 216. 235th consulship.

Fabius being arrived at the camp, it was agreed between him and his late master of the horse, now his colleague, to divide the army equally between them. The former kept on the hills, and Minucius posted himself at the distance of 1500 paces below him. Between the intrenchments of Minucius and those of the Carthaginian at Geronium was an eminence from whence either camp might be annoyed. This post Hannibal resolved to seize, not doubting but Minucius would attempt to dispossess him; and he hoped to draw him into a snare. With this view he had over-night chosen out 5000 foot and 500 horse, divided them into bodies of 200 and 300 men each, and hid them in several cavities at the foot of the hill. And, lest his ambush should happen to be discovered, he, to fix the attention of the Romans another way, sent a detachment to take possession of the eminence as soon as it was light. When Minucius perceived the Carthaginians upon the top of the hill, to dislodge them, he sent first his light-armed foot, then his cavalry, and last of all (seeing that Hannibal sustained his own men by successive detachments) he followed in person with the legions. When the battle became general, the ambush, upon a signal given, rose on all sides. Minucius's army was quickly routed, and would have been entirely destroyed, but that Fabius had too much zeal for his country to let himself be swayed by private resentment. "We must make haste (said he to those that were about him) to rescue Minucius, who is a valiant man, and a lover of his country. And if he has been too forward to engage the enemy, we will tell him of it at another time." Instantly he Polyb. b. 3. c. 103. Plut. Life of Fabius.

Year of ROME 536. B. C. 216. gave orders to march to the relief of his colleague and his routed troops, who at his approach began to rally, and retire to him for protection. Hannibal, seeing a fresh army advancing against him in good order, was obliged to give over the pursuit, and sound a retreat. He is reported to have said to some of his friends while he was retiring, "Have I not often told you, that that cloud which hovered upon the mountains would one day break upon us in a storm?" The Carthaginian, after the battle, having possession of the eminence, fortified it, and placed a guard on it to secure his camp on that side.

235th consulship.

Polyb. b. 3. c. 105. Plut. Life of Fabius.

Minucius and Fabius returned each to his intrenchments. The latter did not drop a word which savoured of contempt for his colleague; and Minucius, now convinced of his error, did justice both to Fabius and himself. Having assembled his troops, he ingenuously owned to them that he had learnt, by experience, he was not fit to command, adding, that both he and they for the future ought to obey the orders of Fabius. Then marching them to the pro-dictator's camp, he presented himself before him, made his acknowledgments, and resigned the dignity last conferred on him by the people. Fabius received him with great kindness, the soldiers embraced one another, and there was a universal joy. The pro-dictatorship being almost expired, Fabius sent for the consuls Servilius and Atilius to take upon them the command of the army.

Livy, b. 22. c. 30.

C. 31. Servilius, with a fleet of 120 ships, had made an expedition into Africa, where, as he was ravaging the coast, he fell into an ambuscade, and was forced to retire to his fleet with the loss of 1000 of his men. Weighing anchor in all haste, he sailed to Lilybæum in Sicily, and from thence, after delivering up the fleet to the prætor Otacilius, was returned to Italy.

Polyb. b. 3. c. 106. The consuls following the advice and example of Fabius, no action of moment happened between the two

armies, though Hannibal still continued at Geronium, and the Romans held their camp so near him as to watch all his motions. Year of ROME 536. B. C. 216.

The same year, while the war was thus carried on in Italy, Cn. Scipio had great success, both by sea and land, against the Carthaginians in Spain.[t] Ambassadors came to him from all the nations between the Iberus and the Pyrenees, and 120 cities surrendered to him. To add to this good fortune, his allies, the Celtiberians, defeated Asdrubal in two battles, killed 15,000 of his men, and took 4000 prisoners. This was the state of the Roman affairs in Spain, when P. Scipio, the brother of Cneius, arrived there with the character of proconsul. The view of the senate in carrying on the war with vigour in this country, was to divide the forces of Carthage, who would be more jealous of her conquests in Spain than of those in Italy, and by sending powerful succours to Asdrubal, would be less in a condition to supply his brother Hannibal. P. Scipio brought with him thirty ships of war, 8000 Roman soldiers, and a great quantity of arms and provisions. 235th consulship. Livy, b. 22. c. 20. Vid. infr. c. 31. Livy, b. 22. c. 22.

[t] The Romans at first divided this country into Hither Spain and Farther Spain. Augustus Cæsar afterward divided Farther Spain into two provinces, Bætica and Lusitania, and gave the name of Tarraconia to Hither Spain.

Bætica, so called from the river Bætis,* which runs through the middle of it, was the most southern province, and comprehended the present kingdom of Granada, Andalusia, part of New Castile, and Estremadura. Cadiz, called by the ancients Gades and Gadira, is a town situated in a small island of the same name, on the western coast of Andalusia, about nine leagues from Gibraltar. It is said that Hercules, having extended his conquests to the ocean, and imagining he was come to the extremity of the world, raised two pillars near Gades, as monuments of his victories. Geographers are not agreed about the place where these pillars were erected. Bætica was the most fruitful, the wealthiest, and the most populous part of Spain. It contained 200 cities, the chief of which stood on the Bætis, Castulo towards the source of that river, Corduba (the native place of Lucan and the two Senecas) lower down, and Hispalis† nearest the sea. Its chief inhabitants were the Turdetani. * Guadalquivir. Strab. l. 3. p. 171. P. 139—142. † Seville.

Lusitania was bounded on the west by the ocean, on the north by the river Durius, and on the south by the river Anas. Between these two rivers runs the Tagus. Lusitania included what is now called Portugal, together with part of old and new Castile.

Tarraconia comprehended the rest of Spain, that is to say, the kingdoms of Murcia and Valencia, Catalonia, Arragon, Navarre, Biscay, the Asturias, Gallicia, the kingdom of Leon, and the greatest part of the two Castiles. Terraco‡, a city on the sea-coast, not far from the Iberus, gave name to the province. Pretty near this town lay Barcino, which from its name is thought to have been built by Amilcar Barca, the father of the great Hannibal. The chief nations of Tarraconia were the Celtiberi, beyond the river Iberus; the Cantabri, where Biscay now lies; the Carpetani, whose capital was Toledo; and the Overtani, &c. Rollin. Hist. Anc. tom. 1. p. 247. ‡ Tarragon.

Year of ROME 536. B.C. 216. 235th consulship. Polyb. b. 3. c. 98.

Asdrubal being employed in the Celtiberian war, the two brothers with joint forces passed the Iberus, and advanced to Saguntum without seeing an enemy. This city Hannibal had rebuilt, placed a garrison in it, and assigned it for the residence of all the young noblemen, whom he had obliged their parents to put into his hands as pledges of their fidelity. There was then at Saguntum a Spaniard named Abelox, of a good family, and considerable interest in his country, and hitherto looked upon as firmly attached to the Carthaginians. This man seeing their affairs declining in Spain, while the Romans were daily gaining ground, began to think of going over to the prevailing party. But considering at the same time that a deserter, how well born soever, makes but an indifferent figure, unless he can gain himself credit by some important services to his new friends, formed a scheme to put the young hostages into the hands of the Romans. At this time Bostar commanded the Carthaginians in those parts, having been sent by Asdrubal to hinder the Scipios from passing the Iberus; but not daring to wait for them, he had retired to Saguntum, and encamped under its walls. Bostar was a good-natured easy man, and placed great confidence in Abelox, which the latter abusing, insinuated to him that the Romans having now passed the Iberus, it would be no longer possible for the Carthaginians to keep Spain in obedience by fear; that Saguntum being threatened with a siege, he had an opportunity of attaching all the Spaniards to the interest of his republic, by restoring the hostages to their parents, who would think themselves under a perpetual obligation to him for so early providing for the safety of their children; and that if the Romans should by force or artifice get them into their hands, they would certainly act the part which he advised him to act, and by that means bring over many nations to their party. Abelox added, that if he was sent to conduct the hostages to their respective countries, he

did not doubt but he should be able to present the obligation in such a light to the Spaniards, as that they should continue firm to the interest of a republic, who had given so eminent an example of her regard for her allies. The easy Carthaginian, deceived by an appearance of friendship, gave his consent to the proposal. Abelox hereupon stole away in the night to the Roman camp, acquainted the proconsul with what he had done; and it was agreed between them that a detachment of Romans should lie in ambush the night following, and intercept the youths with their leader. The project was executed with success; and Scipio, by sending back the hostages to their relations, gained to himself a considerable interest in the country. Year of ROME 536. B.C. 216. 235th consulship.

To return to Italy: the senate at Rome was attentive to every thing that concerned the interest of the republic. To maintain her dignity, and preserve to her the respect of foreign nations, they sent to Pineus the Illyrian king for the annual tribute he had engaged to pay, and to Philip of Macedon to demand the treacherous Demetrius, who had sheltered himself in his dominions, and was exciting him to take advantage of the misfortunes of Rome, and make a descent upon Italy; at the same time she refused to accept a present of forty vases of gold from the city of Naples, that the world might see her finances were not exhausted. Livy, b. 22. c. 33. Polyb. b. 5. c. 101. Livy, b. 22. c. 32.

CHAP. XXI.

THIRD YEAR OF THE WAR.

C. Terentius Varro, by the intrigues of a tribune of the people, is raised to the consulship, and L. Æmilius Paulus is appointed his colleague. Rome, weary of dilatory arts, sends both her consuls, at the head of a mighty army, to dispute once more with Hannibal the superiority of the field. The armies approach each other in a plain country near Cannæ in Apulia. Æmilius, disliking the ground, advises his colleague not to fight; but Varro, on a day when it is his turn to command, gives battle to the enemy, and is totally defeated with the slaughter of almost all his troops. Many of the allies of Rome go over to the conqueror. 537. Cannæ.

THE time for a new election of consuls drawing on, and the present consuls, Servilius and Atilius, not thinking Livy b. 22. c. 34.

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it safe to leave the army, one of them, at the desire of the senate, nominated a dictator to hold the *comitia*. L. Veturius Philo was the person pitched upon; but, as he seems to have been attached to the interests of the people, it was probably for this reason that the senators made the augurs find some defect with regard to religion, in his nomination. After fourteen days' exercise of his office he was forced to abdicate: and an interregnum ensued. P. Cornelius Asina, one of the interreges, convened the centuries; and then amongst the candidates for the consulship appeared C. Terentius Varro, who had scarce any thing to recommend him but his hatred of the nobility, and the zeal he had lately shewn for advancing Minucius, the general of the horse, to an equal authority with the pro-dictator Fabius. The patricians, as the most effectual way to disappoint the hopes of Varro, set up against him competitors of such known merit, both out of their own body, and from among the plebeians, as must naturally prepossess the people in their favour. But Varro happened to have among the tribunes of the commons a relation named C. Bebius Herennius. This man, in a speech to the people, inveighed bitterly against the nobility. He asserted that it was the patricians who had brought Hannibal into Italy; that an end might have been put to the war had not they fraudulently protracted it; and that the Carthaginian would never be conquered till a true plebeian, not such a one as was only plebeian by extraction, and being dignified and ranked among the nobility, had imbibed the patrician spirit, but a new man, not infected with their maxims, was at the head of the Roman armies.

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The people, full of these impressions, declared Terentius Varro consul, and would name no other that day, that Varro might preside in the *comitia* for choosing his colleague. The nobility, vexed at their disappointment, prevailed with great difficulty upon L. Æmilius Paullus, an enemy to the plebeians (on account of the affront

See vol. 2. p. 581.

they had put upon him after his victories in Illyricum), to offer himself as a candidate; and the other competitors yielding to him, he was chosen consul in the next assembly. The other offices were bestowed with great judgment. Servilius and Atilius were directed to remain in quality of proconsuls, at the head of the same armies they at present commanded. P. Scipio was continued proconsul in Spain, M. Cl. Marcellus was appointed prætor in Sicily, and L. Posthumius Albinus in Cisalpine Gaul. All these, except Terentius Varro, had borne the same offices before; so careful were the Romans to have men of experience to conduct their affairs at so critical a time.

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The senate also in the present exigency augmented the army to eight legions (each consisting of 5,000 foot and 300 horse) without reckoning the allies.

The usual practice (says Polybius) is to raise yearly but four legions, each of 4000 foot and 200 horse; and it is only in the most important conjunctures that these numbers are increased to 5000 and 300. The infantry furnished by the allies is only equal to that of the legions, but the cavalry twice[u] the number of the Roman horse. Generally speaking, each consul has two legions and one half of the auxiliary forces, and commands his army separately, against a different enemy. It rarely happens that the four legions, with a proportionable number of auxiliaries, are employed in the same expedition. But in this the Romans employed not only four but eight legions, so great was their apprehension of the impending danger.

B. 3. c. 107.

Though the republic would not receive any presents

Livy. b. 22. c. 37.

[u] We read thrice in Polybius, doubtless through a mistake of the copyist. Livy says twice, and this must be the truth, otherwise the cavalry of the Roman army at the battle of Cannæ (which is going to be related) would have amounted to 9600, and Polybius himself says they were little more than 6000. Here again there must be some mistake, it should be little more than 7000; for reckoning 300 horse to each of the eight legions, and supposing the allies to have furnished double the number that the Romans did, the whole amount will be 7200; and so Livy, who frequently copies Polybius, seems to have understood him in this place. Some historians, says he, write, that when the battle of Cannæ was fought, the Romans were 87,200 strong (i. e. 80,000 foot and 7200 horse); b. 22. c. 36.

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from her dependants in Italy, she readily accepted at this time a very rich one from king Hiero, a statue of Victory of massy gold, and of great weight, 75,000 bushels of wheat, 50,000 bushels of barley, and 1000 dartmen and slingers to oppose the Baleares and Numidians. The king's present was accompanied with an exhortation to the senate to employ a fleet and some land forces to make a descent upon Africa. The conscript fathers returned him a grateful answer, and in pursuit of his advice ordered a reinforcement of twenty-five quinquiremes to T. Otacilius the proprætor in Sicily (for Marcellus was not yet arrived there), giving him permission to carry the war into Africa if he thought proper. Before the consuls took the field, the soldiers (which had never been done before) were required to take an oath to this effect, that they would assemble at the command of the consuls, and not depart afterward without leave; and whereas they had been accustomed voluntarily to swear that they would not forsake their ensigns through fear, nor go out of their ranks unless to take up a weapon, or to smite an enemy, or to save the life of a citizen, this oath also was now enjoined them by authority.

Polyb. b. 3. c. 106.

While these preparations were making at Rome, the army under the proconsuls Servilius and Atilius continued to observe the motions of Hannibal. As those generals had received orders from the senate not to venture a battle, but only to train and discipline their men, and harass the enemy by frequent skirmishes, all the spring passed, as the winter had done, without any considerable action on either side.

But the time of harvest being come, Hannibal decamped from Geronium, and, to drive the enemy to the necessity of fighting, seized upon the castle of Cannæ, where the Romans had lodged the ammunition and provisions they had brought from Canusium. The town of Cannæ had been destroyed the last year; the castle was left standing, and Hannibal, by possessing himself

of it, threw the Roman army into great perplexity: for, beside being master of those provisions, he was now in a post which by its situation commanded all the adjacent country. The proconsuls dispatched messenger after messenger to ask instructions from the senate, concerning the measures they should take. In their letters they represented that the country all around was ruined; that it was impossible to advance near the enemy without being obliged to fight; and that all the allies, attentive to the uncertain state of things, were in suspense waiting the event. The senate judged it expedient to come to a decisive action with the enemy, but wrote to Servilius and Atilius to defer it, till the consuls (whom they now sent from Rome) were arrived in the camp. Great dependance had the fathers on the virtue and abilities of Æmilius; and, indeed, his known prudence, and the eminent services he had done his country some years before in the Illyrian war, justified the confidence they reposed in him. At his departune from Rome, when they had represented to him the great importance of the present occasion, they urged him to exert himself as a true citizen mindful of the majesty of the Roman name. Nor was Æmilius wanting either of a just sense of his country's danger, or of the warmest zeal for its preservation: so that when he was arrived at the camp, and had assembled the soldiers to impart to them the pleasure of the senate, he made use of all the arguments he could think of to restore their courage, much abated by so many preceding disasters. He told them, that several good reasons might be assigned for the defeat of the former armies; but that no excuse could be found if this should fail of victory. That the soldiers of those armies were new-raised men without discipline or experience, and entirely unacquainted with the sort of enemy they had to deal with: that those who fought at the Trebia were not recovered from the fatigue of their voyage from Sicily when they were led to battle: that

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at the lake Thrasymenus the Romans, so far from seeing the enemy before the battle, did not even see them during the conflict: that in none of the preceding engagements had there been two consuls with two consular armies; but that now all circumstances were changed: "By frequent skirmishes with the enemy you have learned their manner of fighting. You have not only both the consuls of the present year to conduct you, but both the consuls of the last year, who have consented to continue with us and share the fortune of the day. With equal numbers you have seldom failed of beating the enemy in small engagements: it would be strange therefore, nay, I think it impossible, that now when you are double their number you should be vanquished by them in a general action. But what need of farther exhortation? The fate of Rome, the preservation of whatever is dear to you, depends at this time upon your courage and resolution."

Polyb. b. 3. c. 100.

The next day[x] the consuls put their army in march towards the place where the Carthaginians were posted, and the day following pitched their camp within six miles of them. As it was a smooth plain, and the Carthaginian cavalry were far superior to the Roman, Æmilius judged it not proper to come to a battle in that situation. He was for drawing the enemy, if possible, to some ground where horse would have little opportunity to act. But the next day, it being Varro's turn to command, he, in spite of all that his colleague could say to dissuade him from it, decamped and drew nearer the enemy. Hannibal with his cavalry and light-armed

[x] Livy differs from Polybius with regard to the particulars that happened before the battle of Cannæ. The Latin historian tells us, that Hannibal had not yet removed from Geronium when the consuls began their march from Rome; that he had then scarce ten days' provisions in his camp; that the Spaniards were ready to desert him, and that he himself had thoughts of running away into Gaul with his cavalry, and leaving his infantry to shift for themselves. He adds several other circumstances as little worth relating as these. And indeed, the accounts that he, Appian, and the later writers, give of these affairs, are intermixed with so many things evidently fabulous, and often inconsistent with one another, that in the text Polybius has been chiefly followed, who wrote the nearest to the times he speaks of, was himself a soldier, and whose history is the most consistent and the most judicious.

foot advanced to meet him, fell furiously upon the Romans in their march, and put them into great disorder. Varro, when he had sustained this first shock by means of some of the heavy-armed foot, commanded his horse and dartmen to charge, and he had the prudence to mingle with these some of his legionaries;- this gave him the advantage in the combat, to which the night at length put an end. Year of ROME 537. B. C. 215. 236th consulship.

The day following, Æmilius, who was against fighting, and yet could not safely retreat, encamped two-thirds of his army along the Aufidus,[y] which lay to their left. The other third he led over the river, and made them intrench themselves at the distance of about 1300 paces eastward from his greater camp, and at somewhat more than that distance from the camp of the enemy, which lay to the south. By this disposition he could protect his own foragers, and distress those of the Carthaginian.

Hannibal, foreseeing that these movements of the Romans would infallibly bring on a general action, thought it advisable, before he came to that hazard, to animate his soldiers for the occasion; lest their late repulse should have left some impression of fear upon their minds. Having called them together, he bade them cast their eyes over the country all around, and then tell him, "Whether, being superior as they were to the enemy in horse, they could possibly, had the gods consulted their wishes, have desired any thing more to their advantage than to come to a decisive battle on such a spot?" They all agreed that they could not have chosen better. He added, "Thank the gods, then, who have brought your enemies hither, that you may triumph over them; and remember also your obligation to me, for having reduced the Romans to the necessity of fighting; for, advantageous as the ground is to us, here fight

[y] The Aufidus runs through the Apennines into the Adriatic, and is the only river in Italy which takes that course.

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they must, there is no avoiding it." He concluded with reminding them of their former exploits, and with assuring them that one victory more would give a period to all their labours, and put them in possession of all their hopes, the wealth of Rome, and the dominion of Italy.

The Carthaginian after this intrenched his forces on the west side of the Aufidus, where lay the greater camp of the Romans, and the next day but one drew out his army and presented battle. Æmilius, not liking the ground, and being persuaded that want of provisions would very soon oblige Hannibal to quit his post, declined the challenge, but took great care to have his two camps well fortified and guarded. Hannibal, after waiting awhile in the field, returned to his intrenchments, and detached some of his Numidians to pass the Aufidus, and fall upon certain parties that, from the Roman lesser camp, were coming to the river for water. The Numidians having easily put these to flight, advanced so far as to brave the Romans in their very camp; an insult so offensive to the soldiers in general, as well as to Varro, that had it not been Æmilius's turn to command, those of the greater camp would have instantly crossed the river to join their fellows, and offer battle to the enemy. "Their impatience to fight (says Polybius) was extreme; for when men have once resolved upon a difficult and dangerous enterprise, no time seems so tedious as the space between the determination and the execution."

The same author tells us, that when the news came to Rome of the armies being near each other, and of their daily skirmishing and pickeering, the people, remembering their former defeats, were universally in the utmost anxiety and fear, well foreseeing the fatal consequences of a new overthrow; that they talked of nothing but oracles, extraordinary appearances, prodigies seen both in temples and in private houses; and that their whole time was spent in vows and supplications; he

adds, "for in all public calamities and dangers the Romans are extremely careful to pacify the anger of the gods; nor, of the many religious ceremonies prescribed for such occasions, is there one, of which, how frivolous and impertinent soever it may appear, they think the practice unbecoming."

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At sunrise in the morning, after the insult by the Numidians, Varro, having the command, led his troops of the greater camp over the Aufidus, and joining them to those of the lesser, drew them up in the plain after the accustomed manner, excepting that, in all the three lines, the battalions stood closer, and those in the first line were deeper, than usual. The Roman knights, commanded by Æmilius, formed the right wing close to the river; the cavalry of the allies, under Turentius Varro, made the left. The proconsuls Servilius and Atilius led the main body, consisting of 70,000 foot; for Varro had left 10,000 men in the greater camp, with orders to attack that of Hannibal when the armies should be engaged.

The battle of Cannæ. Polyb. b. 3. c. 113.

See vol. 2. p. 214.

The Carthaginian[z] no sooner perceived the Romans in motion, but he sent over the Aufidus his slingers, and the other light-armed foot. The rest of the army followed, passing the river at two different places. He drew up his forces in one front. To face the Roman knights he posted his Spanish and Gallic cavalry in his left wing; next these were placed one half of his African infantry, then the Spanish and Gallic foot, then the other half of his Africans; and the Numidian horse made his right wing.

[z] Plutarch reports, that Varro's confidence and his numerous army alarmed the Carthaginians; that Hannibal with a small company went out to take a view of the Romans, and that one of his followers, called Gisco, saying to him, that the "number of the enemy was very astonishing;" Hannibal with a serious countenance answered, "There is something yet more astonishing which you take no notice of, that in all that multitude there is not one man whose name is Gisco." This jest made all the company laugh, who telling it to every one they met in their return, the laughter was continued till they reached the camp. The army seeing Hannibal and his attendants come back laughing, imagined that without doubt this mirth proceeded from the good posture of their affairs, and their contempt of the enemy; which did not a little raise the spirits of the soldiers.

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The Africans were armed after the Roman manner, out of the spoils taken from the enemy in former battles. The Gauls, naked from the waist upward, and the Spaniards, clothed in linen jackets trimmed with purple, were armed each after the manner of their country. They had shields alike, but the Gauls used long broad swords, fit only for cutting strokes, and at a certain distance; the Spaniards, short and well-pointed blades, proper both for striking and thrusting. The cohorts of these two nations being ranged alternately, this medley of troops, of such different appearances, is said to have been terrible to behold. Strong of body and furious in charging were the Gauls, but accustomed to spend their violence at the first brunt; the Spaniards, less eager and more wary, were neither ashamed to give ground when overmatched, nor afraid to return and renew the fight whenever it was practicable. As the impetuosity of the one, and the patience of the other, served mutually to reduce each of them to a good and firm temper, so the place which they held in this battle added confidence to them both: for they saw themselves well and strongly flanked by the Africans, whose name was grown terrible in Spain by their conquests, and in Gaul by this their present war. Asdrubal commanded the cavalry of the left wing, Hanno* the right; and Hannibal, with his brother Mago, took the conduct of the main body; this amounted to about 40,000 foot: the horse were 10,000. The armies were neither of them incommoded by the rising sun, the Romans facing to the south, their enemies to the north.

* Livy says Maharbal.

The action began with the skirmishing of the velites, or light-armed troops, with little advantage to either side. During this skirmish, the Roman knights came to an engagement with the Spanish and Gallic cavalry. Being shut in by the river on one side, and by their own infantry on the other, they could practise none of the evolutions and returns commonly used in fight by the

horse in those days. There was no way but to bear forward in a right line; and both parties rushing violently on, the men came at length to grapple with one another, and many of them, their horses running from under them, fell to the ground, whence starting up again, they fought on foot. In conclusion, the Roman cavalry were overborne and forced to recoil. This the consul Æmilius could by no means remedy, for Asdrubal, with his boisterous Gauls and Spaniards, was not to be resisted by the Roman knights, unequal both in number and horsemanship. The greater part of them, after they had defended themselves with the utmost bravery, were slain upon the spot, and most of the remainder in their flight along the river; for Asdrubal gave no quarter. Year of ROME 537. B.C. 215. 236th consulship. Sir W. R.

Before this rout was quite finished, the heavy-armed infantry on both sides joined battle.—Hannibal, in advancing against the enemy, had caused his Gauls and Spaniards, who held the middle of his line (and probably made nine-tenths of it),[a] to march, some faster, some slower, so as by degrees to form the figure of a crescent, the convex side towards the Romans and the extreme points touching the Africans to the right and left. The middle, or most prominent part of the curve being the thickest[b] (as its figure of a crescent implies), and the best strengthened against all impression, sustained the shock of the enemy for some time with great bravery and steadiness; till the Roman centre, reinforced by some battalions from the wings, compelled, by its very weight, the curve to yield: but, by the artful management of Hannibal, this curve so yielded and bent inward, as at length to form a new curve, the concave side to-

[a] The reason for this opinion will be given hereafter.

[b] Polybius (b. 3. c. 115.) tells us, that the Gauls were thinly ranged, and therefore easily broken. But if this be meant of the whole crescent, how will it accord with the stout fight which he himself says the Gauls maintained, or with the necessity which the Roman centre, already deep, was under of being strengthened by draughts from the wings, in order to break that crescent? I imagine, therefore, that Polybius speaks here of the sides only of the crescent, the parts towards the horns, and not of the middle part, which, though thick and strong, was already broken by the superior weight of the Roman centre.

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wards the enemy. The Roman legions, following their supposed victory, and pressing still forward against the Gauls and Spaniards, who continued retiring before them, came insensibly between the two bodies of African infantry, which had not yet moved from their posts, and the depths of whose files[c] was perhaps at first concealed by the sides of the concave into which the Romans entered, and was but gradually discovered in proportion as the Gauls and Spaniards recoiled. The two bodies of Africans, as the conjuncture itself dictated, facing one to the right the other to the left, attacked the Romans in flank, so that these could fight no longer in the order of a phalanx[d] (which form they had taken during the conflict), but were obliged to divide themselves into platoons or small bodies, to make head against those unexpected enemies.

The consul Æmilius, after the defeat of his cavalry, seeing that all depended upon the foot, had by this time put himself among the legionaries, animating them both by words and example. Hannibal acted the like part among the Gauls and Spaniards, the conduct of whom he had taken upon himself from the beginning

Hitherto there had nothing of moment happened between the Numidian horse[e] and the cavalry of the Ro-

[c] Neither Livy nor Polybius says any thing of the proportion which the number of the Gauls and Spaniards bore to that of the Africans, nor whether the African battalions were longer in rank or in file. Nor do they give us any light concerning those wonderful movements, by which Hannibal could, without confusion, form his centre from a straight line into a crescent, the convex to the enemy; and afterward, without confusion, invert its figure.

[d] Chevalier Folard (tom. 1. p. 377.) from this expression of Polybius, triumphantly concludes that the Romans were originally drawn up by Varro in a *phalange coupée*, that is, says the chevalier, in "columns with small intervals between them." The inference is not well deduced. For, supposing the Romans to have been ranged at first in three lines as usual, yet Polybius might well speak of them as in the order of a phalanx at this time. It was the constant practice for all the three lines to form themselves into one phalanx, whenever it happened that neither the first alone, nor the first and second united, could make any impression on the enemy. And that this was the present case with the centre of the Roman army, is plain from the necessity the generals were under of bringing some battalions from the wings to strengthen it. If the hastati principes, and triarii, of the centre, united in one phalanx, had not failed in the attempt to break Hannibal's crescent, what occasion could there be of adding strength to them from the wings?

[e] According to Livy, when the two armies were just ready to join battle, 500 of these Numidians came galloping away from their fellows, with their shields cast be-

man allies, commanded by Varro; for the former would neither give nor sustain any charge: yet, by making frequent offers, they kept their enemies so employed, as to hinder them from assisting the legions. But now the last and fatal blow, which completed the destruction of the Roman army, was given by the same hand that gave the first. For Asdrubal, having cut in pieces almost all the horse of the Roman right wing, hastened to the assistance of the Numidians. The cavalry of the Roman left wing, perceiving his approach, did not wait to be attacked; they immediately fled. Hereupon Asdrubal, ordering the light Numidians, as fittest for that service, to pursue them, turned with his Spanish and Gallic horse upon the rear of the Roman main body, which by this means was entirely surrounded. Then was the slaughter dreadful, and then fell the consul Æmilius,[f] quite covered with wounds, nobly discharging in this conclusion of his life, as in all the former parts of it, the duties of a good citizen. The Romans, encompassed on all sides, faced every way, and held out for some

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hind their backs (as was the manner of those that yielded), and throwing down their arms, surrendered themselves. Varro had not leisure to examine them, but thinking them really disarmed, ordered them behind the lines. In the heat of the battle these pretended deserters, having short swords under their jackets, flew upon the hindmost of the Romans, while all eyes and thoughts were bent another way, so that they did great mischief, and caused yet a greater terror. Polybius mentions nothing of this, which he would hardly have omitted, had there been any foundation for it. Nor does he say any thing of a certain wind called Vulturnus, which, according to the Latin historian, proved very pernicious to the Romans, by blowing dust in their eyes.

[f] Livy tells us, that Æmilius had been wounded in the action between the cavalry, yet being assisted by those of the Roman knights who had escaped from Asdrubal, he made head against Hannibal, and restored the fight in several places. At length, unable through weakness to manage his horse, he was obliged to dismount; his attendants did the like, and it being told Hannibal that the consul had ordered his cavalry to quit their horses, he is reported to have said, jestingly, "I had rather he had delivered them to me bound." Livy adds, what is hard to be conceived, that some of the Roman knights, when they saw the battle irrecoverably lost, remounted their horses and escaped. One of them, Cn. Lentulus, a legionary tribune, galloping along, found the consul covered with blood, and sitting upon a stone. Lentulus entreated him to rise and save himself, offering him his horse; but Æmilius refused it, exhorting the tribune to shift for himself, and not to lose time, adding, that it was not his purpose to be brought again into judgment by the people, to be an accuser of his colleague, or be himself charged with that day's loss. He farther desired Lentulus to give the senate notice to fortify Rome, and to tell Fabius that he had been mindful of his counsel to the last. The consul had no sooner uttered these words, but first a multitude of his own men in the rout, and then the enemy in the pursuit, came upon him: the latter, not knowing who he was, dispatched him with their darts. Lentulus escaped by the swiftness of his horse.

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time: but the outermost ranks of their orb being still mowed down, they were gradually forced into a narrow compass, and becoming at length a mere throng, unable to wield their arms, were all put to the sword.[g]

g The accounts transmitted to us by Polybius and Livy of the battle of Cannæ, are not sufficiently full and clear to convey to those who read them, at this distance of time, distinct and satisfactory ideas of what passed in that memorable day; but have left much room for conjecture.

In the plans that are commonly given by the moderns of this battle, the infantry of the two armies are equal in front. Hannibal's centre, which he formed into a crescent, the convex side towards the enemy, makes but one-third of his line of foot. How then came it to pass, that this crescent, when it yielded and retreated, so as gradually to invert its figure, and present a concave to the enemy, drew after it, and within it, more of the Roman infantry than had stood opposite to it when the armies first faced each other? This may be answered from Polybius, who tells us, that during the conflict between the centres of the two armies, the Romans, by draughts from their wings, thickened or deepened their centre, which therefore broke, by its very weight, the Carthaginian centre or crescent, consisting of the Gauls and Spaniards. He adds, that the Romans, pressing unwarily after those Gauls and Spaniards, came at length between the two bodies of African infantry, which, by a conversion one to the right and the other to the left, instantly pressed the Romans on their flanks; and that Asdrubal soon after came thundering upon their backs with his victorious cavalry.

All this is conceivable and credible; and we here see how not only the cohorts that were originally in the Roman centre, but those which were drawn from the wings to deepen it, became totally encompassed by the enemy; by the Gauls and Spaniards in front, by the Africans in flank, and by Asdrubal in the rear.

But the great difficulty still remains: for it is generally agreed (and indeed Polybius's words seem to import) that the whole, or almost the whole, of the Roman infantry, in one deep phalanx, pressed after the retiring Gauls and Spaniards, and so became at length wedged between the two bodies of Africans. Now, how could this happen, if the space between those two bodies was but one-third of Hannibal's line of foot? For is it credible, that the Roman generals could be so infatuated as, in the heat of the battle, to contract the front of their army to one-third of its first extent, draw ALL the battalions of the wings to the centre, and leave no troops to oppose the two wings (two-thirds) of Hannibal's line, that were standing before them in battle-array? And if those generals, to deepen their centre, only thinned their wings (as Chevalier Folard supposes), what advantage could Hannibal hope from drawing the Roman centre within his two wings? Since these wings, while employed in attacking the flanks of that centre, would themselves be exposed to be attacked both in flank and rear by the remainder of the Roman wings, which, if we suppose them diminished by one-half, were still equal in number of men to the Carthaginian wings.

It would seem therefore that the plans which represent Hannibal's crescent as making but one-third of his line, must be extremely faulty.

Chevalier Folard, though he speaks as if he were a perfect master of the subject, is as unsatisfactory in his account of the battle as any writer before him. His plan of it (tom. 4. p. 391.) represents Hannibal's curve as but one-third of his line of foot; but being aware of the small number of Africans in the Carthaginian army, much too small to make the other two-thirds of the line (as they do in the Jesuits' plan,) he represents the curve as consisting of only a part of the Gauls and Spaniards; the remainder of which troops stand extended to the right and left from the horns of the crescent, and between it and the Africans, who make only the extremities of the line, or the outer parts of the wings.

The employment which the chevaliar finds for these wings is, not to give upon the flanks of the Romans that were advanced within the hollow of the inverted curve, but to wheel, extend themselves, and attack both in flank and rear the Roman wings, which he supposes to be still subsisting, though much weakened by the imprudence of their leaders.

This account of the action has not the least foundation in Polybius, who does not say, that the Romans of the centre, by rashly pursuing the Gauls and Spaniards of Hannibal's crescent, came between other Gauls and Spaniards of his wings (as they

During this slaughter of the Roman foot, the Numidians were pursuing Terentius and the horse of the left

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must do according to the chevalier's plan), but between the two bodies of Africans.— The Africans are the only troops the historian speaks of as coming upon the flanks of the Romans. Nor does he say any thing of the Africans wheeling and extending themselves to attack the Roman wings in flank and rear, but that turning or inclining (κλίναντες) one part of them to the shield, the other to the spear, *i. e.* one facing or turning to the right, the other to the left, they pressed upon the flanks of those Romans that were pursuing the Gauls and Spaniards of Hannibal's crescent or centre.

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The Roman wings, says the chevalier, still subsisted, though much weakened by the draughts made from them. I known not how much the chevalier would allow them to be weakened. But if we suppose them to be diminished by one half, they were still equal (as I said before) in number of men to the Carthaginian wings; and it is hardly credible that the Roman wings, having at this time no enemies to contend with but the Carthaginian wings, should stand still while these were wheeling and extending themselves to come upon their flank and rear; or that the Carthaginians should find their account in such an attempt.

I shall observe by the way, that Polybius never speaks of any part of the Roman army being attacked in rear by the Carthaginian foot. This was left for Asdrubal and his horse, who could hardly have performed this part without riding over the Africans, had these enclosed the Romans behind.

What seems to have driven the chevalier into all these deviations from his author, is his fundamental error of forming Hannibal's crescent out of but one-third of his line.

Sir Walter Raleigh has gone into the other extreme.—To account for the whole Roman army's being enclosed by the enemy, he supposes that Hannibal's crescent was of such extent, as to make his whole front; that the Romans saw nothing before them but that crescent, that the Africans (deep in file) were hid behind its two corners, and not discovered by the Romans till they were attacked by them. "For it is agreed (says he) that the Romans were encompassed unawares, and that they behaved themselves as men who thought upon no other work than what was found them by the Gauls. Neither is it credible, that they would have been so mad, as to run headlong with the whole bulk of their army into the throat of slaughter, had they seen those weapons bent against them at the first, which when they did see, they had little hope to escape. Much might be imputed to their heat of fight, and rashness of inferior captains: but since the consul Paulus, a man so expert in war, being vanquished in horse, had put himself among the legions, it cannot be supposed that he and they did wilfully thus engage themselves."

That Hannibal's crescent of Gauls and Spaniards made the whole of his front, cannot be reconciled with Polybius or Livy, who expressly relate, that the Carthaginian drew up all his infantry in one line, of which the Africans made the two points, or wings; and Polybius more than once, in describing the action, calls this crescent τὰ μεσα, the middle or centre of Hannibal's battalia, and the Africans are spoken of, not as hid, but as appearing to the enemy armed after the Roman manner.

But it is not credible, says Sir Walter, that the Romans would have been so mad as to run with the whole bulk of their army between the Africans, had they seen them at first.

I will not pretend to remove this difficulty. All I can aim at is, in some measure, to lessen it.

Hannibal's infantry is said to have consisted of about 40,000 men, extended at first in one straight line. Of this line, the Gauls and Spaniards (who afterward formed themselves into a crescent) made the middle or centre, and the Africans the wings. Now, if that middle part, instead of being but one-third, was at least nine-tenths of the line, as there is good reason to believe, it will much lessen our wonder, that the Romans, when they had forced that middle part to give ground, should imagine themselves secure of the victory, and unwarily engage themselves between the Africans, who made so narrow a front, as only a tenth of the Carthaginian line, that is to say, at each extremity a twentieth.

That the Africans made but a very narrow front, in respect of the rest of the line, may, I think, be fairly collected from the small number to which we are obliged to reduce them, and from the manner in which it is reasonable to believe they were drawn up.

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wing. Of all the Roman cavalry seventy only escaped with the consul to Venusia, and about 300 more into other neighbouring towns, 2000 were taken prisoners, the rest were slain.

The whole of the infantry that had been in the battle was cut off, except about 3000,[h] who fled most of them to Canusium. Among the dead were, beside the consul Æmilius, the two proconsuls, Servilius and Atilius, M.

It cannot be supposed that the Africans amounted to above 8000 men. Hannibal brought into Italy but 20,000 foot, of which number 12,000 only were Africans, and the other 8000 Spaniards. At the battle of the Trebia, his heavy-armed infantry, Spaniards, Africans, and Gauls, were but 20,000 in all. He lost some of his Africans in this battle, some at the lake Thrasymenus; and doubtless the Africans suffered with the rest of the troops in their march through the fens of Hetruria, and in their other fatigues. Hannibal had been now three years in Italy, and had received no recruits from Africa: and from all these considerations we may well conclude, that his Africans were diminished by one-third at least before the battle of Cannæ.

See p. 14. of the present vol.

Now supposing the Africans to be but 8000 of Hannibal's 40,000 foot, and supposing his battalia to be every where of equal depth, it is plain that the Africans could make no more than one-fifth part of the Carthaginian front, or one-tenth of it at each extremity of the line. But if we consider, that Hannibal's intention, from the beginning of the day, was to draw the bulk of the Roman army between his Africans, it is reasonable to believe that he so disposed those Africans as to hide their strength as much as possible; and that he gave them no more extent in front, than was necessary to be their depth when they should face, one part of them to the right, and the other to the left, to attack the flanks of the Romans pressing after the retiring Gauls and Spaniards: and if so, it is probable that the front which the Africans made, was not so much as a tenth part of the line, or at each extremity, a twentieth. And this being granted, it will not be so astonishing that the bulk of the Roman army should run precipitately between them. That the whole did, strictly speaking, engage themselves between the Africans, I do not conceive necessary to be supposed, in order to account for the event of the battle. For it seems from Polybius's relation, that none of those who did so engage themselves escaped destruction. Yet we find, according to the same author, that 3000 of the Roman foot escaped from the battle, and, according to Livy, a much greater number. These might be of the troops that were in the points of the Roman battalia, and who probably took to their heels as soon as they saw Asdrubal with his horse coming upon the rear of the legions.

[h] Dionysius of Halicarnassus agrees nearly with Polybius as to the number of men the Romans lost in this battle. Of 6000 horse (says he, Antiquit. b. 2. p. 37.) there remained only 370, and of 80,000 foot there escaped somewhat more than 3000. But Livy differs from them, and is not very consistent with himself. According to the first account he gives, the sum total of those that were slain and taken prisoners, amounts to about 59,400, and of those that escaped to about 5670. In which reckonings (supposing, as he seems to do, that the whole Roman army at Cannæ consisted of 87,200 men) there are above 18,000 omitted. He afterward tells us (b. 22. c. 45. 49.) that there were got together of the fugitives 10,000 at Canusium, and 4070 at Venusia. In this case the number of the prisoners and the slain would be 73,130. But (c. 56.) he makes Varro write to the senate from Canusium (after he had brought to that place those that had fled to Venusia), that the whole remains of the Roman army were only 10,000 men. And yet in the same book (c. 60.) M. Torquatus tells the senate, that if the captives who petitioned to be ransomed, and who (as one of themselves had said a little before) amounted to 8000 men, were added to the forces at Canusium, the republic would have there an army of 20,000 men. According to Appian, the whole Roman army at Cannæ consisted of 70,000 foot and 6000 horse, of which 50,009 were slain, a great number taken prisoners, and about 10,000 escaped to Canusium.

In Hannibal, c. 323.

Minucius, late master of the horse to Fabius, two military quæstors, twenty-nine legionary tribunes, with eighty persons who had either been senators, or had borne such offices as entitled them to be chosen into the senate. Those of the infantry who were taken prisoners had not been in the fight. Varro, by the advice of Æmilius, had left 10,000 foot in his greater camp, with orders to attack the camp of Hannibal during the battle. The consul's view in this was, to oblige the Carthaginian either to abandon his baggage, or to leave a greater part of his forces to guard it than he could well spare from the general action. The design so far succeeded, that Hannibal was just upon the point of losing his camp, when (after his victory in the field) he came to the assistance of the few troops he had left to defend it. Upon his approach, the assailants fled to their own intrenchments; where, being invested, they surrendered themselves prisoners, after they had lost 2000 of their number.[1]

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Hannibal's loss of men on this important day amounted to no more than 4000 Gauls and Spaniards, 1500 Africans, and 200 horse.[k]

The consequence of this victory (says Polybius) was such as both parties had expected.[l] Hannibal became c. 118.

[1] Livy relates that 7000 Romans fled out of the battle to the lesser camp, 10,000 to the greater, and that 2000 took refuge in the village of Cannæ. These last were immediately surrounded by Carthalo, and taken prisoners. The soldiers in the greater camp, who were without leaders, and but half-armed, sent a messenger to those in the lesser, desiring they would come over to them in the night, that they might march together and take refuge in Canusium, a city not far distant. But the troops in the little camp could not be prevailed upon to hearken to this proposal, fearing to be intercepted by the enemy in their passage. Nevertheless, 600 of them, encouraged by Sempronius Tuditanus, a legionary tribune who commanded them, drew themselves up in the form of a wedge, and casting their shields upon their right arms, to defend themselves from the darts of the Numidians, to which they were exposed upon that side, made their way through the enemy to the great camp, from whence, in conjunction with another large body, they escaped to Canusium. Next day Hannibal having invested the little camp, the Romans surrendered upon terms. They had leave to depart each with one garment, upon paying a certain ransom. In the mean time about 4000 foot and 200 horse escaped from the great camp in straggling parties to Canusium. The rest yielded upon the conditions granted to those of the little camp.

[k] According to the Latin historian the loss of the Carthaginians amounted to 8000 men. Livy, b. 22.

[l] Livy thinks it might reasonably have been expected that Hannibal should have taken Rome immediately after the battle of Cannæ. When the Carthaginian officers c. 52.

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master of almost all Great Greece.[m] Nay, the Carthaginians were not without hope, by some sudden stroke,

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Livy, b. 22. c. 51.

(says that author) flocked round their general, congratulating him on his victory, and advising him to spend the rest of that day, and the following night, in refreshing himself and his wearied troops, Maharbal, on the contrary, pressed him not to lose a moment's time. "That you may know (said he) the importance of this victory, follow me, I will instantly march away with the cavalry, and be at Rome before they have notice of my coming. In five days we shall sup in the Capitol" Hannibal commended his zeal, but told him that what he had proposed was of too great moment to be suddenly resolved upon, and that he would take time to consider of it. "Nay, then (said Maharbal), I find that no one man is endued by the gods with all talents. Hannibal knows how to conquer, but he knows not how to make advantage of his victories." It is generally believed (adds Livy) that this day's delay was the preservation of the city and empire of Rome.

Several of the ancients have joined with Livy in blaming Hannibal for not laying siege to Rome without delay, but whether justly or not may very well be a question. If the advantages he had gained were, as Polybius says, chiefly owing to the superiority of his cavalry, those could be of little use in a siege, and the Roman infantry, not inferior to his, would be invincible behind walls. Rome was provided with every thing necessary to sustain a siege. After the battle of Thrasymen, its fortifications had been repaired, (Liv. b. 22. c. 8) and Polybius takes notice of the care of the senate upon the present occasion to put the city in a posture of defence, (b. 3. c. 118.) Rome abounded with soldiers well trained to war. Livy speaks of four new legions and 1000 horse raised in the city by Junius Pera, who was made dictator immediately after the battle of Cannæ. (Liv. b. 22. c. 57.) And exclusive of these the same dictator led out an army of 25,000 men, (id. b. 23. c. 14.) which he would not have done, had not he thought he had left troops enough in the town to defend it. Marcellus had also sent from Ostia 1500 men to strengthen the garrison of Rome. (Liv. b. 22. c. 57.)

Now what forces had Hannibal to bring against so powerful a city? His army after the battle of Cannæ consisted of scarce 45,000 men, 9800 of which were cavalry. He was moreover entirely unprovided of implements for carrying on a siege. And had he marched directly to Rome, it is not probable any of the nations of Italy would have gone over to him. At most they would have waited the issue of the siege, in which, if he had not succeeded, they would have been the less disposed to venture themselves under his protection. Nor perhaps would it have been prudent in him, when not one city in Italy had declared for him, to neglect the other towns (that were beginning to waver in their fidelity to the Romans) to go and besiege the capital; especially since his hopes of success in this undertaking must have depended more on the terror of his name, than the force of his arms. And that both these would have been insufficient seems plain from the little effect they had upon Nola and Naples, which cities were twice in vain attempted by Hannibal soon after his victory at Cannæ. (Liv b. 23. c. 1. 14. 16.) Nuceria also and Casilinum, two inconsiderable towns, gave him a great deal of trouble before he could reduce them. The latter held out more than a whole winter, though defended by only 960 men. (Liv. b. 23 c. 15. 17—19.)

Add to this, that had Hannibal laid siege to Rome, it is not likely that the Latin nations, and those other of the allies who always continued steady to her interest, would have quietly looked on till the city had been taken. And that these allies were not yet exhausted of soldiers, is plain from the great levies made among them in the course of this war. In the dictatorship of Junius Pera, just after the defeat at Cannæ, the Roman armies in Italy (reckoning the remains of Cannæ at 10,000) amounted to above 84,000 men, as appears from Livy, b. 22. c. 57. and b. 23. c. 14. The year after, the republic had twelve legions on foot, and the year after that eighteen legions. (Liv. b. 24. c. 11.) The third year after the battle they had twenty-one legions, and the fourth, viz. in the consulship of Q. Fulvius Flaccus and Appius Claudius Pulcher, twenty-three legions. (Liv. b. 25. c. 3.)

Upon the whole, Livy's censure of Hannibal's conduct seems not well founded, and the rather, as we do not find that Polybius has any where blamed him upon this article.

[m] The nations that revolted to the Carthaginians after the battle of Cannæ are thus reckoned up by Livy: (b. 22. c. 61.) The Attellani, Calatini, and Hirpini, part of

to possess themselves of Rome. The Romans, on the other hand, despaired of being able to retain the dominion of Italy, and, every moment expecting to hear of Hannibal's approach, were in the utmost anxiety for themselves and for their country. The senators nevertheless preserved their fortitude and dignity; they all zealously applied themselves to put the city in a posture of defence, and did every thing that could be done for the common safety. And though the Romans were now undoubtedly vanquished, and yielded, for the present, in military glory to their enemies, yet by their courage, steadiness, and unwearied labours, the wisdom of their counsels, and the constitution of their government, they not only recovered the empire of Italy, but totally subdued the Carthaginians, and in a few years after became lords of the world.

Year of ROME 537. A.C 215. 236th consulship.

CHAP. XXII.

Some young Romans of distinction resolving in despair to forsake Italy, Scipio (afterward surnamed Africanus) obliges them to take an oath never to abandon the republic. And while the people of Rome are in the utmost consternation and despondency, the senate preserve their courage, and make all possible preparations for the defence of their country. They even solemnly give thanks to Varro, for that he had not despaired of the commonwealth. A dictator is named to govern the state; levies are made with all diligence; the slaves are enlisted for the service; all ranks of men bring their gold and silver into the public treasury, and the silver coin is now first alloyed with copper. In the mean time, by the permission of Hannibal, a deputation from the Roman prisoners in his camp, arrives at Rome, and petitions the senate to ransom the captives. The conscript fathers deny the request. Capua, resolving to shake off the Roman yoke, demands of the republic that Rome and Capua should for the future be upon a perfect equality; this proposal being rejected with disdain, the Capuans deliver up their city to Hannibal. The Carthaginian dispatches his brother Mago to Carthage, with an account of his success; the senate vote him a supply of men and money, but are very dilatory in sending it. The Roman dictator takes the field with a considerable army, and Hannibal, after making some fruitless attempts upon Naples and Nola, lays siege to Casilinum; the garrison of which place, after a stout defence, at length capitulates. Rome not being in a condition to provide for the fleets and armies in Sicily and Sardinia, her allies in those islands assist her by their contributions. The senate having lost a great number of their members in the war, a dictator is chosen for the sole business of filling the vacant places. He names 177 new senators.

AMONG those Romans who had fled from the late battle to Canusium, were four legionary tribunes. Of these Livy, b. 22. c. 53.

Apulia, the Samnites except the Pentri, all the Bruttians, the Lucanians, the Surrentini, and almost all Great Greece, the Tarentines, Metapontines, Crotonienses, Locri, and all the Cisalpine Gauls.

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the soldiers chose two to be their chief commanders, Appius Claudius Pulcher and P. Cornelius Scipio, the son of the proconsul in Spain. Whilst Scipio (who was now about nineteen years of age) was deliberating with his colleague, and some others, what measures to take, notice was brought them, that certain young men of the best families of Rome, at the head of whom was L. Cecilius Metellus, giving all up for lost, had resolved to embark at the first port, and fly from Italy. So base a thought stirred up Scipio's indignation. Turning therefore to the company, he said, "Let those who value the preservation of Rome follow me." They all went immediately to the house where the young patricians were assembled. Scipio, as he entered their chamber, "I swear," said he, drawing his sword, "that I will never abandon the republic, nor consent that any of her citizens forsake her; I call the great Jupiter to witness this my oath." And then, addressing himself to Metellus, he added, "Do you, Metellus, and all that are here present, take the same oath, or not a man of you shall escape this sword." His look, his action, his menaces, so terrified them all, that they readily came into the engagements he required.

The consternation and despondency of the people at Rome almost equalled those of Metellus and his companions. For it was there currently reported, that both the consuls were killed, and their armies so entirely destroyed, that not an officer, nor hardly a single soldier, remained alive; and that Hannibal was master of Apulia, Samnium, and all Italy. The conscript fathers, the pilots of the state, did not, however, leave the helm because the storm blew high. For want of consuls the two prætors assembled them. As Fabius's cunctation, that lingering war he had counselled and practised against Hannibal, was discovered, by the present calamity, to have been the dictate of wisdom, he now was principally listened to. He advised, that some horsemen well

mounted should be sent out upon the Appian and Latin roads, to learn, if possible, of such as they met, the true state of affairs; what was become of the consuls; to what place the remains of the army, if there were any, had retreated; where Hannibal was encamped; what he was doing, and what he designed to do; that the women should be forbid to appear in public, disturbing the city with their lamentations; that when any courier arrived, he should be brought privately and without noise to the prætors; and that no person should be suffered to go out of the city. Year of ROME 537. B. C. 215. 236th consulship.

Not long after, a messenger arrived from Terentius; his letters imported, that the Roman army had been defeated; that his colleague Æmilius was slain; that he himself was retired to Canusium, where he was assembling the remains of the troops; that about 10,000 men of different corps, and for the most part without officers, had joined him; and that Hannibal was still at Cannæ.[n]

At the same time a bark arrived from Sicily with advice from the proprætor Otacilius, that one Carthaginian squadron was ravaging the coast of Syracuse, while another appeared off the Ægates ready to make a descent at Lilybæum; and that it was necessary to send a fleet thither with all speed. The conscript fathers, not dejected at these additional cares, prepared for the defence both of Italy and Sicily. Marcellus, appointed prætor for the last-named province, and now at Ostia aboard the fleet, was ordered to resign the conduct of it to P. Furius Philus, the prætor Peregrinus, and to go and take upon him the command of the army at Canusium. As for Terentius Varro, the senate recalled him to Rome; and nothing has been more wondered at, than

[n] Livy says that Hannibal, after this famous battle, acted more like a man that had finished his conquests than one that had a war to carry on, and that he was sitting at Cannæ bargaining about his plunder and the captives, in a manner very unbecoming a great general. (Liv. b. 22. c. 56. 58.) If this be not a calumny, at least the Carthaginian did not continue long thus employed; for the same author begins his twenty-third book by telling us, that Hannibal, after the battle of Cannæ, having taken and plundered the Roman camps, marched immediately (*confestim*) from Apulia into Samnium.

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the respect with which he was received at his arrival. Multitudes of the people of all ranks went out to meet him, and the senate returned him thanks for that he had not despaired of the commonwealth. How different this conduct, says Livy, from that of the Carthaginians, who were wont to put their unsuccessful generals to the most cruel death![o]

Livy, b. 22. c. 61.

As the present situation of things required an absolute magistrate to govern the state, M. Junius Pera was, by the authority of the senate, named dictator, and Sempronius Gracchus to be his general of the horse. Junius made it his whole business to put the army in a condition to resist the enemy. Four legions and 1000 horse were raised among the citizens of Rome. The two Latiums, the municipia, and the colonies, furnished their contingents as usual; and to all these were added 8000 slaves, whom the republic bought of their masters, and who were called *volones*, from the word *volo* (I will), which every one returned in answer, when he was asked, whether he would serve in the troops? To recruit the treasury, which was greatly exhausted, and to put the public revenues under a good regulation, three men of eminent prudence and integrity were chosen for that trust. And then, the senators giving the example, and

Livy, b. 23. c. 21.

[o] The reception Varro met with at Rome, and his being afterward intrusted with the command of an army, seem to have been the effects of just policy in the Romans. This general had done nothing irregular, nothing contrary to orders. The senate and people had sent him to fight Hannibal, not to follow him at a distance like Fabius. Æmilius, it is true, was against fighting at that time; and he was an able general. But what then? Varro was not obliged to follow his advice. In a dispute they had had a little before about marching, Æmilius had no officer of his opinion, except the late consul Servilius, as we are informed by Livy. And there is reason to think, that it was not only the general inclination of the soldiers, but agreeable to the judgment of most of the officers, that Varro should fight when he did. No objection is made to the order of his battle. If a fatal error was committed during the action, through the rashness of the infantry imagining themselves victorious, this was no more imputable to Varro than to Æmilius. In short, as Varro does not appear to be chargeable with any thing worse, than the having such a dependance on the number and valour of his troops, as to venture a battle contrary to the advice of his colleague, it ought not perhaps to be so surprising that the senate and people received him in the manner they did. They could not have treated him with rigour without discouraging their generals, which might have been of dangerous consequence at this juncture. Nor is it much to be wondered at that they employed him again. He was very humble after his defeat at Cannæ, and behaved himself to the general satisfaction of both senate and people. However, they never put him at the head of a great army; he seldom had the command of above one legion.

being followed by the knights, the whole people in general of the Roman tribes brought all their gold to the public treasury; the senators only reserving their rings, and the *bullæ* about their children's necks. The silver coin was now, for the first time, alloyed with copper. Year of ROME 537. B. C. 215. 236th consulship.

While they were thus employed at Rome, Hannibal, to get a supply of money, and with the farther view of abating the obstinate resolution of the Romans in battle, by the hopes of being ransomed, in case they should be defeated and taken, gave leave to his Roman prisoners to redeem themselves.[p] These chose out ten of their body, to send to Rome, to negotiate their redemption; and Hannibal exacted no other security for their return than an oath. They were accompanied by a noble Carthaginian, named Carthalo, who in case he found the Romans inclined to peace, was empowered to declare upon what terms Hannibal would grant it. Upon the first report of Carthalo's arrival, the dictator sent a lictor to order him out of the Roman territory. The ten deputies were admitted to an audience of the senate. M. Junius, the chief of them, pleaded with great earnestness in behalf of the captives. He justified them from the charge of cowardice, in having yielded themselves prisoners to the enemy. He alleged that they had been left in the camp to defend it, that they had done nothing cowardly or unworthy the Roman name, but by the adverse fortune of the day, the troops in the field being all cut off, they had been under the necessity of surrendering to the conqueror. He cited precedents of the regard had to prisoners in former times, and urged the advantage it would be to the republic, to have in her army 8000 Romans, redeemed at a less price[q] than the

Florus, b. 2. c. 6. Livy, b. 22. c. 56. 58.

c. 59.

[p] The ransom of each horseman he fixed at 500 *denarii* (16*l.* 2*s.* 11*d.*); that of each soldier at 300 (9*l.* 3*s.* 9*d.*); and that of each slave at 100 (3*l.* 4*s.* 7*d.*) c. 58.

[q] This (says sir W. Raleigh) is but a tale devised to countenance the Roman proceedings, as if they had been severe, when, as indeed they were, suitable to the present fortune, poor and somewhat beggarly. Hereof it is no little proof, that Hannibal valued those Roman slaves whom he had taken in the camp among their masters, at no more than every one the third part of a common soldier's ransom: and likely it

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purchase of so many slaves would amount to. His discourse was seconded by the multitude, whose concern for their relations in captivity had brought them together; and they implored the clemency of the fathers in a suppliant manner.

The senate debated the matter for some time, being much divided in opinion; but at length they concluded absolutely against the redemption of the captives; for, having penetrated into Hannibal's views, they would convince their soldiers, that they must either conquer or be at the mercy of their enemies.

Livy, b. 23. c. 1.

Hannibal, after his victory at Cannæ, marched without delay from Apulia into Samnium. Compsa, a city of Hirpini, almost at the head of the Aufidus, surrendered to him, and was the first which fell off from the Romans. Having here placed a garrison, together with all his plunder and baggage, he divided his army. One part of it he gave to his brother Mago, to reduce the towns and fortresses of this country and of all Bruttium; and with the other he himself marched towards Naples, to get possession, if practicable, of that maritime city, which would open to him an easy communication with Africa. But though he drew a part of the garrison into an ambuscade, and cut them off, yet the strength of the place deterred him from laying siege to it.

C. 2. et seq.

From thence he turned towards Capua. This city, which had been formerly governed by Roman laws and a Roman prefect, was now a municipium, and chose her own magistrates; and the Capuans had the uncommon privilege of intermarrying with the Romans. After the

is, that he offered them at the price, whereat he thought them current. But if we should suppose that by trading with Hannibal, a better bargain for slaves might have been made, than was by the state at home, in dealing with private men; yet must we withal consider, that these private men did only lend these slaves for awhile unto the commonwealth, and were afterward contented to forbear the price of them, until the war should be ended. [Livy, b. 24. c. 18.] If Hannibal would have given such long day of payment, it is likely that the Romans would have been his chapmen; but seeing he dealt only for ready money, they chose rather to say, We will not give, than, We cannot. Hist. of the World, part 1. b. 5. c. 3. sect. 9.

battle of the lake Thrasymenus, one Pacuvius Calavius, a man of the greatest interest among the people, and then governor of the town, had laid a design to assassinate the senate, who were odious both to himself and the people, and deliver up the place to Hannibal: but afterward he thought that to assume a kind of sovereignty himself there, would be a better scheme than that of introducing a stranger to usurp it. The only difficulty he had, was to engage the senators, who were universally for adhering to the Romans, to favour the project of his ambition. To this end, he told them that the people had sworn to cut their throats, and to surrender up Capua to the Carthaginians; but that if they would leave themselves to his conduct, he would preserve them. The senators trusted him upon his oath, and suffered him to shut them up in the temple, where they were then assembled, and to set a guard at the door. He then called the people together, and acquainted them, that the senate were now entirely in his power, and that he would abandon those detestable slaves of Rome to their resentment, to be treated according to their demerits; but he insisted that (in order to preserve the old form of government, which ought not to be destroyed) as soon as any one of them had received sentence, and before he was executed, the people should name some man of probity to succeed him; by which stratagem, Pacuvius saved the lives of all the senators; for the multitude could not agree upon this man of probity. Some disqualification or other was still objected to whoever was named; so that in the end, the people finding that they could not rid themselves of their present senate without choosing a worse, desired that all the prisoners might be released; and from this time the senate courted the people by all manner of kindness and adulation; and (if we may credit Livy) Pacuvius acquired an absolute ascendancy over both.

Year of ROME 537. B.C. 215. 236th consulship.

After the defeat of the Romans at Cannæ, the Ca-

Year of ROME 537. B. C. 215. 230th consul-ship.

puans were again disposed to side with the Carthaginians. Two reasons restrained them: the intermarriages before mentioned, and the consideration that the flower of their nobility were in the service of the Romans in Sicily, and were therefore as so many hostages for their fidelity. And the relations of these young men prevailed to have a deputation sent to the consul Terentius, then at Venusia, to offer him succours. These deputies found the consul so dejected and desponding, that, weighing the circumstances of things, they thought the time now come to shake off the Roman yoke, and recover their ancient liberty. But to do this with the more decency, they first sent ambassadors to Rome, with such proposals as they knew would not be received. They demanded that, for the future, Rome and Capua should be upon a perfect equality, and that every year one of the consuls should be chosen out of the Capuans.

The conscript fathers having haughtily rejected the demand, it was carried by a majority of voices, both of the senate and people of Capua, to send deputies to treat with Hannibal. They demanded entire liberty and independence, and that 300 Roman knights should be put into their hands, to be exchanged against the same number of Capuan youths in the service of Rome. Hannibal readily granted all that was asked; and then the people contrived to have all the Romans in the city shut up in the public baths, and there suffocated. One Decius Magius, a man of a Roman spirit, anda friend to the Romans, loudly declared against these proceedings of his countrymen, warning them not to receive a Carthaginian garrison, and putting them in mind of Pyrrhus's tyranny over the people of Tarentum; but his discourse was despised. When Hannibal was to make his entry, all the town crowded to meet him, except this Magius, and some few of the nobility, among whom was Perolla, the son of Pacuvius, who, though not governor of

Capua at this time, had been the soul of all the late proceedings. Perolla was afterward obliged by his father to go and pay his homage to Hannibal; nevertheless, having deeply imbibed the sentiments of Magius, he formed a resolution to stab the Carthaginian general, at a magnificent entertainment which Pacuvius and some other of the principal citizens were to give him: but the young man having communicated the design to his father, was by his tears and entreaties dissuaded from it. The next day the senate assembled, and Hannibal complaining to them of the disaffection of Magius, this brave man was delivered up to him, loaded with irons, and put on board a ship bound for Carthage. A tempest drove the vessel into the port of Cyrene, a city belonging to the kings of Egypt: there the prisoner finding means to get to a statue of Ptolemy Philopater, and laying hold of it, the Carthaginians durst not drag him from that sanctuary. The Cyrenians conveyed him to Alexandria, where he chose to continue under the protection of Ptolemy.

Year of ROME 537. B.C. 215. 236th of consulship.

Livy, b. 23 c. 10.

About this time, Hannibal dispatched his brother Mago to Carthage with an account of his success. Mago reported to the senate, "That their general had defeated six consular armies, slain above 200,000 Romans, and taken more than 50,000 prisoners; that Bruttium and Apulia, with a part of Samnium and a part of Lucania, had revolted to the Carthaginians; that Capua, the chief city, not of Campania only, but (in the present low estate of Rome) even of Italy, had surrendered to Hannibal:" and he concluded with saying, "That for so many and so great victories, it was meet to return solemn thanks to the immortal gods." To verify his report, he spread abroad in the senate-house, some say one, others three, bushels of gold rings taken from the Roman knights and senators. Having thus prepossessed the senate in favour of his brother, he proceeded to solicit for him supplies of men, corn, and money, that

c. 12.

Year of ROME 537. B. C. 215. 236th consulship. he might be enabled to carry on so successful a war. The request was universally applauded; and Himilco, a senator of the Barchine faction, turning towards Hanno, as it were to insult him, "Well, Hanno, are you still dissatisfied that we entered into a war against Rome? Are you still of opinion that we ought to deliver up Hannibal? Come, declare against our giving thanks to the gods for our success; speak, Hanno, let us hear the language of a Roman in a Carthaginian senate." Hanno rose up; "To-day, fathers, if I had not been compelled to speak, I should have held my peace, that, in this concert of your common gladness, no discordant word might drop from me. But to be silent when thus interrogated by a senator, would argue either pride or disaffection to the state, a disregard of other men's liberty or of my own. To Himilco, therefore, I answer, that I do still condemn the war, and that I never shall cease to blame our invincible general, till I see it ended by a peace upon some tolerable conditions. The exploits which Mago has boasted of, have caused much joy to Himilco and his friends. To me, too, they may prove matter of joy, if a proper use be made of them for bringing about an honourable peace. But what is the ground of all this exultation? to what does it amount? I have slain, says Hannibal, whole armies of enemies; send me soldiers.—What else could he have asked, had he been vanquished? I have taken two camps, full, doubtless, of wealth and provisions; supply me with corn and money. What other demand could he have made, had he lost his own camp, with every thing that was in it? And, that I alone may not wonder at all this, I would have Himilco (for, as I have answered him, I have now surely a right to interrogate); I say, I would have Himilco or Mago answer me some questions. The Roman empire, it seems, was overturned at the battle of Cannæ, and all Italy is revolting: is any one, I pray, of the Latin nations come over to

Livy, b. 23. c. 13.

us? Has any one man of the five-and-thirty tribes deserted to Hannibal?" When Mago had to both these answered in the negative: "There remain then (replied Hanno) a huge number of enemies still to be subdued. And this multitude, what heart, what hope, have they?" Mago answered, "That he knew not."—"And yet (returned Hanno), there is nothing easier to be known. Have the Romans sent any ambassadors to Hannibal to treat of peace? Has intelligence been brought you, that any mention of peace was made at Rome? "No," said Mago. "Why then (replied the other) the progress made in this war, is exactly the same as when Hannibal first entered Italy.—The vicissitude of our fortune in the first Roman war, many of us here present can well remember. Our affairs were never in a more prosperous course, both by land and sea, than just before our defeat at the Ægates. Should the like turn of fortune (the gods avert the omen!) happen to us again, can we hope to obtain, when vanquished, that peace, which, when we are victorious, we disdain to think of? Were it now in debate to offer or to accept a peace, I know what I should say. If you ask my opinion concerning the supplies which Mago demands for the army, my answer is, That if they be truly conquerors, they little need them; and if they deceive us with vain hope, they less deserve them." Hanno's speech made no impression on the senate. It was carried by a great majority to send to Hannibal from Africa, 4000 Numidians, forty elephants, and 1000 talents of silver.* And one of the magistrates was immediately commissioned to go with Mago into Spain, and there hire 20,000 foot and 4000 horse, for recruiting the armies in that country and in Italy. These preparations, however, went on slowly, as is usual in times of prosperity. On the other side, neither the character, nor the present circumstances of the Romans would permit them to be dilatory in their proceedings. The senate neglected no-

Year of ROME 537. B. C. 215. 236th consulship.

* 193,750*l.*

Livy, b. 23. c. 14.

Year of ROME 537. B.C. 215. 236th consulship.

thing, deferred nothing, that was necessary for supporting the war. The consul Varro shewed himself extremely diligent in whatever belonged to his office; and the dictator Junius Pera, after performing the usual ceremonies of religion, marched out of Rome at the head of 25,000 men. This army was composed of two legions, which had been raised in the beginning of the year for the defence of the city, of some cohorts from Picenum and the Gallic territory,[r] of the 8000 volones before mentioned, and of 6000 prisoners for crimes and debt, whom Junius had released, upon the condition of their enlisting themselves in the troops, and whom he had armed out of the spoils Flaminius had formerly brought from Gaul.

As for Hannibal, having settled his affairs at Capua, he made a second attempt upon Naples, with as little success as in the first. From thence he marched to Nola, in hopes that the populace, who were inclined to his party, would deliver up the town to him. But their senate, alarmed at the danger, had sent for assistance from Marcellus, who commanded the Roman army at Canusium, and who came in all haste to the defence of the place. Hannibal, disappointed here, once more attempted Naples.—As this city had lately received a Roman garrison, under the command of M. Junius Silanus, the Carthaginian soon despaired of being able to reduce it by force; and he turned his arms against Nuceria, a town not far from the other. The inhabitants, for want of provisions, were obliged to capitulate: yet he could not prevail upon any of them to serve in his army. After he had plundered and burnt Nuceria, he again sat down before Nola. Marcellus sallied out upon him at three several gates, and killed 2300 of his men, with the loss only of 500 of his own. The Carthaginian being thus repulsed, laid siege to Acerræ, a small town

Livy, b. 23. c. 15.

c. 17.

[r] This was a tract of land between the Rubicon and the Essis, formerly taken from the Galli-Senones, and divided amongst some Roman citizens by virtue of a law lately enacted.

on the banks of the Clanis, near Nola, and took it Year of ROME 537. B. C. 215. 236th consulship. Here he learnt that the dictator was approaching to Casilinum with his army. Whereupon being afraid lest the neighbourhood of the enemy might occasion some sinister accident at Capua, he drew near to this city, and at the same time sent a part of his forces to attack Casilinum. These not succeeding, he himself marched thither with his army, and besieged the town in form. It was not garrisoned by Campanians. A body of Prænestini, to the number of 500 men, happening to pass that way, had found the inhabitants wavering in their fidelity to Rome, and had therefore cut their throats in the night, and possessed themselves of the walls. The Prænestini were afterward reinforced by about 400 Perusini from Hetruria, and some Romans and Latins. All these being men of bravery and resolution, made a vigorous resistance. Winter approaching, Hannibal discontinued the siege, intending to renew it in the spring. He left a small body of troops before the town, and retired to Capua with the rest of his army.

Livy and some other historians tell us that both Hannibal and his soldiers were extremely softened by the effeminate life they gave themselves up to, this winter, at Capua, and are very particular in their descriptions of the luxury of the Carthaginians, making Capua prove as fatal a place to them as Cannæ had been to the Romans. It does not however appear by their after-behaviour, that they had lost much of their martial ardour. The principal cause of the decline of Hannibal's affairs in Italy after the battle of Cannæ, seems to have been his not receiving supplies from his own country. He had not men enough to oppose so many armies as the Romans sent against him, and at the same time to garrison the towns and protect the countries that had submitted to him. And that his residence at Capua had abated nothing of his wonted activity, seems plain from Livy himself, who informs us, that as soon as the rigour

Livy, b. 23. c. 18.

c. 19.

Year of ROME 537. B. C. 215. 236th consulship.

of the season began to soften, he renewed the siege of Casilinum, and this in sight of an army, which, without reckoning the allies, amounted to 25,000 men. This army was now under the conduct of Sempronius, general of the horse, the dictator having been recalled to Rome on account of some religious affair. Sempronius continued quiet in his camp; for he had received orders not to fight. Marcellus (according to Livy) would have gone to the assistance of the besieged, if he had not been hindered by the swelling of the Vulturnus, and by the people of Nola, who feared that the Capuans would attack them if the Roman garrison should withdraw. In the mean time Casilinum was reduced to great extremities for want of provisions, insomuch that many of the soldiers threw themselves from the walls, or exposed themselves without defence to the darts of the enemy. Sempronius attempted to relieve them, first by throwing barrels of meal into the Vulturnus, that ran through the town, and afterward by scattering in the stream great quantities of nuts, which the besieged stopped with hurdles. These convoys of provisions being discovered and cut off, the garrison were reduced to live upon rats, and what other vermin they could find; nay, they pulled off the leather that covered their shields, boiled it soft in water, and ate it. And when Hannibal, to hinder them from gathering any weeds or roots that grew close under the wall, had ploughed up the ground, they threw turnip-seed out upon the mould; which when the Carthaginian heard of, he cried out, "What! am I then to sit here till their turnips are come to maturity?" And from this time he became more willing to grant them terms. They were at length allowed to march out of the town, provided each freeman among them paid seven ounces of gold. The condition was accepted; they remained prisoners till the money was paid, and the Carthaginian put a garrison of 700 men into the place.

Livy, b. 23. c. 20.

The inhabitants of Petilia, in Bruttium, gave likewise a signal proof of their attachment to the republic, and shewed how agreeable her government was to her subjects. They resolutely stood a siege, though refused assistance from Rome on account of the distress she was in; and Himilco, one of Hannibal's lieutenants, found almost as much difficulty in subduing them, as the general had met with in reducing the garrison of Casilinum. Year of ROME 537. B.C. 215. 236th consulship. Livy, b. 23. c. 30.

About the same time couriers arrived from Sicily and Sardinia, with complaints from the prætors of those two provinces of the want both of provisions and pay for their armies and fleets. The answer was, that they must shift for themselves as well as they could; for that Rome was not in a condition to help them. King Hiero supplied the prætor of Sicily with what money he wanted, and six months' provisions; and the cities of Sardinia in alliance with the public raised contributions among themselves for the prætor of that island. c. 21.

And now the senate began to think of filling up the many vacant places in their assembly. When this matter was in debate, Sp. Carvilius proposed that the present opportunity might be taken to oblige the Latins, those ancient and faithful allies of Rome, by admitting two out of each nation of them to sit among the fathers; but the motion was rejected with indignation; and Fabius reproved Carvilius for his imprudence in exposing the senate to a shameful innovation, or to the danger of affronting the Latins, at so critical a conjuncture. He added, that it was of the utmost consequence to observe a strict silence upon this head, that so the allies might never know such a proposal had been made. The matter was kept secret; no mischief followed. c. 22.

As there were no censors in being, to fill up the vacancies in question, and the dictator was now with the army, the consul Terentius, by order of the senate, nominated M. Fabius Buteo, the oldest of the former censors, to be a second dictator, whose office should

Year of ROME 537. B.C.215. 236th consulship. Livy, b. 23. c. 23.

be confined to this affair. And never did dictator discharge his trust with more modesty and prudence. The first upon his list were all those who, since the last censors, had obtained curule magistracies, but had not yet been ranked among the fathers; then all those, without exception, who had been tribunes of the people, plebeian ædiles, or quæstors; and, lastly, such of the citizens as could shew the spoils of enemies by them vanquished, or had been rewarded by their generals with a civic crown. By this impartial election the Romans had the happiness to see 177 new senators created without jealously or contention. Fabius was highly applauded for his conduct, and when he had finished his list, he immediately abdicated the dictatorship, though he had been named to it for six months.

CHAP. XXIII.

FOURTH YEAR OF THE WAR.

538. Sempronius Gracchus and Posthumius Albinus are raised to the consulship. The latter being cut off, together with all his army, by the Gauls, the senate resolve to send no more armies into Gaul. Fabius Cunctator is chosen in the room of the late consul. Hannibal enters into a treaty with king Philip of Macedon, whose ambassadors, in their return home, are taken at sea and carried to Rome. The senate resolve to keep the Macedonian out of Italy, by making war upon him in his own country. The campaign in Italy passes in expeditions of no great importance, and the Romans, though they have many armies in the field, never hazard a general action against Hannibal. Their arms prosper in Sardinia and Spain. In Sicily, king Hiero being dead, his grandson and successor Hieronymus makes an alliance with Carthage, and is soon after assassinated by his own subjects.

Fabius Cunctator. Philip of Macedon.

Year of ROME 538. B.C.214. 237th consulship. Livy, b. 23. c. 30.

THE next affair, at Rome, was to appoint the great officers of the state for the new year. T. Sempronius Gracchus (general of the horse to the dictator Junius) and L. Posthumius Albinus, now at the head of an army in Cisalpine Gaul, were elected consuls. Then the several prætors were named, and Marcellus had the power and title given him of proconsul; because, of all the Roman generals in Italy, he was the only one who had gained any advantage over the enemy since the battle of Cannæ. The elections being over, Junius returned to his camp in Apulia, but Sempronius continued

in the city, to consult with the senate about the operations of the approaching campaign. While they were deliberating on these things, news came to Rome that Posthumius Albinus (one of the consuls elect), with all his army, was destroyed by the Gauls.[s] The fortitude of the Romans enabled them to surmount this last calamity of so unfortunate a year. Sempronius assembled the senate, and endeavoured to raise their dejected spirits. "The defeat of Cannæ ought to have hardened us against every adversity that can happen in war. Shall we be discouraged by moderate losses, after having supported the greatest calamities? The war with the Gauls may be deferred. Let us have no more armies in Gaul, but turn all our forces against Hannibal. When he is once driven out of Italy, the rebellious nations will soon be reduced again." This advice was followed, and all the Roman forces were ordered to the provinces near Hannibal.

Year of ROME 536. B. C. 214. 237th consulship. Livy, b. 23. c. 24. c. 25.

In the new disposition of employments, Terentius Varro, notwithstanding his former ill success, was intrusted with the command of an army in Apulia, and had the character of proconsul. His behaviour since his misfortune had softened every body to him. He had let his hair and beard grow, and had never taken a meal lying on a bed, as was the manner of the Romans. Nay, it is said, he modestly declined the dictatorship, to which the people, still well-affected to him, would have raised him.

Val. Max. b. 4. c. 5. §. 2. Frontin. Stratag. l. 4. c. 5. §. 6.

It now remained to choose a new consul in the room of Posthumius Albinus; and Marcellus being sent upon a commission to the army, it was suspected and complained of in the senate, that he was kept out of the way

Livy, b. 23. c. 31.

[s] According to Livy, (b. 23. c. 24.) the Gauls made use of a very extraordinary stratagem upon this occasion.—Posthumius being to pass through a wood, they, against his coming, had, on each side the road, sawed all the trees so far that a little force would serve to cast them down.—When, therefore, the whole army had entered this dangerous passage, the Gauls that lay about the wood began to throw down the trees, which falling one against another, those that were nearest the road came upon the heads of the Romans, so that scarce ten men of them escaped being crushed.

Year of ROME 538. B. C. 214. on purpose that he might not be present at the *comitia*. Sempronius therefore deferred convening the centuries till the return of Marcellus, and then he was unanimously chosen consul. But as it had happened to thunder during the assembly, the augurs laid hold of this accident to declare the election disagreeable to the will of the gods. Their true reason for opposing it was his being a plebeian, for Sempronius also being of that order, should Marcellus's election be confirmed, Rome would have two plebeian consuls. Hereupon Marcellus abdicated, and Fabius Cunctator was chosen (the third time) in his stead.

237th consulship.

Livy, b. 23. c. 32. And now the Romans began to be in motion. Fabius put himself at the head of those troops which the late dictator had commanded. Sempronius was general of the volones, and of 25,000 auxiliaries. The troops that had escaped from Cannæ, and which after that battle had served under Marcellus, and all the weak soldiers in the army lately under the conduct of Junius Pera, had been sent into Sicily, there to serve as long as the war should last in Italy. In the room of these, Marcellus led to his camp near Suessula (a city nine miles from Nola), two legions that had been raised for the defence of Rome. The prætor Lævinus was ordered to cover Apulia with two legions, which arrived from Sicily, and to defend the coast from Brundusium to Tarentum, with a fleet of twenty-five ships. A like number of vessels was sent under Q. Fulvius Flaccus, the other prætor, to guard the coast near the capital. The legion under Varro being commanded into Sicily, he was ordered to make new levies in the country of Picenum, and to continue there to protect that and the neighbouring territories.

C. 33. While the prætor Lævinus lay encamped at Luceria in Apulia, a company of Macedonians were, to his great surprise, brought before him.

At the head of them was an Athenian named Xeno-

phanes. These strangers had landed not far from the Lacinian promontory, and were making their way to Hannibal's camp near Capua, when Lævinus's scouts intercepted them. Being examined by the prætor, the Athenian answered that he was commissioned by king Philip of Macedon to treat of an alliance with the Roman republic. Lævinus, overjoyed at this, shewed great respect to the ambassador, and furnished him with guides to conduct him to Rome. It is not known by what artifice he got to Hannibal's camp: but the league which, in his master's name, he made with the Carthaginian, is preserved to this day.[t] Having finished his commission,

Year of ROME 538. B.C. 214. 237th consulship.

[t] The form of the league, as it is in Polybius, (b. 7. c. 2.) runs thus.

The treaty confirmed by oath, which Hannibal the general, Mago, Myrcan, Barmocar, and all the senators of Carthage that are with him [Hannibal], and all the Carthaginians that serve under him, have concluded with Xenophanes the Athenian, the son of Cleomachus, whom king Philip, the son of Demetrius, hath sent to us in his own name, and in the name of the Macedonians, and of his allies.

In the presence of Jupiter and Juno, and Apollo; in the presence of the tutelary divinity of the Carthaginians, and of Hercules, and of Iolaus; in the presence of Mars, of Triton and Neptune; in the presence of the gods who accompany our expedition, and of the sun, the moon, and the earth; in the presence of the rivers, the fields, and the waters; in the presence of all the gods who rule over Carthage; in the presence of all the gods who rule over Macedon and the rest of Greece; in the presence of all the gods who preside over war, and at the making this treaty; Hannibal the general hath said, and all the senators of Carthage that are with him, and all the Carthaginians that are in his army,

If it seem good unto you and to us, this shall be a treaty of amity and good-will between you and us, as friends, allies, and brethren, upon condition that king Philip, and the Macedonians, and all the other Greeks that are his allies, shall preserve and defend the Carthaginian lords, and Hannibal the general, and those that are with him, and the governors of provinces dependant upon the Carthaginians, and those that use the same laws with them; and the inhabitants of Utica, and of all the cities and countries subject to the Carthaginians, and all the soldiers and allies, and all the cities and nations in confederacy with us in Italy, Gaul, and Liguria, and all those in this country who are in friendship and alliance with us. In like manner the Carthaginian armies, and the inhabitants of Utica, and all the cities and nations subject to Carthage, and the soldiers and allies, and all the nations and cities with which we have amity and alliance in Italy, in Gaul, in Liguria, and with which we may contract amity and alliance in this country, shall preserve and defend king Philip, and the Macedonians, and all their allies amongst the Greeks. We will not secretly devise evil against one another. We will not lay snares for one another. We [the Macedonians] with all affection and good-will, without guile or fraud [declare that we] will be enemies to the enemies of the Carthaginians, except to those kings, cities, and ports, with which we are in friendship and alliance. In like manner, we [the Carthaginians] will be enemies to the enemies of king Philip, except to those kings, cities, and nations, with whom we are in alliance and friendship. You [the Macedonians] shall engage in the war we have with the Romans till it please the gods to give success to our arms and yours. You shall assist us with what is necessary, according as shall be agreed upon between us. But if the gods shall not grant to you and us a happy issue of the war against the Romans and their allies, and if we be reduced to make peace with the Romans, we shall treat in such a manner as that you shall be included in the treaty; and on condition that they shall not be allowed to declare war against you; that the Romans shall not be masters of the

Year of ROME 538. B.C. 214. 237th consul-ship. he returned to his ship, and Mago, Bostar, and Gisco, three ambassadors from Hannibal, embarked with him. They were scarce out at sea when the vessel was descried by P. Valerius Flaccus, whom Lævinus had appointed to command the fleet. She was soon obliged to strike to some ships sent after her. Xenophanes endeavoured to escape a second time, by the same story of his embassy from Philip to the senate; adding only, that not having been able to reach the capital, because the enemy infested the roads, he had negotiated his business with the prætor Lævinus. He would have imposed upon Flaccus, but for the habit and language of the three Carthaginians. The Roman having discovered the truth, detached five galleys, under the command of Valerius Antias, to transport the Athenian and his companions to Rome.

Livy, b. 23. c. 35. To return to Hannibal. Campania was now the chief seat of the war; and the Campanians themselves, to assist him, raised an army of 14,000 men. These having, in vain, solicited Cumæ, a city in the neighbourhood, to join with them, endeavoured, with no better success,

c. 36. to surprise the Cumans by treachery. After which Hannibal, at the request of the Campanians, laid siege to the place. Fabius was then encamped at Cales, but durst not cross the Vulturnus, to go to the assistance of the besieged, because of unlucky omens and prodigies. Sempronius had a little before entered the place, and he defended it. He is said to have slain in a sally 1300 of the Carthaginians. Hannibal the next day presented battle, in hopes the consul, flushed with his success, would venture to fight: but the Romans keeping close

Corcyræi, nor of the Apolliniates, nor of the Dyrrachini, nor of Pharus, nor of Dymallar, nor of the Parthini, nor of Antintania. They shall likewise restore to Demetrius Pharus all his friends and relations who are in the Roman dominions. If the Romans shall declare war against you or against us, we will assist each other as the occasion shall require. We will act in the same manner in case any other shall declare war against us, except the kings, cities, and nations, with whom we are in alliance and friendship.—If either of us shall judge proper to add any thing to this treaty, or retrench any thing from it, it shall not be done without the consent of both of us.

within the walls, he at length drew off his men and returned to his camp, which was on Mount Tifata. Year of ROME 538. B. C. 214.

Whilst Sempronius Gracchus was thus defending Cumæ, the Roman armies prospered in two other places. Another Sempronius, surnamed Longus, gained a victory over Hanno in Lucania, and drove him from thence into Bruttium. And Lævinus retook three cities of the Hirpini, which had revolted to Hannibal. 237th consulship. Polyb. b. 23. c. 37.

About the same time the intercepted ambassador from king Philip, and his letters, were brought to Rome. And the senate, finding that the treaty was actually concluded, came immediately to the wise and noble resolution of keeping the Macedonian out of Italy, by carrying the war into his country. c. 38.

And now Fabius, having made expiation for the prodigies, at length passed the Vulturnus, and both the consuls carried on the war in concert together. Fabius recovered some towns that had declared for Hannibal, and had received Carthaginian garrisons. At Nola, the people, still disaffected to Rome, were secretly plotting to destroy their senators, and betray the city to Hannibal. To prevent this, Fabius sent Marcellus with his army into ..., and he himself removed to the proconsul's camp near Suessula. There he continued quiet, while Marcellus made frequent incursions into the lands of the Hirpini and the Samnites about Caudium. Deputies from these two nations came to Hannibal to inform him of the devastation of their country, and to desire relief. They even added reproaches to their complaints. "We believed (said they) that so long as you were safe and our friend, we might have banished all fear, not only of the Romans, but (were it lawful so to speak) even of the angry gods themselves. Yet certain it is, that whilst you are not only safe and victorious, but so near us too, that you can see the burning of our houses, and almost hear the cries of our wives and children, we have been miserably harassed this summer by Marcellus, as if he, c. 39. c. 40. c. 42.

Year of ROME 538. B.C. 214. 537th consulship. Livy, b. 23. c. 43.

and not you, had been conqueror at Cannæ. The Romans give out that you are like a bee that can sting but once."[u] Hannibal returned a civil answer to the deputies, and encouraged them to hope for a happy issue of the war. "Of the victories I have gained (said he), the last has always been the greatest. That of the lake Thrasymenus was more considerable than that of the Trebia, and the victory of Cannæ surpassed them both. I shall soon gain a fourth victory superior to all the past." With this answer, and rich presents, he dismissed the deputies.

c. 44. Hannibal being soon after joined by Hanno with some troops from Bruttium, invested Nola, which was defended by Marcellus who (if we may credit the Latin historian), boldly marched his troops out of the town, and

[u] The Roman historians frequently reproach Hannibal with inaction after the winter he spent in Capua, and Livy upon this occasion has put very severe reflections upon him into the mouths of the Samnite deputies. The truth of the matter seems to be this: the Romans had now learned by their defeats that they were not a match for Hannibal in the open field. It was a long time before they would yield this point; but the battle of Cannæ seems to have convinced them. At first they sent one consul to oppose him with the usual army of two legions (consisting of about 4000 men each) with a proportionable number of auxiliaries. The misfortune at the Ticin, and what immediately followed it, obliged them to send the other consul with his army to join his colleague. These being defeated at the Trebia, the republic increased her armies the next year. Flaminius had alone the command of four legions, and his colleague of two. The former being vanquished at the lake Thrasymen, and Fabius's dilatory arts not having any sensible good effect, the Romans seemed resolved to exert their whole strength, and ruin Hannibal at a blow. They doubled their legions, increased the number of men in each, and sent both their consuls at the head of an army of near 90,000 men to fight a decisive battle. The victory over these at Cannæ was so complete, that the Romans saw plainly they could not hope to conquer the Carthaginian in a general battle, and that they must change their manner of carrying on the war. Accordingly they divided their troops into many armies, never risked their whole strength in one action, but contented themselves with wasting Hannibal's forces in small engagements, harassing his allies, and protecting their own. This very year they besieged him, as it were, with armies. Fabius commanded one at Liternum, Sempronius had another at Cumæ, and Marcellus a third at Suessula, all in Campania, where Hannibal was. Lævinus defended Apulia; and Terentius Varro, Picenum. Each of these generals had at least two legions under him, except T. Varro, who had but one. Beside these, Livy mentions a Sempronius Longus, who had an army in Lucania, sufficient to defeat a considerable part of the Carthaginian army, under Hanno, of which 2000 were slain in the action. All these forces joined together would have made a greater army than the Romans had at Cannæ, but the republic had now altered her measures, nay so steady was she in pursuing this new method of carrying on the war, that though Hannibal was many years hemmed in among the Bruttians, in a corner of Italy, without supplies from his own county, and in great want of men and money, she never ventured to unite her forces in order to compel him to a general battle. Now considering the small number of his troops, his want of money, the many armies he had to deal with, the towns he had to garrison, and the several allies he had to protect, it is more to be wondered at that he kept footing so long in Italy, than that he made no progress in conquest.

came to a pitched battle with the Carthaginian before the walls; victory declared for the Romans, and Hannibal lost 5000 men.[x] Year of ROME 538. B. C. 214.

About this time, 1272 of his Spanish and Numidian horse went over to the enemy. These deserters continued faithful to Rome, and did her important services, for which they were recompensed with lands in their own countries at the end of the war. The Carthaginian general raised the siege of Nola, sent Hanno again into Bruttium, with the forces he had brought from thence, marched himself into Apulia, and pitched his camp near Arpi, where he purposed to winter. As soon as he was gone. Fabius made two incursions, with the greatest part of his army, into the flat country of Campania, gathered in all the corn, and carried it to his camp at Suessula, which he put in a condition to serve him for winter quarters. He then ordered Marcellus to keep no more soldiers at Nola than were necessary to defend the town, and to send the rest to Rome, that they might neither be a burden to the allies nor an expense to the republic. The consul Sempronius marched his legions from Cumæ to Luceria in Apulia; from thence he dispatched the prætor Lævinus with the army under his command to Brundusium, to guard the coast of Salentum, and provide what was necessary for the Macedonian war. 237th consulship. Livy, b. 23. c. 46. c. 48.

[x] Livy, Plutarch, and others, relate several victories gained by Marcellus over Hannibal. But Corn. Nepos (in vit. Hannib.) tells us, that the latter was always victorious in Italy, and that after the battle of Cannæ no one ever ventured to pitch a camp in the plain against him. "Quamdiu in Italia fuit, nemo ei in acie restitit, nemo adversus eum, post Cannensem pugnam, in campo castra posuit." Polybius's history of the Roman affairs after the battle of Cannæ is not entire; but we have several considerable fragments of it remaining, none of which mention any victory over Hannibal in Italy. From a passage in b. 9. c. 3. it is plain that Hannibal was never defeated by any Roman general before the siege of Capua, and consequently not by Marcellus this year. "Who (says the historian) can help admiring the Romans? That they who durst not draw out an army in battle against Hannibal, but used to lead their legions, and that with difficulty, along the hills, should venture to lay siege to a strong city, while they themselves were harassed by an enemy whom they dared not to think of encountering in the field. But the Carthaginians, who had been conquerors in every battle, suffered no less than the vanquished," &c. And in b. 15. c. 16. he expressly asserts, that Hannibal was never vanquished before the battle of Zama. And, in c. 11. he represents Hannibal, just before that battle, reminding his soldiers, that they had been victorious in every battle they had fought in Italy.

Year of ROME 538. B.C. 214. 237th consulship. Livy, b. 23. c. 34. 40, 41.

While affairs in Italy were in the situation that has been described, good news came to Rome from Sardinia and Spain. The prætor, Manlius Torquatus, had defeated the rebel Sardinians, though assisted by an army sent from Carthage under the command of Asdrubal the Bald. Twelve thousand of the enemy were killed upon the spot. Asdrubal himself, with Hanno and Mago, his chief officers, taken prisoners, and the island entirely reduced.

C. 48. The Scipios had been equally fortunate in their wars in Spain. However they wrote to the senate, that the troops wanted their pay, clothes to cover them, and provisions to subsist them. As to the first indeed, they added, that if the public treasury was exhausted, they would find means to get money from the Spaniards; but that the other necessaries must be sent from Rome; otherwise they could neither keep the province in obedience, nor support the army. The senators were all sensible of the reasonableness of the request; but how to comply with it was the difficulty. They considered the numerous forces they already had to maintain both at land and sea, and what a large new fleet must presently be equipped, if a war with Macedon should be commenced: that as to Sicily and Sardinia, which before the war brought in considerable subsidies to the treasury, they were now scarce able to maintain the forces necessary for the defence of these provinces; and that to tax the citizens at home for the supply demanded, would quite oppress and ruin them. The result of all was, that Fulvius the prætor should assemble the people, and lay before them the necessities of the state, and earnestly press all those who were grown rich by farming the public revenues, to lend the public, for a while, a part of what they had gained by it, and furnish the army in Spain with necessaries, under a promise of being reimbursed the first of any of the public creditors, when the treasury should be in a condition to discharge debts. The præ-

tor accordingly represented the matter to the people, and also appointed a day when he would bargain for clothes and corn, to be sent to the troops in Spain, and for other necessaries to equip the fleet. Year of ROME 538. B. C. 214. 237th consulship.

When the day came, three companies, of nineteen persons each, presented themselves as undertakers; but they insisted on two demands, that, while thus employed, they should be exempted from serving in the war: and that, if what they shipped were taken by the enemy, or cast away by storm, the public should bear the loss; both which conditions being agreed to, they undertook this affair, so that now the Roman armies were subsisted by the purses of private subjects; nor was any thing wanting to carry on the war with Spain more than if the treasury had been full.

The Scipios, thus supplied, immediately took the field, and (according to Livy) performed strange things, as shall hereafter be related.

The accounts from Sicily were not so satisfactory as those from Spain and Sardinia. King Hiero was dead, and had left his dominions, by will, to his grandson Hieronymus (whose father Gelo had rebelled against the old king the year before his death, and had come to an untimely end), under the tuition of fifteen guardians; whom he had entreated, a little before his decease, to keep up a good understanding with the Romans, as he himself had done for fifty years past. Hieronymus, being suffered by his guardians to take the reins of government into his own hands at fifteen years of age, ran into many excesses of vice and cruelty. He affected an extravagant pomp, was difficult of access, gave audience with an air of contempt, and often added insulting jests to refusals. Three lords of distinction engrossed his favour; Andranodorus, and Zoippus (his two uncles-in-law), and Thraso, surnamed Charcarus. This last was a friend to the Romans; the other two favoured Carthage. Thraso being put to death upon a false accusa- Livy, b. 24. c. 4. B. 23. 30. Polyb. de Virt. et Vit. Exc. lib. 7. Livy, b. 24. c. 5, 6.

Year of ROME 538. A. C. 214. 237th consul-ship.

tion of treason, the uncles easily persuaded their nephew to enter into a negotiation with Hannibal. Claudius Pulcher, the Roman prætor in Sicily, sent a deputation to the king, to renew the alliance formerly made by his grandfather with the Romans. Hieronymus insulted the deputies, asking them, what fortune they had at the battle of Cannæ? "Because (said he) Hannibal's ambassadors have given most incredible accounts of it; and I would fain know the truth, that I may take up my measures accordingly." The Romans only answered, that when he had learned to give audience to ambassadors in a serious manner, they would come to him again; and then having rather admonished than requested him, not rashly to violate the ancient league, they departed and returned to the prætor. Hieronymus, without delay, sent an ambassador to Carthage, to ratify a treaty he had already made with Hannibal; the substance of which was, that he and the Carthaginians should divide Sicily between them, when they had jointly conquered the whole island. But being afterward persuaded to think that he had himself a title of inheritance to all Sicily, by being descended from Nereis, the daughter of Pyrrhus (who had been declared king of it), he sent a new embassy, with instructions to lay before the senate of Carthage his pretended rights, and to conclude only a treaty of mutual assistance with them. The Carthaginians were glad at any rate to draw off Syracuse from the Roman interest, and readily yielded to the proposals.

Livy, b. 24. c. 7.

Not long after, this foolish king being at Leontini, a town situate on the frontiers of his dominions, was there assassinated in the presence of his guards, by some conspirators among his own subjects; an event which promised no great benefit to the Romans: for though the Syracusians, fond of liberty, seemed much inclined to change the monarchy into a commonwealth, they seemed no less inclined to side with the Carthaginian republic.

CHAP. XXIV.

FIFTH YEAR OF THE WAR.

When the *comitia* at Rome were going to raise his election, and is himself chosen together with Claudius Marcellus. The Roman citizens remarkably shew their zeal for the republic. The soldiers serve without pay, and fleets are equipped at the expense of private men. Sempronius is said to have defeated an army of Carthaginians under Hanno, and Marcellus to have gained an advantage over Hannibal. Fabius besieges and takes Casilinum, while the prætor Lævinus begins the war in Greece against king Philip. T. Otacilius to the consulate, Fabius the president of the assembly, knowing the insufficiency of the candidate, hinders 539. Marcellus.

In Italy, the campaign of this year being ended, Fabius took the road to Rome, to hold the *comitia* by centuries for the new elections. The prudent consul did not enter the city, but appeared at the assembly in the Campus Martius, on the day appointed, in his military habit, and attended by his lictors with their axes as well as fasces. It fell by lot to the tribe of the Anio to vote first, and of this tribe to a century which consisted of the younger men; and the majority of this prerogative century[y] named to the consulship T. Otacilius (a relation of the president) and M. Æmilius Regillus, men, neither of them, of such abilities as the present exigency required. Fabius, therefore, thought fit to interrupt the election, and harangue the assembly. He first excused the irregularity of his proceeding, by the present dangers which threatened the state. He then represented to them the importance of choosing consuls qualified to enter the lists with Hannibal; that Otacilius had given no cause to think him equal to that enterprise, not having performed any one thing for which the command of the fleet had, this year, been intrusted to him; and that Æmilius, as high-priest of Quirinus, could not be absent from Rome. "Romans (he added), do you name such consuls as you would wish to be conducted by, if

Year of ROME 538. B. C. 214. 237th consulship.

Livy, b. 24. c. 8.

[y] After the thirty-five tribes were completed, the centuries, which formed the *comitia centuriata*, were divided among the tribes, and became parts of them; and then in these assemblies it was decided by lot which of the tribes should vote first, and the tribe upon which the lot fell was called the prerogative tribe. Then lots were again cast among the centuries of this prerogative tribe, to determine which of those should vote before the rest; and the century upon which the lot fell was called the prerogative century. Rosin. p. 466.

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you were this moment to give Hannibal battle. I pronounce, that the prerogative century gave their suffrages again. Heralds, proclaim my orders." Otacilius at first made some opposition to this; but the lictors with their axes surrounded him, and soon forced him to silence. Then the prerogative century returned to the voting place, and gave their suffrages for the president himself, Q. Fabius Verrucosus* (surnamed Cunctator, or the Lingerer) and Claudius Marcellus,† who was absent; and the other centuries unanimously followed the example of this. Rome had never seen two greater men together at the head of her affairs. And though Fabius, by an irregular proceeding, had procured his own continuance in the consular dignity, against law and custom, yet no one accused him of ambition or tyranny, or of being actuated by any motive but a zeal for his country. The Romans were convinced of the necessity of continuing the commanders of their armies more than one year in office; and they now, therefore, made little alteration in the disposition of military employments.

Year of ROME 539. B. C. 213. 238th consulship. Livy, b. 24. c. 9. * 4th time. † 3d time.

Livy, b. 34. c. 1.

As a law had been made the last year (at the motion of Oppius, a tribune of the people) to restrain the luxury of women, forbidding them to wear above half an ounce of gold in toys, and to ride in a chariot within a mile of Rome, except to a public sacrifice; so now the censors, M. Atilius Regulus and P. Furius Philus, made a strict inquiry into offences committed by the men, to the detriment of the public. Cæcilius Metellus and the other young nobles who with him would in despair have left Italy after the battle of Cannæ, those of the ten deputies from the prisoners taken at that battle, who had not returned to Hannibal according to their oath, and about 2000 young men of military age who had neglected, without just cause, to enrol themselves for the service, were all degraded. The senate also decreed, that all who were stigmatized by the censors should be sent into Sicily, and there be obliged to serve on foot, amongst

B. 24. c. 18.

the runaways from the battle of Cannæ, till the war should be at an end. The Romans never exerted their virtue and disinterested zeal for their country in a greater degree than in this second Punic war; private men voluntarily advanced money for the public works; the masters who had sold their slaves to the republic, would not accept of a payment till the war was ended; scarce a centurion or trooper demanded his pay, and if any one had so little generosity as to receive it from the quæstor, he became the jest of his legion. Nay, the money of the widow and the orphan was freely brought into the treasury, so great was the confidence of the public faith. Year of ROME 539. B. C. 213. 238th consulship.

Such being the dispositions of the people, the new levies were soon completed. Six legions were added to the twelve already on foot. The Sicilian expedition seemed to require the most dispatch; and Otacilius was therefore ordered to embark with all diligence for that island, with one legion. And in order to man and equip the fleet, the consuls, by authority from the senate, laid a tax upon the rich.—Each head of a family, who by the censor's register was found worth from 50,000 to 100,000 asses, was obliged to maintain a rower or a sailor, at his own expense, for six months; and the more wealthy, three, five, seven, in proportion to their riches. The senators were obliged each to maintain eight sailors for a whole year. Livy, b. 24. c. 11.

What remained now, was to march the land forces, and begin the campaign in Italy. Hannibal, who had spent the winter in Apulia, returned to his camp on the Tifata, at the request of the Capuans, who thought their city threatened. He had ordered Hanno, with an army of 17,000 foot and 1200 Numidian horse, to come from the country of the Bruttians and seize Beneventum; but Sempronius, with his army of volones, prevented him, and possessed himself of that defenceless city. From thence he marched to give Hanno battle; and to engage his volones to exert themselves, he promised every man his c. 13. c. 14.

Year of ROME 539. B.C. 213. 238th consulship. Livy, b. 24. c. 15, 16.

liberty, who should bring off the head of an enemy. The senate had given him power to enfranchise whom he pleased. But this promise had like to have ruined his affairs. For though his troops fought bravely at first, they lost much time in cutting off the heads of the enemies they had slain, and the ardour of those who had performed the condition of obtaining their freedom was immediately abated: so that he was forced to publish a new declaration through all the ranks of his army, That none should obtain their liberty, unless the Carthaginians were routed. Hereupon the volones renewed the fight with impetuosity, and gained so complete a victory, that scarce 2000 of the enemy escaped.[a] We are told, however, that 4000 of those legionary slaves did not behave themselves in the battle so well as the rest, and were afraid to pursue the enemy to their camp; and that, apprehending punishment for their cowardice, they retired after the action to a hill. Sempronius had compassion for their weakness, and sent a tribune to invite them back. And then, to perform his promise, he pronounced all, without exception, free. Nevertheless, that some distinction might be made between the brave and the cowards, he forbade the latter to eat sitting or lying down, all the time of their service, unless they were sick.

c. 17. In the meanwhile Hannibal endeavoured to surprise Puteoli. Failing in this attempt, he went and pillaged the country about Naples. From thence he moved towards Nola, whither the populace (who were still in his interest, in opposition to their senate) had invited him. —Marcellus being joined by the army from Suessula (now under Q. Pomponius) attacked and killed 2000 of his men, with the loss only of 400; and would have entirely ruined him, had Claudius Nero, whom the consul had ordered with some squadrons out of Nola to make a tour, and fall upon the Carthaginians in the rear

[a] The reader has been already cautioned concerning Livy's tales of Roman victories in this war.

during the action, come up in time.—Marcellus offered Hannibal battle again the next day; but the latter declined it, decamped the night following, and marched towards Tarentum. Year of ROME 539. B.C. 213. 238th consulship.

He had entertained strong hopes that this city would open her gates to him, upon his first appearance before it. Some Tarentine prisoners, whom he had formerly released without ransom, had engaged a great number of the young men of that place in his interest, and these invitedhim thither. But M. Livius, who commanded in the place, took such effectual measures to prevent the designs of the factious, that Hannibal was again disappointed. He quitted the enterprise, and marched towards Salapia in Apulia, where he resolved to spend the winter. Thither he ordered corn to be brought from Lucania; and his foragers having found in Apulia about 4000 colts, Hannibal ordered them to be broke: and with them he remounted his African horsemen. These were all his exploits during the whole campaign. Livy, b. 24. c. 20.

But whilst the Carthaginian was on his march to Tarentum, Fabius besieged Casilinum, and sent to Marcellus to come with some legions and cover the siege, apprehending an attack from the Capuans. The garrison in the place consisted of 2000 Campanians and 700 Carthaginians; and they made so vigorous a defence, that Fabius, by the daily slaughter of his men, was much discouraged. He would have raised the siege, if Marcellus had not represented to him, "That a wise general should well consider all the difficulties of an enterprise before he undertakes it; but that, when it is once undertaken, he ought to go through with it: and that to desist now from the siege, would much lessen the credit of the republic among her allies." Upon this, Fabius renewed his attacks with more ardour than ever; and the Campanians were so intimidated by it, that they sent to him an offer to quit the place if they might retire in safety to Capua. Fabius consented; but Marcellus c. 19. Plut. Life of Fabius.

Year of ROME 539. B. C. 213. 238th consul. ship.

taking his opportunity, before fifty of them were come out of the city, seized the gate, entered the place, and put all who opposed him to the sword, without distinction.[a] The prisoners he sent to Rome. After the taking of Casilinum, Marcellus returned to Nola, and Fabius marched into Samnium, laid waste the country, and took several towns.

Livy, b. 24. c. 40.

Hannibal still depended upon his alliance with the king of Macedon; and, indeed, Philip began to draw towards Italy. He first besieged Apollonia; but not succeeding in this enterprise, he turned his arms against Oricum, and took it. The inhabitants sent notice of their misfortune to Lævinus at Brundusium, who in two days after the news arrived before the place. The king had left a small garrison in it, and was returned to the siege of Apollonia. Lævinus easily took Oricum, and, while he was there, deputies came to him from the people of Apollonia, begging assistance against the Macedonians. He sent thither 2000 foot, under the command of Q. Nævius Crista, who got into the town without being perceived by the enemy. Nævius soon after understanding that the Macedonian camp was very negligently guarded, broke into it in the night, and, if his soldiers had abstained from slaughter, might have taken Philip prisoner; but the groans of the dying waked others, who carried off the king half naked to his ships. He returned into Macedon, and the Roman fleet wintered at Oricum.

[a] This story ill agrees with the character given by the historians of Marcellus, but well with his after behaviour at the siege of Syracuse.

CHAP. XXV.

Hippocrates and Epicydes, two of Hannibal's agents in Sicily, get themselves, by intrigue, chosen prætors of Syracuse; yet the inhabitants of that city enter soon after into a league with Marcellus, then commander of the Roman army in the island. The Hannibalists, going to Leontini, persuade the Leontines to a rupture with the Romans; Marcellus takes the place at the first assault: nevertheless the Hannibalists not only make their escape, but by artifice and singular boldness find means to return to Syracuse, with an army under their command. They are re-elected prætors, and become absolute masters of the city. Marcellus lays close siege to it, but by the wonderful engines of Archimedes is constrained to turn the siege into a blockade. Archimedes.

HANNIBAL made himself some amends for his disappointment on the side of Macedon, by the troubles he found means to raise in Sicily.—Hippocrates and Epicydes, two brothers of Syracusian extraction, whom he had sent to conclude the treaty with Hieronymus, had worked themselves into that prince's favour, and, at the time of his death, commanded a body of 2000 Syracusians. Upon the news of the king's assassination, these generals, being abandoned by their soldiers, repaired to Syracuse, as thinking this the safest place for them in the present conjuncture. At their arrival they found that the heads of the conspiracy, who were favoured by the people, had come to an accommodation with Andranodorus, the late king's uncle-in-law, and chief of the royalist party, and that he, Themistus, and those leaders, had been chosen prætors to govern the state with the assistance of a senate. The two Hannibalists, doubtless believing that this change of government had changed the dispositions of the Syracusians with respect to Hannibal, to prevent all suspicion of their designing to raise disturbances, applied themselves to the prætors, and by their means obtained an audience of the senate. They spoke to this effect: "We came hither on the part of Hannibal to treat with his friend Hieronymus. We have only obeyed the commands of our general, and desire now to return to him; but as our journey is not like to be with safety to our persons, the Roman forces so much infesting Sicily, we request that we may have

Year of ROME 539. B. C. 213. 238th consulship.

Livy, b. 24. c. 23. et seq.

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a convoy as far as Locri in Italy." Their suit was easily obtained; for the assembly had no unwillingness to be rid of these generals of the late king, men extremely bold and enterprising, of great ability in war, and of narrow fortunes. The senate, however, were too dilatory in executing their own desires; and the brothers took advantage of the delay. Sometimes to the soldiers, with whom they were very intimate and familiar, sometimes to the deserters from the Roman fleet, and occasionally to the meanest of the populace, they whispered calumnies against the senators and other principal men of the city, accusing them, that under colour of renewing the league with Rome, they designed to betray Syracuse to her, in the view, that their own faction, having ing the sole merit of the pretended new alliance, might lord it over the rest.

These rumours being spread and believed, and drawing every day crowds of people to Syracuse, gave not only Hippocrates and Epicydes, but also Andranodorus, who, at the pressing instances of his ambitious wife, Demarata, the daughter of Hiero, aimed at the royalty, good hopes of changing the government, and effecting their several designs. Andranodorus having concerted his scheme with Themistus, the husband of Harmonia, Hieronymus's sister, unadvisedly imparted the secret to Aristo, a tragedian, who discovered it to the prætors. Aristo's profession was not dishonourable among the Greeks: he was a man well descended, and of a good estate, and the prætors therefore had no reason to reject his testimony, and it being confirmed by several corroborating circumstances, they, in concert with some of the oldest senators, placed guards at the door of the senate-house, who slew Andranodorus and Themistus as soon as they entered. This extraordinary action, *most of the senators being ignorant of the cause of it,* raised a great commotion and terror in the assembly. Aristo put an end to their fears. Being introduced by

the prætors, he informed the senate, "That a plot had been laid to cut off all the chiefs of the republic, and to seize Ortygia[b] in the name of Andranodorus, and that this was to have been executed by the help of the Spanish and African mercenaries, who had served under Hieronymus." He then entered into the particulars of the conspiracy, declaring the names of all the conspirators, and the several parts they were to have acted. His evidence obtained full belief, and the assembly passed a decree, pronouncing the death of Andranodorus and Themistus no less just than that of Hieronymus. In the mean time the people without doors had taken the alarm at this proceeding; and it was necessary to quiet them. The senate therefore deputed Sopater, one of the prætors, to harange the multitude. Year of ROME 539. B.C. 213. 238th consulship.

This orator began with invectives against Andranodorus and Themistus, as if he had been accusing them at the bar, charging them, as the tutors and counsellors of Hieronymus, with all the injustices, oppressions, and cruelties, committed by the order or authority of that king, and with many other atrocious crimes perpetrated since his death. In the conclusion of his speech, he intimated that they had been spirited up by their wives, the ambitious daughter and grand-daughter of Hiero, to aspire to royalty by the destruction of the people's liberty. At this the whole multitude cried out, that neither of those women ought to live, nor any one of the royal race be suffered to remain on the earth. The prætors, taking advantage of the people's present fury, immediately put it to the vote, and it was no sooner proposed then carried, that all who were of the royal family should be destroyed. In pursuance of this decree, certain officers, commissioned by the prætors, quickly dispatched Demarata and Harmonia. There was another daughter of Hiero, named Heraclea, the wife of

[b] A well fortified island to the south of Syracuse, and joined to the town by a bridge.

Year of ROME 539. B.C. 213. 238th consulship.

Zoippus, who had been sent ambassador by Hieronymus to king Ptolemy, and had chosen to continue at the Egyptian court in a voluntary exile from his country, rather than be a spectator of its miseries. This lady, with her two daughters, the same executioners inhumanly murdered, and with so much expedition, that an express from the magistrates (who on second thoughts relented) came too late to save them. But now the people also began to repent of their own precipitation, and to pity the fate of the dead. Their pity soon turned into rage against the first authors of their cruelty. They furiously called out for an election of prætors in the room of Andranodorus and Themistus; an election that was not like to be to the satisfaction of those already in power.

Livy, b. 24. c. 27. et seq.

When, on the day appointed, the assembly was formed, it happened, beyond all expectation, that somebody from the farther end of the crowd, named Epicydes, and another a little after, named Hippocrates, and straight almost the whole multitude, joined their suffrages for these two agents of Hannibal. The republic being very young, no method was yet settled for voting, all were indifferently admitted into the voting place, citizens, strangers, and Roman deserters. The magistrates in vain opposed the people's choice. Fearing a sedition, they gave way to numbers, and Hippocrates and Epicydes were declared prætors.

The two Hannibalists did not immediately discover their intentions. They were much dissatisfied, that deputies had been sent to Appius Claudius to renew the ancient alliance between Rome and Syracuse, yet they thought it best to conceal their dissatisfaction till a more favourable opportunity should present to embroil affairs. Appius was then at Murgantia, with a fleet of 100 ships, waiting to see what the revolutions among the Syracusians would produce.

At Rome it had been resolved, from the apprehension

that a dangerous war might arise in Sicily, to send the consul Marcellus to take upon him the direction of affairs in that island. He was just arrived in his province; and Appius referred the Syracusian deputies to him for a final answer. The consul approving the conditions, dispatched ambassadors to conclude the treaty with the prætors at Syracuse. But those ambassadors found the state of things there very different from what they had expected. A Carthaginian fleet had appeared off Cape Pachynum, and Hippocrates and Epicydes had laid hold of this advantage to attempt something in favour of Carthage, by infusing anew into the minds of the people, a jealousy of the partizans of Rome, a suspicion of their intending to betray Syracuse to the Romans. This jealousy was the more readily entertained, as Appius, to encourage the Roman party in the town, was come with his fleet to the mouth of the port. The populace ran tumultuously to hinder the Romans from landing, in case they should attempt it. Year of ROME 539 B. C. 213 238th consulship.

In the perplexity occasioned by these commotions, the magistrates thought it proper to call an assembly of the people. The multitude were for some time divided in opinion. At length Apollonides, one of the chief citizens, with great calmness, and as a man unbiassed by any private or party views, represented to them "the necessity of unanimously adhering to the one or the other of the rival republics. The choice (he said) was of much less importance than unanimity in choosing; yet, in his opinion, they had more encouragement to follow the example of Hiero than of Hieronymus, and to prefer a treaty with Rome, whose friendship they had happily experienced for fifty years, to the uncertain advantages of an alliance with Carthage, who, in times past, had not proved very faithful to her engagements. Nor was it a consideration of small moment, that they must have immediate peace with the Romans, or immediate war with them; whereas should they reject the

Year of ROME 539. B.C.213. 238th consulship.

friendship of the Carthaginians, a war with them might yet be at a great distance." The more dispassionate Apollonides appeared, the greater weight his advice had with the people; and as they were in no condition to support a war with Rome, it was in conclusion agreed that the treaty with that republic should be renewed, and a deputation sent to Marcellus for that purpose.

A few days after, the Leontines having demanded of the Syracusians a body of troops to defend their frontiers, the government thought this a favourable opportunity to get rid of a multitude of soldiers and officers, who were very turbulent in the city; and it was determined that Hippocrates should march to the assistance of the Leontines at the head of 4000 men, most of them deserters or mercenaries. This prætor, glad of an opportunity to create disturbances, readily accepted the commission, and, soon after his arrival among the Leontines, began to make stolen incursions into the Roman province, laying waste the country. Appius, informed of these hostilities, sent a body of soldiers to protect his allies. Those troops Hippocrates openly attacked, and put most of them to the sword. Hereupon Marcellus ordered deputies to Syracuse to complain of the infraction of the treaty, and to remonstrate, that a firm and lasting peace between Rome and Syracuse was not to be hoped for so long as Hippocrates and Epicydes continued in Sicily. The latter, fearing to be accused in the absence of his brother, and desirous of having some share in exciting a war, repaired in all haste to Leontini. There, in conjuction with Hippocrates, he represented to the inhabitants, "That Syracuse, while she provided for her own liberty, had expressly covenanted with the Romans, that she should have dominion over all the cities formerly subject to Hieronymus: but that the Leontines had as good a right to liberty as Syracuse, and that they ought therefore to refuse acceding to her treaty with Rome, unless

that covenant were taken out of it." The multitude was easily persuaded; so that when deputies from Syracuse complained of the slaughter made of the Roman troops, and desired the Leontines would concur with the Syracusians to banish Hippocrates and Epicydes out of the island, the citizens haughtily answered, "That they had given no commission to the Syracusians to make a peace with them for Rome, nor were they bound by a treaty concluded without their participation." The Syracusians acquainted Marcellus with this answer, and at the same time declared, that they would not only adhere steadily to their engagements with the Romans, but would join with them in besieging Leontini, on condition that this city, after its reduction, were restored to the dominion of Syracuse. Marcellus agreed to the proposal, assembled all his forces, sent for the prætor Appius to come to his assistance, and prepared to attack Leontini.

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About this time, a great company of those Roman soldiers who had fled from the battle of Cannæ, and who had been condemned, by a decree of the senate, to serve in a separate corps in Sicily as long as the war should last in Italy, came, with the permission of their commander Lentulus, and earnestly begged of the consul to be incorporated in his legions. Marcellus wrote to Rome in their favour: the conscript fathers returned answer, that it was their opinion the republic ought not to put any confidence in the courage of soldiers who had deserted their companions at the battle of Cannæ; yet if Marcellus thought otherwise, he might act in this matter as he pleased, provided none of them ever received any military rewards, or were suffered to return to Italy before the end of the war.

Plut. Life of Marcellus. Livy, b. 25. c. 5–7.

Leontini was taken upon the first assault; but Hippocrates and Epicydes made their escape to Erbessus. A body of 8000 men from Syracuse, under the command of Sosis and Diomenes, two of the prætors, marching

Livy. b. 24. c. 30. et seq. Plut. Life Marcellus.

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to join Marcellus, were met at the river Mylas by a man who told them that Leontini had been sacked, and all, without distinction, able to bear arms, put to the sword. This false story (occasioned by the execution of 2000 deserters, whom Marcellus had taken in the place) made such an impression on the soldiers, that their officers could not prevail with them to proceed to Leontini, but were forced to turn aside and lead them to Megara. From this place the prætors marched them soon after towards Erbessus, believing that the seditious spirit among them would be easily quelled, if Hippocrates and Epicydes, the true authors of all the late disturbances, were destroyed, or driven out of the country.

The brothers found themselves now reduced to extremities; yet having some hope in the good will of the soldiers, with whom they were well acquainted, and this hope being favoured by the late report of the massacre at Leontini, they left Erbessus, in the resolution to yield themselves up to the soldiers at discretion. It happened, luckily for them, that a body of Cretans, which had formerly served the Romans as auxiliaries, and, being taken prisoners at the battle of Thrasymen, had been set at liberty by Hannibal, and had since served under Hippocrates and Epicydes in the reign of Hieronymus, was marching in the van of the army. To these they addressed themselves in a suppliant manner, presenting them olive branches and imploring their protection, "That they might not be left at the mercy of the Syracusians, who would quickly deliver them up to be slain by the Romans." The Cretans immediately cried out to them, to take courage, and promised to defend them: so that when Sosis and Dinomenes, informed of what passed, came in haste and ordered the Hannibalists to be seized they found no obedience from their troops, but rather a disposition to revolt. In this perplexity they gave orders for returning to Megara, and sent an account to Syracuse of what had happened. During the

march of the army, a letter, forged by Hippocrates, but pretended to be written by the prætors at Syracuse to Marcellus, and intercepted, was produced and read to the soldiers by the contriver of it. It was to this effect; "The prætors of Syracuse to the consul Marcellus, health.—You have done justly and prudently in sparing none at Leontini. All the mercenaries deserve the same fate. Nor will Syracuse ever be in peace while any foreign soldiers remain either in the city or the army. Turn then your arms against those who are with our prætors at Megara, and by their destruction restore us to perfect liberty." This letter kindled such a flame among the soldiers, and their sudden loud clamours so terrified Sosis and Dinomenes, that they gallopped away in all haste to Syracuse. Their flight did not quiet the commotion: the mercenaries fell upon the Syracusian soldiers that were in the army, and would have put them all to the sword, if the Hannibalists had not interposed in their defence, desiring to make use of them as hostages, and also hoping by their means to gain friends in Syracuse. Thither they instantly sent a soldier, who had been in Leontini when it was taken, to spread the false story of the massacre of its inhabitants. The artifice had the desired effect, even upon the senate and the chief men in the republic. They thought it necessary to shut the gates and guard the city against the Romans, as against an enemy whose avarice and cruelty would spare nothing. Scarce was this done, when Hippocrates and Epicydes appeared before the walls at the head of the mercenaries, and by the assistance of the multitude within (who would not be restrained by their magistrates) broke open one of the gates and entered the city. The prætors retired with the Syracusian soldiery into that quarter of the town which was celled Achradina, hoping to defend themselves there: but the Hannibalists being joined by the mercenaries, the deserters, and all the soldiers of the late king, took it at the first assault. Those

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of the prætors who could not escape in the first confusion of the conflict, were massacred, together with many of the citizens; and the next day, liberty being granted to all slaves, and prisoners, the mixed multitude declared Hippocrates and Epicydes their prætors.

Marcellus, upon the news of this resolution, advanced with his army to Syracuse. Before he began hostilities, he sent deputies to the Syracusians, to assure them he did not come to make war upon them, but to assist those of their fellow citizens who, having escaped the slaughter in Achradina, had taken refuge in his camp, and those who suffered yet greater wrongs in the city, from tyranny and oppression; that what he therefore insisted upon was, that the refugees under his protection should be restored to their possessions and privileges, the authors of the disturbances given up, and Syracuse put in a condition to enjoy peaceably her laws and liberty; and he threatened war against whoever should oppose these demands. The brothers, not thinking it safe to let the deputies enter the town, gave them audience without the walls; and when the latter had made their demands, Epicydes spoke to this effect; "If you had brought any message to us, we would have returned an answer. You may now go back; and when the government of Syracuse is in the hands of those to whom you have orders to address yourselves, you may come again. If Marcellus is for war, he will find the siege of Syracuse an enterprise somewhat different from the siege of Leontini." The consul, upon the return of his deputies, invested the place by sea and land.

Syracuse stood on the south-east side of Sicily, and was properly five cities in one, Ortygia, Achradina, Tyche, Neapolis, and Epipolæ. Ortygia was a small island, very near the continent, and might be called the citadel of Syracuse; it was joined to Achradina by a bridge. All the attempts of Marcellus to carry the town by assault were frustrated by the surprising inventions of

Archimedes. This great man is said to have once told king Hiero, that he could move the globe of the earth, provided he had another earth to stand upon. And he now contrived machines which cast stones of so prodigious a weight, as to break in pieces all the battering engines of the Romans. Nay, he invented a sort of iron crows fastened to chains, which being let fall upon the Roman galleys (that were brought close to the wall of the town) stuck fast in the prows of them, drew them up, by means of a counterpoise on that part of the machine which was within the rampart, and set them on one end, or overturned them: insomuch that the Romans were utterly discouraged, and Marcellus obliged to remove to a farther distance. It was resolved, in a council of war, to attack the place no more, but shut up all the avenues of it, in order to reduce it by famine.

Year of ROME 539. B. C. 213. 238th consulship.

CHAP. XXVI.

SIXTH YEAR OF THE WAR.

The following year, the Romans take some towns from the Carthaginians in Italy. Hanno routs a præfect of the allies in Bruttium, and cut off almost all his army. In Spain the two Scipios make considerable progress. They also engage Syphax, a Numidian king, to commence a war with the Carthaginians in Africa. The latter in conjunction with Gala, (another Numidian king) fall upon Syphax and defeat him with great slaughter. Marcellus continues the blockade of Syracuse, and with part of his forces reduces several towns, while many others declare for Carthage. 540.

At Rome, Q. Fabius Maximus, the son of Fabius Cunctator, and T. Sempronius Gracchus, were chosen consuls for the new year, and appointed, in concert with the prætorian armies in Italy, to conduct the war against Hannibal. Marcellus continued in Sicily, and had the government of the country formerly subject to Hiero. Lentulus, with the title of pro-prætor, commanded the Roman province in that island, and T. Otacilius Crassus guarded the coast with his fleet. The two Scipios, Lævinus, and Scævola, managed the affairs of Rome in the respective countries of Spain, Greece, and Sardinia.

Year of ROME 540. B. C. 212. 239th consulship.

Year of ROME 540. B. C. 212. And the republic employed this year, in her several armies, twenty-one Roman legions, besides the troops of her allies.

239th consulship. All the regulations necessary for beginning the campaign being dispatched, young Fabius set out from Rome, and took upon him the command of the army at Suessula. His father served under him.

Livy, b. 24. c. 45. While the Fabii continued here, Dasius Altinius, one of the chief men of Arpi, who had engaged that city to revolt to Hannibal, came and offered, for a reward, to restore it into the hands of its former masters. The affair being brought before a council, some were for treating the villain as Camillus had treated the schoolmaster of Falerii; but old Fabius represented to them, that though such traitors ought never to be trusted as friends, yet in the present circumstances of the republic, no discouragement should be given to those of the rebels who were disposed to return to their former obedience; and he advised, that Altinius should only be kept in an easy confinement till the end of the war, when it would be time enough to judge whether he had made sufficient amends for his revolt. This advice was followed, and the traitor sent to Cales, where in the daytime he was suffered to walk abroad with a guard, but confined close prisoner at night. As soon as he was missed at Arpi, the inhabitants sent notice of it to Hannibal. The Carthaginian was in no manner of pain at the news; he had long considered Altinius as a man in whom he could place no confidence, and was glad of this pretext to seize his riches, which were very great. But that he might appear to act rather from the motive of revenge than avarice, he sent for the wife and children of Altinius, and having put them to the torture, partly to discover the traitor's designs, but chiefly to learn what money he had left behind him, he ordered them to be burnt alive.

The Fabii opened the campaign with an assault upon

Arpi, in which was a garrison of 5000 men. The Romans in a dark rainy night surprised and entered the place on the strongest side, where it was least guarded. Nevertheless the garrison, assisted by 3000 of the townsmen, whom, through suspicion of them, they placed in the front, made a stout defence. At length the citizens, and, after their example, 1000 Spaniards, went over to the Romans. The Spaniards, according to Livy, bargained that the rest of the garrison should have leave to depart in safety, which they accordingly did, and joined Hannibal in Salapia. Year of ROME 540. B. C. 212. 239th consulship.

In the meantime 112 of the chief men of Capua, having, under the pretext of pillaging the enemy's lands, got permission to leave the town, went to the Roman camp above Suessula, and yielded themselves to the prætor Fulvius, upon a promise of being restored to their estates, when Capua should be reduced to the obedience of the republic.

Nothing farther of great moment happened in Italy this campaign. The prætor Sempronius Tuditanus took Aternum by assault, and in it 7000 prisoners, and a good deal of money. Sempronius, the consul, had several slight skirmishes with the enemy in Lucania, and reduced a few towns but none of any note. Two petty nations of Bruttium returned to their former obedience. Hanno, the Carthaginian, defeated a præfect of the Roman allies in that country, and cut off almost all his army, which consisted of raw undisciplined men. Hannibal marched from Salapia to Tarentum, in hopes of having that city betrayed to him. He spent the summer near it to very little purpose, only some inconsiderable towns of the Salentini revolted to him. Livy, b. 24. c. 47. B. 25. c. 1.

In Spain, the two Scipios not only made considerable progress there, but extended their views even to Africa. They engaged Syphax, king of Masæsylia (the western part of Numidia), to take arms against Carthage: and Statorius, one of the three officers whom the Scipios had B. 24. c. 48.

Year of ROME 540. B.C 212. 239th consulship.

sent upon the negotiation, continued with the Numidian king, at his request, to discipline his troops. On the other hand, the Carthaginians, alarmed at the motions of the Masæsylian, prevailed with Gala, king of Masylia (the eastern part of Numidia, and the nearest to their territory), to join with them, to divert the threatened storm. Gala gave the command of his forces to his son Masinissa, a youth of about seventeen years of age, who, in conjunction with the Carthaginian army, defeated Syphax in a great battle, and slew 30,000 of his men. The vanquished king retired into Mauritania, and made new levies there, intending to pass the Straits, and join the Scipios in Spain: but Masinissa following him close, kept him so employed in Africa, that he had not leisure to cross the seas.

Livy, b. 24. c. 35.

In the meanwhile the blockade of Syracuse continued. Marcellus, not thinking all his forces necessary for that purpose, left two-thirds of the army before the place under the command of Appius Claudius, and marched with the remainder to reduce some towns of Sicily, which had gone over to the Carthaginians.—Pelorus and Erbessus surrendered to him, and Megara he took by force and plundered. About this time, Himilco arrived from Africa, with an army of 25,000 foot, 3000 horse, and twelve elephants, and soon made himself master of Heraclea and Agrigentum. Upon this news, Hippocrates left his brother Epicydes to command in Syracuse, and sallying out of the town with 10,000 foot and 500 horse, broke through the Roman lines in the night, and marched to join Himilco. This detachment Marcellus surprised, as they were pitching their camp near Acrillæ, and he cut in pieces the infantry: but Hippocrates escaped with the cavalry, and, joining Himilco, turned against the proconsul, in hopes of overtaking him before he could reach his camp at Syracuse. Disappointed in this expectation, and not daring to attack Marcellus in his intrenchments, the Carthaginian generals em-

ployed their forces to reduce the Sicilian cities that were in the interest of Rome. Murgantia opened her gates to them, and betrayed the Roman garrison into their hands. L. Pinnarius, the governor of Enna, dreading the like fate, massacred all the inhabitants of that town, and pillaged it. Marcellus approved the fact, and granted the plunder of Enna to the soldiers of the garrison. The news of this barbarity, committed in a city held in great veneration all over the island, and sacred to Proserpine (whom Pluto was said to have carried off from that neighbourhood), alienated the minds of the Sicilians from Rome; and many of their towns embraced the party of the Carthaginians. Winter approaching, Marcellus, having dismissed Appius Claudius, who had a mind to stand for the consulship, gave the command both of the fleet and the army before Syracuse to Quinctius Crispinus, and took up his own quarters about five miles from the town.

Year of ROME 540. B.C. 212. 239th consulship.

During these transactions in Sicily, all was peaceable at Rome; only religion suffered by the introduction of foreign gods and foreign rites, which the superstition of a multitude of people from the country, driven by poverty and fear to shelter themselves in Rome, had, in this uncertain state of things, made them prone to receive. Foreign priests and diviners had dispersed among them books, containing prophecies, forms of prayer, and particular methods of sacrificing. The ancient worship was almost forgot. It seemed, says Livy, as if a new set of gods were, on a sudden, come into being; or that a new species of men was risen. The evil became at length so general, that the conscript fathers were forced to interpose. The prætor having assembled the people, read to them a decree of the senate, and, in conformity thereto, his own edict: which commanded all persons who had books of divination or prayers, or containing instructions about the rites of sacrifices, to bring them to him before the first of April; and forbade all persons to offer sacri-

Livy, b. 25. c. 1.

Year of ROME 540. B.C. 212. 239th consul. ship.

fice in public, or in any sacred place whatsoever, according to any new or foreign ceremonies. Thus were the innovations suppressed, and religion settled again upon the ancient footing.

CHAP. XXVII.

SEVENTH AND EIGHTH YEARS OF THE WAR.

541. Hannibal, by means of intelligence with some of the inhabitants of Tarentum, gets possession of the city. The Roman garrison retires into the citadel. Hanno, whom the Carthaginian general had sent to supply Capua with corn, is defeated by the consul Fulvius. Thurium, and the Metâpontines, submit to Hannibal's officers. The consuls, proposing to besiege Capua, send for Sempronius Gracchus to assist them. In his way he is betrayed into the hands of the enemy and slain. Hannibal advances to the defence of Capua, and begins a battle with the consuls, which an accident puts an end to. The Roman generals decamp in the night; Hannibal follows one of them, but, missing him, attacks another commander, Centenius Penula, and destroys almost his whole army. After this, he falls upon the prætor Fulvius, cuts of 16,000 of his men, and takes his camp. In the meantime the consuls, in conjunction with the forces of Claudius Nero, besiege Capua in form.

During these transactions, Marcellus makes himself master of a part of Syracuse, and encamps within the walls. An army of Carthaginians and Sicilians come to the relief of the Syracusians. A plague makes great havoc in both camps. Hippocrates and all the Carthaginian soldiers are carried off by it; and the Sicilians disband themselves. Epicydes deserts Syracuse, and the inhabitants begin a treaty with Marcellus; during the course of which, a Spanish officer, corrupted by the Roman general, betrays Ortygia to him; whereupon the Syracusians immediately surrender to him Achradina, and he gives both up to be plundered. Archimedes is slain.

Syracuse taken. 542.

In the consulship of P. Sulpicius Galba and Cn. Fulvius Centumalus, Hannibal marches to the relief of Capua, now greatly distressed for want of provisions. After some vain efforts to draw the Romans to a battle, or break into the town, he suddenly marched away, and appears before the walls of Rome, in hopes the army before Capua, or part of it, would hasten to the defence of the capitol. The consuls issue out of the city to oppose him, but keep to the high grounds. Hannibal marches back towards Capua; but finding that none of the besiegers had stirred, he turns upon the consuls, who were following him, and forces their camp in the night, with great slaughter. Despairing of being able to raise the siege of Capua, he with wonderful rapidity traverses Apulia, Lucania, and Bruttium, in the view of surprising Rhegium, and is very near succeeding in his design. Capua surrenders to the Romans, and is treated with extreme rigour. In Greece, Lævinus draws the Ætolians and several other states into a confederacy against Philip of Macedon.

Year of ROME 541. B.C. 211. 240th consul. ship.

THE time for the elections drawing on, and the present consuls being both engaged abroad in the war, one of them nominated C. Claudius Centho dictator, to hold the *comitia*. And there Q. Fulvius Flaccus and Appius Claudius Pulcher were chosen consuls for the new year. It was thought fit to add two legions to the twenty-one already on foot—a surprising multitude of soldiers, to be all raised out of the citizens of Rome and exclusive of

the troops of the allies, which were at least as numerous as the Roman legonaries! But the making these new levies was interrupted, and the departure of the consuls delayed for some time, by an incident, which revived the hatred of the people to the publicans. Year of ROME 541. B. C. 211. 240th consulship.

It has been observed before, that the publicans undertook to supply the Roman armies in Spain with provisions; and the senate had agreed to indemnify them, in case of losses at sea. Posthumius, an avaricious wretch, took advantage of this condition to practise rogueries, and impose upon the public. He placed to their account many shipwrecks which had never happened; he also put small quantities of goods, of little value, on board old shattered vessels; which after he had brought off the seamen in boats ready for that purpose, he sunk; and then pretended the cargoes had been extremely rich. By this means he made his losses run very high, and demanded great sums in consideration of them. But his knavery was at length discovered, and two tribunes of the people threatened to have him fined 200,000 asses of brass:* in order to which they cited him to appear and take his trial before the *comitia* by tribes. Hereupon the friends of the accused applied themselves to Servilius Casca, a relation of Posthumius, and one of the tribunes; but Casca not daring, through shame and fear of the people, to protest against the proceedings of his colleagues, the publicans, who were all interested in the affair, had recourse to violence, and insulted both the people and their magistrates. And they were just ready to come to blows, when the consul Fulvius said to the tribunes of the commons, "You see how little respect is shewn to your persons. If you do not dissolve the assembly, the affair will end in sedition;" the tribunes followed his advice; and, being afterward authorized by the senate, changed the nature of the process, and made the affair capital. Posthumius, and the other publicans who assisted him in the riot, were cited to appear as

Livy, b. 25. c. 3.

* 645*l.* 16*s.* 8*d.* Arbuthnot.

Livy, b. 25. c. 3.

Year of ROME 541. B. C. 211. 240th consulship.

criminals before the *comitia* by centuries. Some were dragged to prison for want of the sureties required of them; others went into a voluntary banishment; Posthumius left his bail and fled; and Rome was delivered from a gang of bold and avaricious villains.

In the end of the winter Hannibal had surprised Tarentum. The inhabitants of this place had long been disaffected to the republic, and lately provoked by the cruel execution of some hostages they had sent to Rome, and who had attempted to make their escape. Thirteen of the principal citizens entered into a plot to deliver up the city to the Carthaginians. Nico and Philomenus were at the head of them. They made hunting their pretence for night-excursions. The game they brought home, and with which they furnished the table of Livius, the commander of the Roman garrison, pleased him so much, that without the least suspicion he allowed them the liberty of going out and coming in at pleasure. By this means the conspirators had frequent conferences with Hannibal, and having engaged him to promise, that when he should become master of Tarentum, the inhabitants should enjoy their laws, liberties, and estates, without infringement; that they should not be subject to pay any tribute, or to receive a Carthaginian garrison, without their own consent; and that the effects of the Romans only should be given up as free booty to his troops, they undertook to bring him into the town. Hannibal was at the distance of three day's march from Tarentum, and feigned himself sick in his camp, that his long stay there might not occasion suspicion. At length Philomenus gave him notice, that a favourable opportunity offered to put their project in execution. The Carthaginian came away with a detachment of 10,000 men, and concealed himself in a valley fifteen miles from the city. Hither Philomenus brought him word, that the next night the Roman governor was to be at an entertainment, and would probably drink to ex-

Polyb. b. 8. c. 19. Livy, b. 25. c. 8.

cess; and that when he was fast asleep it would be the proper time for the attempt. Year of ROME 541. B.C. 211. 240th consulship.

All preparations being made by the conspirators, both within and without the city, Hannibal, conducted by Philomenus, approached the walls about midnight. The Carthaginian, then giving a part of his forces to the Tarentine, silently drew near with the rest to the gate Temenides, and gave the appointed signal to Nico, who at the head of his party in the town, without much noise, made himself master of the gate, slew the guard, and admitted the Carthaginians. The general, for the greater security in case of accidents, left 2000 horse without the gate, and advancing with the rest of his troops into the Forum, took possession of it. In the meantime, Philomenus had marched with 1000 Africans to another gate, at which he used to be admitted when he returned from hunting. He was followed by two young men carrying a wild boar of an enormous size, and when the wicket was opened, and the centinel upon guard stood examining the beast, Philomenus ran him through with a hunting spear. Then thirty Carthaginians entered in an instant, broke down the gate, and let in their companions, who, as had been agreed upon, joined Hannibal in the Forum. After this, the general seized the principal posts in the town, sent parties of men into the different quarters, and with each of them several of the conspirators. His view in this was, that the inhabitants might be distinguished and preserved, while all the Romans were put to the sword. To draw these out the more effectually, some men, prepared on purpose, sounded a charge in the theatre with Roman trumpets, and after the Roman manner. The slaughter continued all that night and part of the next day: but Livius with his domestics, in the beginning of the tumult, escaped in a bark to the citadel, which was strongly fortified, and where all that remained of the garrison took refuge. Polyb. b. 8. c. 24.

In order to secure the Tarentines against all attacks

Year of ROME 541. B.C.211. 240th consulship.

from the Romans, Hannibal proposed to cast up a rampart over against the wall of the citadel, and as he knew the enemy would endeavour to hinder the work, he prepared to receive them. The rampart was no sooner begun, than the Romans made a vigorous sally. Hannibal defended himself but faintly till he observed that the greatest part of the garrison was got over their ditch; then falling furiously upon them, he drove them with such slaughter within their walls, that they did not think proper to attack him a second time, and he had leisure to carry on his works. Besides the ramparts above-mentioned, he ordered a ditch to be drawn, and another rampart to be raised upon the brink of it, and within that a wall, so that the inhabitants might, without the assistance of the Carthaginians, easily defend their town against all attempts from the citadel. Having left a part of his troops to finish and guard the works, in conjunction with the Tarentines, he encamped with the rest of his army on the banks of the Eurotas (otherwise called Galesus) five miles from the city. When the fortifications were completed, he returned and besieged the citadel in form; but the garrison having received a reinforcement from Metapontus, a Roman city on the gulf of Tarentum, sallied out, burned his machines in the night, and made him lay aside the thoughts of reducing the place by assault.

However, it was necessary to secure the Tarentines a free passage to the sea, which was at present cut off by the citadel, that stood at the entrance of the port. No vessel could safely go out, or come in; and this made the Tarentines apprehend a scarcity of provisions. Hannibal, who was not to be discouraged by difficulties, formed a scheme (which the ancients have much admired) to remedy this evil. There were a good number of ships in the haven of Tarentum; and he caused them to be transported to the sea by land, on carriages made for that purpose. These vessels anchored before the mouth

of the haven; so that the citadel, which before commanded the sea, could now receive no provisions that way; and the city was supplied. After this, Hannibal returned to his winter-quarters, leaving the citadel blocked up by sea and land. Year of ROME 541. B.C. 211. 240th consulship.

The consuls Fulvius and Appius, when their affairs at Rome were dispatched, took the field, and marched with joint forces into Samnium. As the Capuans expected to be besieged by them, and began already to feel the miseries of famine (for the Roman armies had not permitted them to sow their lands) they sent a deputation to Hannibal, then near Tarentum, to beg he would order them a supply of corn from the towns in their neighbourhood, while the roads were yet open. The Carthaginian sent Hanno with an army from Bruttium to their relief. Hanno, having pitched his camp near Beneventum, gave notice to the Capuans, to send their waggons to fetch the corn, which he had collected for them in vast quantities. So indolent and lazy were these effeminate wretches, that they sent but 400 carts, and a few mules. The Carthaginian could not forbear expressing his indignation at such intolerable negligence, and fixed a day when a greater number of carriages should come to remove the rest of the corn. In the mean time the consuls had notice of what was doing from the people of Beneventum; and Fulvius with his troops marched thither with all expedition. He entered the town in the night, and the next morning appeared by break of day before the enemy's camp while Hanno was absent foraging with a part of his army: 2000 Capuan carts were arrived there, and the carters and peasants mixing with the soldiers caused a good deal of disorder. Nevertheless, as the camp was situated upon an ascent, it was very difficult to take it by assault; the Roman soldiers signalized their bravery on this occasion beyond the expectation of their general, who was for quitting the enterprise, or at least suspending it, till his colleague Livy, b. 25. c. 13.

Year of ROME 541. B.C.211. 240th consulship.

should come to his assistance. One Vibius, who commanded a cohort of the Peligni, and, after his example, Pedanius, a centurion of the third Roman legion, threw each a standard over the enemy's rampart, to excite the soldiers to recover them. The stratagem succeeded, the Carthaginian intrenchments were forced, and the slaughter was great. As for Hanno, having lost his camp, he was forced to return to Bruttium with the remainder of his army; and the Capuans sent a new deputation to Hannibal, to press him to come to their assistance, being now more than ever apprehensive of a siege. The Carthaginian answered, that he would take care of Capua; and for the present sent them 2000 horse to defend their territory from the enemy's incursions. He had still hopes of reducing the citadel of Tarentum by famine; but a convoy of provisions having forced its way through the Tarentine galleys, entered the place, and disappointed his expectations. His design upon Thurium succeeded better. Hanno and Mago defeated the prætor Atinius, who sallied out of the place; after which the inhabitants opened their gates to the conquerors. The Metapontines also, when left by the Roman garrison, which went to the relief of the citadel of Tarentum, submitted to the Carthaginians.

Livy, b. 25. c. 14.

During these things, the consuls entered the territory of Capua with a design to besiege the city in form; and believing undoubtedly, that Hannibal would come to its relief, they ordered Sempronius Gracchus to leave Lucania, and draw near to Capua with his horse and light-armed infantry, that they might be the better able to withstand the enemy's cavalry. Sempronius, having left his legions under the command of Cn. Cornelius, his quæstor, was preparing for his march, when one Flavius, a Lucanian, and hitherto zealous in the Roman interest, changed his inclinations on a sudden, and in order to recommend himself to the Carthaginians, betrayed the proconsul to them. He pretended to Sem-

C. 16.

pronius, that the heads of the Carthaginian faction in Lucania were disposed to a reconciliation with the republic, and only desired a private conference with him. The Roman, not suspecting any deceit, suffered himself, attended only by his lictors and a troop of horse, to be led by the traitor into an ambush, where Mago with a body of Carthaginians surrounded them; and then Flavius went over to the enemy. The proconsul, seeing himself betrayed, dismounted, and wrapping his left arm in his paludamentum, for want of a buckler, rushed sword in hand to the place where he saw Flavius, in hopes to kill the traitor before he fell himself; but he perished in the attempt, though the Carthaginians endeavoured to take him alive. The body of this brave proconsul was carried to Hannibal's camp, who erected a funeral pile for him, and did honour to his memory.

Year of ROME 541. B. C. 211. 240th consulship.

While the consuls were pillaging the country about Capua, Mago, with his cavalry and some of the Capuans, fell upon the Romans, of whom he slew 1500. Upon this news Hannibal advanced towards the city and offered battle to the enemy. Appius and Fulvius accepted the challenge, and the engagement was begun, to the disadvantage of the Romans, when Cn. Cornelius appeared with the volones which had been commanded by Sempronius. Each side apprehending that assistance was coming to the other, immediately sounded a retreat. The consuls, to draw Hannibal from Capua, decamped in the night, divided their armies, and marched the one into Lucania and the other towards Cumæ. The Carthaginian next day set out for Lucania in pursuit of Appius, who had taken that road; but the latter, fetching a compass, returned by another way to the neighbourhood of Capua. There happened to be at this time in Lucania one M. Centenius Pænula, who, by the credit of the prætor Cornelius Scylla, and by promising great things, had obtained of the senate the command of a body of 8000 men, which he had increased to near

Livy, b. 25. c. 18.

Year of ROME 541. B. C. 211. 240th consulship.

double that number. Hannibal, missing the consul Appius, turned his arms against Centenius, entirely defeated him, and cut off almost his whole army. The Carthaginian then marched into Apulia, and attacked the prætor Fulvius, who commanded 18,000 men in that country. The victory was complete, 16,000 of the Romans being slain, and their camp taken. And, to add to the misfortunes of the present campaign, the volones disbanded themselves. Notwithstanding these discouragements the consuls were busy at Casilinum, preparing all things necessary for the siege of Capua. They sent for the prætor Claudius Nero, with the forces he commanded at Suessula; and the three generals with their united armies besieged Capua in form.

Livy, b. 25. c. 23, et seq.

During this siege, Marcellus made himself master of Syracuse. He took the opportunity of a festival, when the soldiers and citizens had drank plentifully, to make a detachment scale the walls of Tyche, in that part of it which was nearest to Epipolæ, and which was ill guarded.[c] He presently after possessed himself of Epipolæ; whereupon the inhabitants of Neapolis, as well as Tyche, sent deputies to him, and submitted. Marcellus granted life and liberty to all of free condition, but gave up those quarters of the city to be plundered.

Notwithstanding this, there was a great deal yet to do. Achradina and Ortygia, which were strongly fortified, still held out; Hippocrates and Himilco, arrived with their troops to the relief of the besieged; and the Romans were forced to exert all their bravery and skill to maintain the advantages they had gained.

But now a plague made terrible havoc in both armies. At the first breaking out of the pestilence, the Sicilians, who served under Hippocrates and Himilco, disbanded themselves, and returned to their respective homes; but all the Carthaginian soldiers perished, together with

c Though this account be taken from Livy, yet he afterward tells us, in two or three places, that Socis, a brazier, let Marcellus into Syracuse by night. Liv. b. 26. c. 21. 30 and 31.

those two generals. The Romans suffered less by the infection, because, having been a long time before Syracuse, they were seasoned to the air and water of the country. Year of ROME 541. B.C. 211. 240th consulship.

About this time Bomilcar arrived on the coast of Sicily from Carthage with a fleet of 130 galleys and 700 ships of burden, but was long hindered by contrary winds from doubling the cape of Pachynum. Epicydes, fearing the Carthaginian might sail back to Africa, left the command of Achradina to the generals of the mercenaries, and went to Bomilcar, in order to persuade him to fight the Roman fleet. The admiral would not engage, but sailed away to Tarentum with all his galleys, ordering his ships of burden to return to Africa. Epicydes, thus frustrated of his hopes, and knowing himself unable to defend a city already half taken, retired to Agrigentum; whereupon the Syracusians massacred the commanders appointed by him, chose new prætors to govern in the town, and sent deputies to Marcellus to treat of peace. In the mean time the deserters, fearing to be given up to the vengeance of the Romans, persuaded the mercenaries that they also would have the same fate. Instantly the soldiers ran to arms, put to death the new prætors, together with many of the Syracusians, and plundered part of the city. After this slaughter, they chose six generals, three to command in Achradina, and three in Ortygia. Upon the return of the deputies from Marcellus, the mercenaries, finding that their case was different from that of the deserters, and that there was no design against their lives, became perfectly satisfied, and the negotiation went on. During the course of the treaty, Marcellus found means to corrupt Mericus, a Spaniard, one of the six generals chosen by the soldiers, and engaged him to admit the Romans into that part of the city where he commanded. Mericus, the better to accomplish this design, feigned an extraordinary zeal for the preservation of the place; pretended not to like

Year of ROME 541. B. C. 211. 240th consulship.

that deputies should have leave to go out and in at pleasure; and proposed, that, for the greater security of the town, each general should have a distinct quarter assigned him, and be responsible for any neglect of duty in it. The motion was agreed to, and, upon the division, that district of Ortygia, which extended from the fountain of Arethusa to the mouth of the great port, fell to his care. Marcellus, informed of what was done, took his measures accordingly; he sent a body of troops to that side where Mericus commanded, and the Spaniard admitted them at the gate of Arethusa. At the same time the proconsul ordered a false attack to be made on Achradina, which drawing almost all the soldiers of the garrison thither, Ortygia was in a manner left defenceless. Foreseeing this, he had detached another party of soldiers to take advantage of it. These entered Ortygia almost without fighting; upon which the deserters made their escape, the Romans giving them way; and the Syracusians in Achradina, thus delivered from the fear of the deserters, immediately opened their gates to Marcellus, who thereby became master of the whole city.

And now the conqueror, who is said to have wept, during the siege, with compassion for the inhabitants, gave up both Ortygia and Achradina to be plundered by his army, after he had secured the late king's treasures for the use of his republic, and the statues, paintings, and principal ornaments of Syracuse, to illustrate his triumph. The soldiers had orders to spare the lives of the citizens; but they were cruel in their avarice, slew many of them, and, among the rest, the incomparable Archimedes. He was very intent on a demonstration in geometry, and calmly drawing his lines, when a soldier entered the room, and clapped a sword to his throat. "Hold! (said Archimedes) one moment, and my demonstration will be finished." But the soldier, equally regardless of his prayer and his demonstration,

Plut. Life of Marcellus.

killed him instantly. There are different accounts of the manner of his death; but all agree, that Marcellus regretted it extremely, and shewed singular favour to his relations for his sake. Year of ROME 542. B. C. 210. 241st consulship.

The consular year being ready to expire, the senate ordered, that one of the consuls should come from Capua to hold the *comitia* for the great elections. App. Claudius repaired to Rome, and presided in the assembly, which transferred the fasces to P. Sulpicius Galba, and Cn. Fulvius Centumalus. Apulia was to be their province; while the late consuls were in quality of proconsuls to continue the siege of Capua. But as these proposed to reduce the place rather by famine than force, they turned the siege into a blockade.

At Rome, Cn. Fulvius, the late prætor, was called to account for the defeat he had suffered in Apulia. One of the tribunes of the people cited him to appear before the *comitia*, purposing only to get him fined for his cowardice and ill conduct. When the witnesses came to be examined, the charge appeared so heavy, that all the people cried out, the process ought to be made capital; and a day was appointed for the trial. Fulvius sent to his brother the proconsul before Capua, urging him to come to Rome and employ all his credit to avert the impending storm. The proconsul would willingly have complied; but the conscript fathers, thinking it a case wherein the public interest was greatly concerned, absolutely refused him leave to come: so that the accused, having no hopes, went into exile without waiting for his sentence: and the *comitia*, after his departure, condemned him to banishment. Livy, b. 26. c. 2.

In the mean time the Capuans, greatly distressed for want of provisions, sent a messenger to acquaint Hannibal with their present situation. A Numidian horseman had the address to pass undiscovered through the Romans in the night, and carried the message to the Carthaginian general. Upon this advice, leaving the c. 4.

Year of ROME 542. B. C. 210. greatest part of his baggage behind him, he marched away with all expedition, arrived before Capua, and pitched his camp near the Roman intrenchments. At first he endeavoured by skirmishes to provoke the enemy to a battle; but this not succeeding, he almost besieged them in their camp, frequently assaulting it with bodies of infantry, which relieved one another, while some troops of horse covered them, and threw darts upon the enemy. All his attempts to draw the Romans to a battle, or to break into the town, proved ineffectual: nor was it possible for him to stay long in the neighbourhood of Capua for want of forage; because the enemy, foreseeing his coming, had ruined the country all around. Add to this, that there being several armies in the field against him, he feared lest they should join and attack him, or cut off his provisions, and so reduce him to extremities. Convinced that it was impracticable to raise the siege by force, he formed a design much extolled by the ancient writers. He resolved to leave his camp silently, march with all expedition, and appear before the walls of Rome. By this means he hoped the affright of the citizens might produce some accident in his favour, perhaps might give him an opportunity of surprising the town: if that should not happen, the proconsuls he thought, would either quit the blockade of Capua, or at least divide their army, and send a part of it to the defence of the capital. In this last case he did not doubt but he should have an easy victory, both over those that stayed before Capua, and those that marched away. Before he put this scheme in execution, he took care to acquaint the besieged with his intention, lest upon his departure they should in despair surrender the town. Every thing being ready for his expedition, he set out in the night, and, to deceive the enemy, left fires burning in his camp. Having marched through Samnium, he crossed the Anio, and pitched his camp within five miles of Rome, designing to attack

241st consulship.

Polyb. b. 9. c. 3. et seq.

Livy, b. 26. c. 7. et seq.

the city next day, if practicable. The Romans, terrified at his approach, for he had never been so near their walls before, at first imagined he had made his way thither by the slaughter of their army at Capua. Their fears, however, did not lessen their resolution; and it happened luckily for them that the consuls had already raised one legion, which was to rendezvous at Rome that very day, and had also called together the citizens in order to select from amongst them another legion: by which means there was very seasonably a great concourse of men in the town. Sulpicius and Fulvius, the consuls, marched out with an army, and encamped before the walls. Hannibal, seeing the Romans prepared to make a stout defence lost all hopes of being able to take the town,[d] and therefore fell to pillaging the country. The consuls boldly advanced, and encamped within ten furlongs of him. The Carthaginian, to secure his booty and execute the remaining part of his scheme, decamped in the night, and passed the Anio at a ford, the bridges being all broken down. In his passage he was attacked by the Romans, and though the Numidians, and the rest of his cavalry, covered his retreat, so that he suffered no great loss, yet the enemy regained a part of the spoil, and took about 300 prisoners. Sulpicius and Fulvius, thinking that Hannibal fled before them, followed him, but kept to the hills, for fear of a surprise. He, on the other hand, marched at first in great haste, to intercept any forces that, on occasion of his march to Rome, might have been sent from Capua, or in their absence to attack the Roman intrenchments before that city. Finding that none of the besiegers had stirred, he turned against the consuls that were pursuing him, fell upon their camp in the night, and took it with great

Year of ROME 542. B.C. 210. 24st consulship.

[d] Livy says, that when Hannibal was before the walls of Rome, the ground on which his camp stood was sold at the full price; which so provoked the Carthaginian, that he put up to sale the bankers' shops that were round the Roman forum. The account which the Latin historian gives of this expedition differs in many particulars from that of Polybius, which is followed in the text.

Year of ROME 542. B.C. 210. 241st consulship.

slaughter. Next morning he saw those that had escaped posted upon a hill, which was very difficult of access; and he would not lose time in attacking them, having formed a project of greater moment. Despairing to raise the siege of Capua, he hoped to surprise Rhegium. And though it was situated in the remotest corner of Italy, he marched with such rapidity through Apulia, Lucania, and Bruttium, and appeared so unexpectedly before the place, that he took prisoners many of the inhabitants who were walking securely without the walls; and was very near getting possession of the town.

Hannibal's departure left Capua without hope of relief. The proconsuls signified to the inhabitants, that they would spare the lives of all those of them who would repair to the Roman camp; but not one Capuan accepted the offer. The commanders of the Carthaginian garrison wrote letters to Hannibal full of reproaches, and pressing him not to abandon them to the cruelty of the Romans. These letters were committed to the care of some Numidians, who pretended to desert, and then sought an opportunity to escape to Rhegium. One of them being followed to the Roman camp by his mistress, to whom he had disclosed the secret, she betrayed it; and above seventy of the Numidians were seized, whipped, had their hands cut off, and were driven back to Capua.

Livy, b. 26. c. 12.

The sight of these maimed wretches threw the city into the utmost consternation. The people forced the chief of the senators, who had for some time withdrawn themselves from public affairs, to assemble with the rest in the senate-house; where the greatest part were for sending a deputation to the proconsuls to capitulate: but Vibius Virius, one of the authors of the revolt, opposed this motion, and made a speech, the whole strain of which was rage and despair. Having represented the implacable hatred of the Romans to Capua, and exposed the folly of hoping for any favour from them, he thus

concluded: "Death is our only refuge. I have prepared an entertainment at my house. When we have finished our repast, a cup shall go round, that will end our days and our misfortunes together. Let all those who are weary of life, or despise it, or despair of preserving it, follow me. Funeral piles are already prepared to burn our bodies. A glorious death will gain us esteem from our enemies; and the perfidious Hannibal will lament the loss of allies, who did not deserve to be thus deserted and betrayed." Twenty-seven of the assembly followed Virius, accepted the entertainment to which they were invited, and closed all with a cup of poison. Year of ROME 542. B.C. 210. 241st consulship.

As to the terms of the treaty, which the rest of the Capuans made with the Romans, we can only guess at them by what followed. As soon as the latter were in possession of the place, they seized the soldiers of the garrison and the Capuan senators. These they conveyed to their camp to be tried by the proconsuls. They were first made to discover all their treasures, which amounted to seventy pounds' weight of gold, and 3200 pounds' weight of silver; and then fifty-three of them were sent in custody to two Roman cities in separate companies; and it was resolved to determine their fate before any thing was decreed concerning the rest of the inhabitants. Appius inclined to clemency, Fulvius to severity; and the dispute grew warm between them. The former, to put an end to it, wrote to the senate, and referred the matter to them; but his colleague, without waiting for the senate's decree, went with 2000 horse, first to Teanum, whither twenty-eight of the Capuan senators had been transported, and he caused them to be beaten with rods, and then beheaded by the lictors. Thence he hastened to Cales, and treated with the same rigour the twenty-five senators who had been conveyed thither, though he might well have spared them, having just before the execution received letters from Rome, with

Year of ROME 542. B.C. 210. 241st consul. ship.

orders to suspend it; but he put the letters in his bosom, and would not read them till all was over. Nor did the republic ever blame him for this instance of severity, being doubtless pleased to have revenge without incurring the odium of inhumanity among her allies. This charge fell only upon Fulvius.

Livy, b. 26. c. 15.

And the impression of this proconsul's cruelty became yet stronger in the minds of the people by the following incident. One Jubellius Taurea, a man among his own party, reputed brave, had come from Capua, and had been present at the late massacre of the senators. Pierced with compassion, and full of indignation, he thus addressed himself to the proconsul, just as he was going to dismiss the assembly: "Stay one moment, Fulvius, and command me to be murdered; and then thou mayest boast of having killed a braver man than thyself." Fulvius (who had published the senate's decree) replied, "You come too late to be punished, and are mad with rage."—"What! (said Jubellius) have I lived to see my country reduced to slavery! Have I stabbed my wife and children to preserve them from insults and dishonour; and when I am come hither, to have my blood mixed with that of my friends and countrymen, do my enemies, after all, deny me death? My own arm shall put an end to this hated life." As he ended these words he stabbed himself with a dagger he had brought under his robe, and fell dead at the foot of the tribunal.

In Greece, the pro-prætor Lævinus had, in order to keep Philip of Macedon employed at home, endeavoured (with the approbation of the senate) to draw some of the Greek states into the interest of Rome. He began with the Ætolians, who were much discontented, because Acarnania had been by Philip dismembered from the body of their state; and he assured them, that he would reduce it again under its ancient government and jurisdiction. These promises of the Roman general

were confirmed to the people by Scopas their chief magistrate, and by Dorimachus. a noble Ætolian, who, with less modesty and stronger asseverations, magnified the grandeur, power, and majesty of the people of Rome. The main motive, however, with the Ætolians, was the hope of recovering Acarnania. Articles were therefore drawn up and agreed to, expressing the conditions on which these Grecians entered into an alliance with the Romans; and a clause was added, "That the Eleans, the Lacedemonians, Attalus king of Pergamus in Asia Minor, Pleuratus, a king of Thrace, or perhaps of a part of Illyricum, Scerdilœdus, king of the east part of the last-mentioned country, should, if they pleased, be comprised and included in the treaty." Polybius tells us, that the Ætolians sent ambassadors to these several states and princes, to solicit them to join in a confederacy against Philip; and he has transmitted to us the speeches made in the senate of Lacedemon, by Chlœneas an Ætolian, and Lyciscus an Acarnanian, two orators, the first an advocate for the Ætolians, the second for Philip. Chlœneas's harangue consisted chiefly of invectives, displaying the tyranny, oppression, and usurpations exercised in Greece by the kings of Macedon, from the time of Philip, the father of Alexander, to the present king; and, in the close of his speech, he urged the safety the Lacedemonians would find in joining themselves with so powerful a confederacy as that formed against Philip. Lyciscus, on the other hand, endeavoured to clear the Macedonian kings from the charge brought against them; mentioned several of their laudable actions; loaded the Ætolians with the guilt of many violences, outrages, and sacrilegious abominations; and, in conclusion, represents the danger of making alliances with barbarians; that these defenders of the Ætolians would soon become their conquerors, and, in time, of all Greece. These apprehensions were not unreasonable; but the Lacedemonians

Year of ROME 541. B.C. 210. 241st consulship. Livy. b. 26. c. 24.

Polyb. b. 9. c. 22.

Year of ROME 542. B. C. 210. 241st consulship.

did not at this time look so far forward: it seemed safest for them, at present, to come into the alliance proposed by the Ætolians; and they declared for that side.

The articles of confederacy between the Ætolians and Romans ran thus: "The Ætolians shall forthwith enter into a war with king Philip by land, and the Romans shall assist them by sea, with a fleet of twenty quinqueremes at least. All the cities that shall be conquered between the confines of Ætolia and Corcyra shall, as to the walls, houses, and lands, belonging to them, be possessed by the Ætolians; but the Romans shall have the moveable goods and plunder. The Romans shall use their endeavours that the Ætolians may again possess Acarnania. If at any time the Ætolians make a peace with Philip, they shall insert a clause, that the same shall be of no force until such time as Philip shall have withdrawn his forces employed against the Romans, or any of their allies. And in the same manner, if the Romans treat with the Macedonian king, they shall make the like provision for the security of the Ætolians and their allies." Though these articles were not signed till two years after, the confederates immediately began hostilities against Philip. Lævinus took the island of Zacynthus, and also two cities of Acarnania, which he replaced under the dominion of the Ætolians; and having thus kindled a war in Greece against the king, and found him sufficient employment at home, to hinder his assisting the Carthaginians, he retired with his fleet to Corcyra, and there wintered.

The news, that the Ætolians were in motion, was brought to Philip as he lay in his winter-quarters at Pella. Resolving to invade Greece in the spring, he first turned his arms against Illyricum, that by the desolation and destruction he should cause there, he might intimidate the rest of his neighbours from attacking Macedon in his absence. From thence he marched his

troops into Thrace against the Mædi. In the mean-time the Ætolian army entered Acarnania, where they found that the people of the country were come to the most desperate resolutions for their defence: for, sending away their wives and children, and all who were above sixty years old, into Epirus, the rest engaged themselves by a solemn oath, never to return from the field but with victory: and they laid the heaviest curses on those of their own nation, who should harbour or relieve any who were vanquished and fled. These desperate measures, together with the approach of Philip, whom the Acarnanians had earnestly pressed to come from Thrace to their assistance, so terrified the Ætolians, that they retired into their own territories, and there continued quiet, till Lævinus, coming in the spring with his fleet to Naupactus, put them again in motion. In conjunction with the proprætor, they besieged Anticyra (a city of the Locrenses, in the neighbourhood of Ætolia), by sea and land, and reduced it. But Lævinus, after this, by reason of a dangerous sickness, was obliged to continue there a great while inactive.

Year of ROME 542. B. C. 210. 241st consulship.

Winter now approached, and Marcellus returned from Sicily to Rome, for the first time since the taking of Syracuse. He demanded a triumph at his arrival; but having, pursuant to orders, left his army in Sicily, and it not being the custom for generals to triumph when their army was not present to give testimony to their exploits, he was granted only an ovation by the senate. To do himself justice, therefore, in the best manner he could, he decreed himself a triumph on the hill of Alba, for which there were some precedents in such cases. Next day he had a very magnificent ovation. A plan of Syracuse, statues and paintings of an exquisite taste, costly vases, and immense quantities of gold, silver, and brass, were carried on biers before him. Eight elephants, and all sorts of military engines used in sieges, made a part of the show. It was at this time

Livy, b. 26. c. 21.

Plut. Life of Marcellus. Author of the Lives of Illustrious Men.

Year of ROME 542. B. C. 210. 241st consulship.

that Marcellus introduced among the Romans a refined taste for paintings and sculptures; which made some of the old Romans uneasy. They feared it would gradually destroy the people's love of husbandry and war, and would be a means to soften and enervate them.

CHAP. XXVIII.

NINTH YEAR OF THE WAR.

543. T. Lævinus and Marcellus are promoted to the consulship. The latter is accused by the Syracusians of cruelty and injustice before the senate, who acquit him. The Campanians in vain complain of the rigorous proceedings of Fulvius Flaccus. Salapia in Apulia is betrayed to Marcellus, who takes two more cities in Samnium. Fulvius Centumalus, venturing a battle with Hannibal, is totally defeated. The consul Lævinus, in the mean time, finishes the reduction of Sicily.

Year of ROME 543. B. C. 209. 242d consulship.

THE time for electing new magistrates drawing on, Fulvius Centumalus was recalled to Rome, to preside in the *comitia*. The first century that voted, named T. Manlius Torquatus and T. Otacilius for consuls. It was not doubted but the rest of the centuries would join in the nomination; and a multitude of people flocked round Manlius, to congratulate him upon his election. But he approaching the consul's tribunal, begged that he would call back the century that had just given their votes, and allow him to speak a few words. While all were in expectation of what he would ask, he excused himself on account of a weakness in his eyes, from accepting the dignity offered him. "A man (said he) must be very shameless to desire to be a pilot or a general, and to have the lives and fortunes of multitudes committed to his care, when he knows that in every thing he does, he must make use of other men's eyes." He therefore intreated the president of the assembly to order the prerogative century to give their votes anew, and desired of them, that in their choice they would have regard to the circumstances of the republic, remember that the war was still in Italy, and that Rome was scarce recovered from the terror caused by the late insult of the

Livy, b. 26. c. 22.

enemy at her gates. Notwithstanding this remonstrance, the century, with repeated cries, insisted upon the choice they had made. "No (said Manlius), neither can I bear your manners, nor you my government. Return into the voting place, and consider that Carthage is making war in Italy, and that Hannibal is her general." The century, finding these words applauded by all who stood round Manlius, and having a real respect for him, made no longer any difficulty to comply with his desire; and Marcellus, the fourth time, and Lævinus, the second time, were raised to the consular dignity. Year of ROME 543. B.C. 209. 242d consulship.

Lævinus was still lying sick at Anticyra in Greece. Marcellus entered upon his office on the ides of March, and, according to custom, assembled the senate that day, but declared he would bring no matters relating to the republic before the fathers till the arrival of his colleague. He complained that there were numbers of Syracusians in Rome, who spread reports about the city to his disadvantage; that M. Cornelius Cethegus, the prætor of Sicily, had not only sent over many of these to accuse him, but had also asserted in his letters, that the war was far from being finished in the island [no untruth, as will appear by and by], that he might have the greater glory in putting an end to it. The consul added, that he himself would immediately give his enemies an opportunity of laying their accusations before the senate, were it not that he understood they affected to be afraid of accusing him in the absence of his colleague; and that, as soon as Lævinus should arrive, he would take care they should be heard.

As Lævinus passed through Campania, in his return to Rome, the inhabitants of that country crowded about him, and implored his protection against the tyranny and cruelty of the proconsul Fulvius Flaccus. Lævinus ordered them to follow him to Rome; which when he drew near, the company of Sicilians, who were to accuse Marcellus, joined him likewise; and he suffered them Liv. b. 26 c. 27

Year of ROME 548. B.C. 209. 242d consulship. Fast. Cap. Livy, b. 26. c. 28.

to enter the city with him. However, before he procured them an audience from the senate, he gave the conscript fathers an account of his own conduct, and the state of affairs in Greece. And the next thing to be done, was to assign the consuls, and the rest of the generals of the Roman armies, their respective provinces for the ensuing campaign. Italy fell by lot to Lævinus, and Sicily to Marcellus. This was no sooner declared, than the Sicilians, who were present at the ceremony, made a horrible outcry, and expressed as much terror and consternation as they had done at Syracuse when Marcellus surprised it. They dressed themselves in mourning, ran to the houses of the senators, and there declared, they would never return home, rather than be again subject to Marcellus; and that it would be better for Sicily to perish in the flames of Ætna, than to be given up as a prey to her implacable enemy. The affair was mentioned in the senate, and the consuls were asked to consult the fathers about an exchange of provinces. Marcellus answered, that had the Sicilians been already heard, perhaps he should not think that motion so equitable; but now, lest it should be said that fear restrained them from accusing a man who must shortly be their governor, he was very willing to exchange provinces with his colleague, provided he agreed to it; but begged the senate would not give him the mortification of interposing a judgment of theirs in the matter; for, said he, if it would have been unjust to give my colleague his option, without casting lots, how much more unjust, nay, what an indignity would it be to me, to transfer my lot to him. The senate did not interpose their authority, and the exchange was made by the consuls themselves. Then the Sicilians were admitted to bring their complaints against Marcellus. Their accusation turned upon his pretended cruelty at Leontini, his having sacked Syracuse, and his having stripped the citizens of every thing, though (as the accusers protested) it had been by

compulsion that the Syracusians had sided with the Carthaginians; and they prayed, that what had been taken from them, and could be recovered, might be restored. Year of ROME 543. B. C. 209.

When the Sicilians had done speaking, Marcellus left the curule chair, and went to the place where persons accused were wont to make their defence. He fairly laid before the house the matters of fact (as they have been related), and then withdrew, to give the senators more freedom in their debates. A great many of the fathers, and, among the rest, T. Manlius Torquatus, were of opinion, that the war ought to be considered as having been carried on against the tyrants Hippocrates and Epicydes, equally the enemies of the Romans and Syracusians. After a long debate, the majority voted the proceedings of Marcellus to have been regular; but added to their decree, that the senate would take care of the Syracusians, and recommended it to the consul, Lævinus, to consult their interest, as far as it was consistent with that of the republic. 242d consulship. Livy, b. 26. c. 30. Plut. in Marcell

When the Sicilians, being called in, had heard the decree read, they threw themselves at the feet of Marcellus, and begged he would forgive whatever, with a view to set forth their miseries and move compassion, they had said against him; and would receive them into his protection. The consul granted their request; and, in gratitude to him, the people of Syracuse ordered, that whenever he, or any of his family, set foot in Sicily, the people should crown themselves with garlands, and celebrate the day with sacrifices; and Syracuse was, ever after, under the patronage of the Marcelli.

The cause of the Campanians came on next. Their pleading consisted wholly of a pathetic representation of their miseries. When they had finished their complaint they were ordered to withdraw. And then M. Attilius Regulus, who had served in the army at the taking of Capua, was examined as to the facts. This senator could say little to the advantage of the Capuans; but he moved Livy, b. 26. c. 33.

Year of ROME 543. B.C. 209. 242d consul. ship.

that the senate might not determine the affair, till it had obtained the consent of the tribes: because the Capuans, being Roman citizens, could not legally be judged by the senate, without the approbation of the people. Accordingly, a tribune of the commons was desired to summon the *comitia* by tribes, and request them to empower the senate to pronounce sentence on the Capuans. He complied. The *comitia* answered in that authoritative style which shewed their sovereignty: "What the majority of the senate now sitting, after being sworn, shall determine, that we will and command." The senate, thus authorized, pronounced judgment: and when the sentence came to be executed, Campania was stripped of all the monuments of its grandeur; Capua was no longer a city; it had neither senate, *comitia*, nor magistrates of its own; Rome sent a prefect thither annually, to preserve order in the place. and to hear causes. Its former slothful and effeminate inhabitants were transplanted elsewhere, and succeeded by Roman colonies of laborious and industrious husbandmen.

Livy, b. 26. c. 35.

And now the consuls applied themselves wholly to the preparations for the approaching campaign. As the navy wanted great repairs, and the public treasury was exhausted, they published an edict, ordering every man, according to his census, to furnish pay and provisions, for thirty days, to a certain number of sailors and rowers, agreeably to a precedent on the like occasion. This falling heavy on the poorer citizens, already drained by taxes, since Hannibal's invasion, it had like to have caused an insurrection. The people threatened to do themselves justice, if the edict was not revoked in three
36. days. In that time, the consuls, to make matters easy, proposed in the senate a method which gained them great applause.—They moved, that all the dignified persons in the state, and the senators, should give a good example of zeal for the republic, by voluntarily carrying into the treasury their superfluous gold, silver, and brass. All

present approved the motion; and the knights and common citizens so readily followed the example of the consuls and senators, that there was an emulation who should first enter their names in the register of the contributors. Thus were the Roman fleets recruited; and Rome put into a condition to support the war on all sides. Year of ROME 543. B.C. 209. 242d consulship.

When Marcellus and Lævinus set out for their provinces, there were in the town of Salapia, in Apulia, two men of great authority, Dasius and Blasius; the latter was in the Roman interest, and had entered into a negotiation with the consul to betray the town to him. As this could not be done without Dasius's consent, the traitor ventured to open his mind to him, and solicit his assistance, though he knew him to be a zealous Hannibalist. Dasius immediately informed the Carthaginian of the affair, who thereupon cited both to appear before him. But the accuser not being able to bring any proof to support his charge, Hannibal imagined the accusation to have proceeded entirely from jealousy and hatred; and would take no farther cognizance of it. After this, Blasius gained over his colleague, and they took measures together for the surrendry of the place. Marcellus on a sudden appeared before it, and was admitted into the town; and then the Carthaginian garrison, which consisted of 500 brave Numidian horse, finding themselves betrayed, resolved to sell their lives dear. They quitted their horses, which were of no use to them, and fought on foot, till they were all killed except fifty, who yielded themselves prisoners. This, if we may credit Livy, was so great a loss to Hannibal, that in all the battles he afterward fought in Italy, his cavalry never gained the superiority over the enemy, as in former engagements. Livy, b. 26. c. 37.

The Carthaginian had still hopes of taking the citadel of Tarentum, which he kept blocked up. On the other hand the Romans sent a squadron of ships to supply the garrison with provisions: but this fleet, before it could enter the port, being obliged to come to an en- c. 39.

Year of ROME 543. B. C. 209. gagement with the Tarentine fleet, was utterly defeated, and the admiral of it killed in the action.

Marcellus took two more cities in Samnium, and in them about 3000 Carthaginian prisoners, together with a great quantity of grain. Fulvius Centumalus, who commanded as proconsul in Apulia, being ambitious of imitating the consul, without his abilities, drew near to a city called Herdonea, in hopes to reduce it by force, or by treaty, but was surprised by Hannibal; and though the Romans behaved themselves bravely, they were totally defeated, their camp taken, and the general, with eleven legionary tribunes, slain in the engagement.

242d consulship. Plut. Life of Marcellus. Livy, b. 27. c. 1.

So complete a victory recovered the affairs and credit of Hannibal for some time, and greatly discouraged the people at Rome, whose only hopes were now in Marcellus. This consul, knowing how much the people were terrified, wrote to the senate in these terms: "I am the same man that I was after the battle of Cannæ. I am going to meet the same conqueror, and have reason to expect the same success. The joy that now swells the mind of the Carthaginian, will not be of long duration." He then marched towards Hannibal, and came up with him near Numistro, in Bruttium. The Carthaginian did not decline a battle. The engagement was bloody; and the night alone put an end to it. At sunrising, Marcellus offered him battle again; but Hannibal would not accept the challenge. He decamped; and the consul followed him from place to place. So that these two great generals spent the rest of the campaign, the one in seeking for an opportunity to come to a general action, the other in endeavouring to avoid it, and to draw his enemy into an ambush.

Plut. Life of Marcellus. Livy, b. 27. c. 2.

c. 3. In the mean time, Fulvius Flaccus was busy in managing the affairs of the republic in Campania; and the senate ordered a great quantity of corn to be bought up in Hetruria, and carried to the citadel of Tarentum: 2000 men were likewise commanded to the relief of the

garrison; and this convoy had a happier passage thither than the last. Year of ROME 543. B. C. 209.

From the consul Lævinus the senate received news of the total reduction of Sicily.—Agrigentum had long held out for the Carthaginians. Hanno had commanded there a numerous garrison; but having through jealousy disobliged, and even broke, a brave Numidian officer, named Mutines, much esteemed among his countrymen, and who, having been sent by Hannibal into Sicily, to supply the place of Hippocrates, had done the Carthaginians signal service in that island, the proud African could not brook the affront. To revenge himself, he entered into a correspondence with the consul; and having engaged a body of the Numidians in the conspiracy, they opened one of the gates to the Roman troops. Hanno, with Epicydes, and a few more officers, escaped in a small vessel; but the rest of the garrison were all cut in pieces. After this, twenty towns were betrayed into the hands of the Romans, six taken by force, and the rest, to the number of forty, surrendered voluntarily. Lævinus, having settled all affairs in the island (which from this time became the granary of Rome), received an order from the senate, to return home, to hold the *comitia* by centuries: for though Marcellus was nearer, it was dangerous to interrupt his pursuit of Hannibal. However, Lævinus was hardly arrived, when he found himself obliged to go back again, to take care of his province, an express coming from Valerius Messala (who commanded a fleet in Sicily and had been ravaging the coast of Africa) with an account that the Carthaginians were preparing a naval armament to reconquer Sicily. 242d consulship. Livy, b. 27. c. 4.

The senate hastened the departure of Lævinus, and ordered him to name a dictator to hold the *comitia* for the new elections. The consul did not refuse to obey; but, that he might continue the longer in the supreme dignity, insisted upon deferring the nomination till he

Year of ROME 543. B.C. 209. 242d consulship.

should arrive in Sicily; and he promised that he would then name Messala: but it being contrary to ancient custom, for a dictator to be named elsewhere than in Italy, the conscript fathers passed a decree, requiring Lævinus, before he left the city, to petition the people to recommend a proper person for the dictatorship, and enjoining the consul to name that person; and the decree provided also, that in case the consul refused to petition, as before mentioned, the prætor of Rome should do it; and if he likewise refused, the tribunes of the commons should bring the matter before the *comitia*. Lævinus was obstinate, and forbid the prætor to offer any petition to the people. Upon this, the tribunes assembled them; and it was determined that Q. Fulvius Flaccus, then at Capua, should be nominated dictator. But Lævinus, the night before the holding of the *comitia*, had set out for Sicily, so that the fathers were obliged to write to Marcellus to name the dictator the people had recommended. Q. Fulvius, being thus raised to the dictatorship, named P. Licinius Crassus, the pontifex maximus, to be his general of horse.

CHAP. XXIX.

TENTH YEAR OF THE WAR.

544. Twelve Roman colonies refusing to pay their contingents of men and money, the republic does not think it advisable to attempt compulsion, and, to supply the deficiencies, she has recourse to a treasure long hoarded up in the exchequer, and farms the lands of Campania for the benefit of the public. Marcellus is said to have fought three general battles with Hannibal, in three days' time: in the first, the victory inclines to neither side, in the second the Carthaginians are conquerors, and in the third the Romans. Marcellus, nevertheless, is unable to keep the field while Hannibal ravages Italy, and takes prisoners a body of the enemy's troops that were besieging Caulonia. Tarentum is betrayed into the hands of the consul Fabius, who massacres all the inhabitants of the town.

Year of ROME 544. B.C. 208. 243d consulship.

THE dictator Fulvius, having artfully carried on his intrigues to promote his own election to the consulship, called together the *comitia*, and was there named consul, with Fabius Maximus Cunctator, by the first century which voted; and the rest of the centuries seemed

Livy, b. 27. c. 6.

inclined to the same choice. But two of the tribunes interposed, alleging, "That it was dangerous to the constitution to allow a continuation of magistracy in the same person, and to suffer presidents of the *comitia* to pervert their authority to serve their private purposes;" and they declared, that they would dissolve the assembly, if the dictator did not desist from his pretension. Fulvius, however, justified the proceedings of the *comitia* by a law made just after the battle of Thrasymenus, allowing the people to choose the same men to the consulship as often as they pleased, while the war should last in Italy; and by the examples of Posthumius Metellus and Fabius Maximus, who, at different times being presidents of the *comitia*, had been elected consuls by the assemblies in which they presided. After some time spent in these disputes, it was at length agreed, that the matter should be referred to the senate. The conscript fathers, pleased with the choice that had been made of two such able generals, declared, that neither the dictatorship nor presidentship of Fulvius disqualified him for being chosen consul. Year of ROME 544. B.C. 208. 243d consulship.

It was necessary at this time to raise recruits, and to send some forces into Sicily in the place of two legions drawn from thence to serve in Italy; but this affair had like to have occasioned a rebellion. The Latins and allies of Rome murmured at the continuation of a war, which drained their countries of their people and their wealth. Nay, twelve out of thirty Roman colonies, that had been planted in the provinces conquered by the republic, absolutely refused to furnish their contingents, either of men or money; alleging, that they really were not in a condition to do it. But the other eighteen complied, and declared themselves ready to enlarge their quotas, if necessary. The agents of these faithful and affectionate colonies received the thanks of the senate, and of the people in full *comitia*. As for the twelve, it was thought proper, at this juncture, to shew a contempt Livy, b. 27. c. 9.

Year of ROME 544. B. C. 208. 243d consul. ship.

of them, and to neglect their contributions, rather than extort them by violence, which would probably throw these colonies into the Carthaginian interest. To supply the deficiency occasioned by their refusal, recourse was had to a treasure which had been long hoarded up in the exchequer. From the year 396, the republic had reserved to herself the twentieth part of the purchase-money of every slave's freedom. The produce had been kept against a day of necessity, and was now first applied to the public use. It amounted to 4000 pounds' weight of gold, which was all distributed among the generals for the expenses of the war. The censors also requested of the senate, that the territory of Campania, from which the old possessors had been driven, should be disposed of after the best manner, for the benefit of the public. Their petition being referred to the people, the latter decreed, that those vast plains, and fruitful hills, should be farmed out, and the rents paid into the public treasury.

And now, the season of the year, and the motions of Hannibal, drew the consuls from Rome. Fabius undertook to besiege Tarentum, whilst Fulvius and Marcellus were to oppose the enterprises of the Carthaginian. Marcellus thinking himself, of all the Roman generals, the fittest match for Hannibal, marched out of his winter-quarters as soon as there was grass in the fields, and came up with the enemy near Canusium in Apulia. The Carthaginian retired, because the country was open and unfit for ambushes. Marcellus followed him, pitched his camp near him, and offered battle. Hannibal would have avoided a general action, but was at length forced to it. The Roman attacked him as he was encamping; and the engagement lasted till night, without any advantage on either side. Next morning, as soon as it was light, Marcellus again drew out his forces; nor did Hannibal decline the challenge. He harangued his men, putting them in mind of Thrasymenus

Plut. Life of Marcellus. Livy, b. 27. c. 12, 13.

and Cannæ, and exhorting them to repress the audacious temerity of their enemies, who would not permit them either to march or to encamp in quiet, or give them time to breathe or look about them. "The rising sun (said he) and the Roman army, daily appear to us at the same instant. Shall we bear this? One single victory will free us from an importunate enemy, that is more rash than formidable." The Carthaginian soldiers, thus animated by their general, and vexed at being continually harassed by the Romans, behaved themselves with uncommon resolution in the battle. Marcellus was now vanquished; his whole army routed; he lost 2700 men. Not being used to suffer these indignities, he shewed his resentment, by bitterly reproaching his troops with cowardice. They readily owned their fault, asked pardon, and protested that they would expose themselves to any danger he should think fit, with a resolution either to die or conquer. "Prepare then (replied the general) to perform your promises to-morrow, and to merit the forgiveness you desire." Next morning the legionaries were ready to march by break of day. Marcellus declared, that he would place in the first line those manipuli which had behaved themselves dishonourably; and he urged them all to exert themselves in such a manner as to wipe off their shame: "Let not Rome (said he) be informed of yesterday's defeat before she hears of this day's victory." He then ordered them to refresh themselves well with food, that their strength might not fail, in case the battle should prove long: which done, he marched them out of the camp, and formed them as usual. Hannibal, surprised at this unexpected challenge from the Roman general, "What! (cried he) we have to do then with a man that can bear neither good nor bad fortune. When victorious, he gives his enemy no repose, nor takes any himself when he is vanquished." Which said, he gave orders for the trumpets

Year of ROME 544. B.C. 208. 243d consulship.

Year of ROME 544. B. C. 208. 243d consulship.

to sound, and drew his men out into the field. The battle was more sharp than that of the day before. At length the Romans prevailed by driving the elephants, which Hannibal brought against them, back upon his own troops. For by this means the Carthaginians were thrown into the utmost confusion; and two of those great beasts falling down just in the gate of their camp, stopped up the entrance of it; so that the runaways were forced to make their way with difficulty over the ditch and rampart, which occasioned a great slaughter of them. Hannibal lost 8000 men. However, Marcellus bought his victory dear: 3000 of his legionaries were killed upon the spot, and almost all the rest wounded; he led his scattered forces to Venusia, and could not take the field again that campaign.[e] Hannibal decamped the night after his defeat, retired into Bruttium, raised the siege of Caulonia, and took the besiegers prisoners. They consisted of 8000 men, besides Bruttian deserters, and had been sent by Fabius upon that enterprise, under the conduct of the governor of Rhegium. About this time the Hirpini, the Lucani, and the Volcenses submitted to the consul Fulvius. Some of the Bruttians also sent deputies to him, who were well received; but this negotiation had little success, probably because of the presence of Hannibal.

Plut. Life of Marcellus.

Livy, b. 27. c. 14, 15.

As for Fabius, who had undertaken the reduction of Tarentum (in which Hannibal had placed a garrison, consisting partly of his old troops, and partly of new levies raised among the Bruttians), while he was with all prudence making his preparations for the siege, a young

[e] These battles of Marcellus, as they are told by Livy, and nearly copied by Plutarch, have very much the air of a romance. Three general battles are fought in three days' time. In the first, victory inclines to neither side; in the second, Hannibal is conqueror; and, in the third, Marcellus. And what is as strange, Marcellus, when conqueror, was less able to keep the field than when he was vanquished. He lay idle all the summer (for which he was afterward impeached at Venusia), while Hannibal, master of the open country, continued his ravages in Italy. "Vagante per Italiam Annibale, media æstate, Venusium in tecta, milites abduxisset." Liv. b. 27. c. 20. It is also to be observed, that Polybius knew nothing of these Roman victories; for he expressly tells us, that Hannibal was never vanquished in any battle or engagement till that of Zama. Polyb. b. 15. c. 11. and 16.

Tarentine, who served in his army, came and discovered to him a secret, which he thought might be of use in the present enterprise. He told the general, "that he had a sister in Tarentum, whose beauty had captivated the commander of the Bruttian troops there; that he believed he could gain over his sister to the Roman interest; and that, if so, she could undoubtedly engage her lover in the same cause." Fabius, thinking the project feasible, suffered the young man to return to his native city, as a deserter. The Tarentine conducted himself with so much art, that he soon gained his point. The sixth night after the attacks began, he returned to the consul, and informed him of his success, and when and where the Bruttian officer would be ready to let the Romans into the place. The plot was happily executed; and when the Romans had surprised the town, they spared neither Carthaginians, Tarentines, nor even Bruttians. Some authors lay the blame of this odious massacre on Fabius himself, who, they say, gave these cruel orders, lest, if he spared the Bruttians, so important a conquest should be imputed more to treachery than to his prudence and bravery—a conduct not suitable to his general character.

Year of ROME 544. B.C. 208. 243d consulship.

Plut. Life of Fabius.

The riches found in this maritime city were, according to Livy, immense: the quæstors received, for the public treasury, 87,000 pounds' weight of gold; but Plutarch, with more probability, reckons the sum at only 3000 talents.* As to the pictures and statues, Fabius had not the taste of Marcellus; and therefore, when he was asked what he would have done with those masterpieces of painting and sculpture, he answered, "Let us leave to the Tarentines their angry gods;" alluding to the attitudes in which the gods of Tarentum were represented: for, after the Lacedemonian manner, they had generally swords in their hands, and were in fighting postures. Nevertheless, he carried to Rome a brazen colossus of Hercules, which had been cast by the famous

Livy, b. 27. c. 16.

* 581,250*l.* Arbuth.

Strabo, p. 278. Plin. b. 34. c. 7. Plut. Life of Fabius.

Year of ROME 544. B. C. 208. Lysippus; and it was placed in the Capitol, with an equestrian statue of Fabius near it.

243d consulship. The unexpected news of the siege of Tarentum drew Hannibal from Bruttium. He marched night and day, and doubted not to come time enough to relieve it; and it was with the greatest astonishment he received the account, when within five miles of the city, of its being taken: "Nay, then (said he), the Romans have their Hannibal too; we have lost Tarentum by the same art that we took it." However, that he might not seem to fly before the enemy, he did not immediately turn back, but encamped on the place where he heard the news. At length he marched to Metapontus, a city in his interest, and there invented a stratagem, which had like to have fatally deceived the cautious Fabius. He sent two of the inhabitants with letters to the consul, from the chief men of the city, offering to deliver up the place, and the Carthaginian garrison, into his hands, if he would promise an oblivion for what was past. Fabius not suspecting the cheat, fixed the day for his march, and would have fallen into an ambush prepared for him, if the augurs and haruspices, who had probably better intelligence than the general, had not detained him in the camp, by declaring that the presages were all unfortunate. Hannibal, impatient of Fabius's delays, sent new emissaries; but these being arrested, and terrified by threatenings of severe punishment, confessed the secret.

Livy, b. 27. c. 16.

CHAP. XXX.

ELEVENTH YEAR OF THE WAR.

The consul Marcellus is slain in an ambush by the Numidians, and his colleague Crispinus mortally wounded. Hannibal miscarries in his attempt upon Salapia, but forces the enemy to raise the siege of Locri. Lævinus makes a descent on Africa with success, and defeats a Carthaginian fleet off Clypea. The prætor Sulpicius carries on the war against Philip in Greece. 545.

MARCELLUS had been accused, before the *comitia*, for inaction the last campaign; nevertheless, he was chosen consul for the new year, with T. Quinctius Crispinus. When they had taken the field, the latter, ambitious of signalizing himself by the conquest of some important place, cast his eyes on Locri, a maritime city of that part of south Italy, now called Farther Calabria: but being afraid to engage with Hannibal, who advanced towards him, he postponed his expedition, and hastened to join his colleague Marcellus. The two consuls, having conferred together, determined not to drop the enterprise upon Locri. They commanded Cincius, admiral of the fleet appointed to guard the coasts of Italy and Sicily, to invest the place by sea, and at the same time ordered a body of troops, then in garrison at Tarentum, to go and besiege it by land: but these latter were surprised by Hannibal in their march, 2000 of them killed, and 1200 taken prisoners. The Carthaginian, however, declined a battle with the united forces of the consuls; and watched for an opportunity to deceive his enemies by artifice. Year of ROME 545. B.C. 207. 244th consulship.

Between his intrenchments and those of the Romans was a little hill, from which either camp might be annoyed; and the Roman soldiers were equally surprised at Hannibal's neglect of it, and impatient to take possession of it themselves. They even murmured at their generals not being so quick as they would have them, to seize such an advantageous post: hereupon Marcellus and his colleague, with a guard of 220 horse, went to view the eminence. Hannibal had hid a detachment Plut. Life of Marcellus. Polyb. b. 27. c. 27, 28.

Year of ROME 545. B.C. 207. 244th consul-ship.

of Numidians in the cavities of the hill, and under the bushes which covered it. His design was to intercept those of the Romans that should straggle from their camp. The Numidians, coming out of their ambush, surprised and surrounded the two consuls and their guard; and Marcellus, in the attempt to retreat, was killed: his son and the other consul were wounded.

Hannibal, informed of Marcellus's death, went immediately to the place where the body lay, and, at the sight of it, shewed no marks of joy, but seemed rather to pity the misfortunes of so great a man, who had fallen in a manner unworthy of him. Yet his first care was to take off the ring, which the dead consul had on his finger, and with which he used to seal his dispatches. He then caused the body to be laid on a funeral pile, and burnt; and, having gathered the ashes into a silver urn, sent them to young Marcellus, the son.

The surviving consul decamped the following night, retired to the nearest mountains, and posted himself on a steep ascent. And fearing lest Hannibal should make a mischievous use of the ring he had taken from Marcellus, he dispatched couriers to all the neighbouring cities in the interest of Rome, to prevent their being deceived by letters, which might be sent to them in Marcellus's name. By this prudent step Salapia in Apulia was preserved: nay, the inhabitants turned the artifice of the Carthaginian upon himself. He had sent a Roman deserter with letters, as from Marcellus, to give them notice that he would be there the next night, and that they should prepare to receive him. The Salapians seemed to suffer themselves to be cheated, and admitted into the town 600 of Hannibal's men (chosen out of the Roman deserters, that their language might not betray the design); but then, on a sudden, the inhabitants letting fall the port-cullis, surprised and slew those who had entered, and with a shower of darts from the ramparts drove back the rest.

Livy, b. 27. c. 28.

This unsuccessful expedition did not so far discourage Hannibal as to hinder him from marching to the relief of Locri, now invested by sea and land. And, upon the first appearance of his Numidian horse, the besiegers were so terrified, that Cincius, the admiral of the Roman fleet, embarked the land forces on board his galleys, left all his machines behind him, and sailed away for Rome. Year of ROME 545. B. C. 207. 244th consul. ship.

In the mean time Quinctius, whose wounds were mortal, and who, having left his post in the mountains, was now with his army at Capua, sent letters to the senate, acquainting them with the death of his colleague, and that he himself was drawing near his end; and, desiring that the fathers would send some persons to him, of prudence and integrity, with whom he might intrust the affairs of the republic. Accordingly three senators were commissioned to receive his last advices; and, at their request, he nominated a dictator to hold the *comitia* for the new elections. He named T. Manlius Torquatus. Livy, b. 27. c. 29.

The Romans, during this unfortunate campaign, received the agreeable news from Sicily, that Valerius Lævinus, who commanded 100 sail of ships, had made a descent on Africa, brought thence much booty, and afterward defeated a Carthaginian fleet off Clypea. And the advices from the proconsul Sulpicius, of the state of affairs in Greece, were not unfavourable. The Ætolians had received assistance from Attalus, king of Pergamus, and being also joined by 1000 Romans, had ventured to march against Philip; and though he defeated them in two battles, he could not prevail with them to desert the interest of Rome. He had also attacked the Roman army, while they were pillaging the country about Corinth, and forced them aboard their ships with loss: but Sulpicius being joined by the Ætolians and Eleans, surprised the king near Elis, and gained some advantage over him. Next day Philip hearing that the country people were gathered together at a fortress called Pyrgus (in order to defend their cattle, which they c. 30.

Year of ROME 545. B. C. 207. had driven thither as to a place of safety), he set upon them, took 4000 prisoners, and 20,000 cattle of all kinds. After this, he was obliged to return into his own country, to put a stop to the irruptions of the Dardans, which a report of his death had occasioned; so that Rome had no reason to fear the Macedonian's coming suddenly to join Hannibal.

244th consulship. Livy, b. 27. c. 32, 33.

CHAP. XXXI.

Asdrubal, brother of Hannibal. The Romans are alarmed by the approach of Asdrubal (the brother of Hannibal) with an army from Spain. A summary account of the Roman affairs in that country, from the first landing of the Scipios there, to the time of Asdrubal's leaving it.

BUT now the chief care of the senate was to fill up the vacant consulship with two men who would be equal to that important charge, at a time when, beside the difficulties they had already to struggle with, a new and dreadful storm was driving towards Rome from the Alps. For Asdrubal, the brother of Hannibal, had left Spain with an army of 60,000 men, and was crossing those mountains, in order to join him in the heart of Italy—a danger, than which none could have a more gloomy, a more threatening aspect to the republic.

See p. 57—59. of this volume. The Roman affairs in Spain have been hitherto but lightly touched. And, indeed, a credible and consistent account of what passed in that country, while the Scipios commanded there, to the departure of Asdrubal, is not easy to be formed out of the historians and geographers. Let the collection and observations, made by a judicious and able writer, supply the defect of the present work in this particular.

Sir W. Raleigh's History of the World, b. 5. c. 3. §. 11. "The acts of these two brethren [Publius and Cn. Scipio] in their province were very great, and, as they are reported, somewhat marvellous. For they continually prevailed in Spain against the Carthaginians, whom they vanquished in so many battles, and withdrew from their alliance so many of the Spaniards their con-

federates, that we have cause to wonder how the enemy could so often find means to repair his forces, and return strong into the field. But as the Romans, by pretending to deliver the country from the tyranny of Carthage, might easily win unto their confederacy as many as were galled with the African yoke, and durst adventure to break it; so the ancient reputation of the first conquerors might serve to arm the natives against these invaders, and to reclaim those that had revolted unto the Romans, were it only by the memory of such ill success as the like rebellions in former times had found. Hereto may be added, the Carthaginian treasure, which easily raised soldiers amongst those valiant, but (in that age) poor and gold-thirsty nations. Neither was it of small importance, that so many of the Spaniards had their children, kinsmen, and friends abroad with Hannibal in his Italian wars, or serving the Carthaginians in Afric. And, peradventure, if we durst be bold to say it, the victories of the Scipios were neither so many nor so great as they are set out by Livy. This we may be bold to say, that the great captain Fabius, or Livy in his person, maketh an objection unto Scipio, which neither Scipio, nor Livy for him, doth answer; that if Asdrubal were vanquished, as Scipio would say, by him in Spain, strange it was, and as little to his honour as it had been extremely dangerous to Rome, that the same vanquished man should invade Italy. And, indeed, it is an incredible narration, that Asdrubal, being enclosed on all sides, and not knowing how to escape out of battle, save only by the steep descent of rocks, over a great river that lay at his back, ran away with all his money, elephants, and broken troops, over Tagus, directly towards the Pyrenees, and so toward Italy; upon which he fell with more than threescore thousand armed soldiers. Neither do I see how it hangs well together, that he chose a piece of ground very defensible, but most incommodious for his retreat, if he should

happen to be vanquished; and yet that he sent all his money and elephants away before him, as not intending to abide the enemy; or how it could be true, that these his elephants, being so sent before, could hinder the Romans (for so they are said to have done in the last battle between him and Scipio) from breaking into his camp. Wherefore we can no more than be sorry, that all Carthaginian records of this war, and Spanish (if there were any), being utterly lost, we can know no more thereof than what it hath pleased the Romans to tell us; unto whom it were no wisdom to give too much credit. In this regard, I will summarily run over the doings of the Scipios in Spain; not greatly insisting on particulars, whereof there is no great certainty.

Year of ROME 535. "Cn. Cornelius landed at Emporiæ, a haven-town, not far within the Pyrenees, retaining still the name with little inflection.* That by the fame of his clemency he allured many nations to become subject unto Rome, as the story begins of him, I could easily believe, if I understood by what occasion they had need to use his clemency, or he to give such famous example thereof, being a mere stranger, and having no jurisdiction in the country. Yet it is certain that he was a man very courteous, and one that could well insinuate himself into the love of the barbarians; among whom his dexterity in practice had the better success, for that he seemed to have none other errand than setting them at liberty. This pretext availed with some; others were to be hired with money: and some he compelled to yield by force or fear; especially when he had won a battle against Hanno. Into all treaties of accord made with these people, likely it is that he remembered to insert this article, which the Romans in their alliances never forgat unless in long times past, and when they dealt with the Carthaginians, or their superiors, "Majestatem populi Romani comiter conservent," which is, as Tully interprets it, "that they should gently (or kindly) uphold the

Livy, b. 21. c. 60.

* Ampurias, a town in Catalonia.

Orat. pro Corn. Balb.

majesty of the people of Rome." This was in appearance nothing troublesome, yet implied in it, indeed, an obscure covenant of subjection. And in this respect it may be true, that the Spaniards became *ditionis Romanæ*, "of the Roman jurisdiction;" though hereafter they will say, they had no such meaning. That part of the country wherein Scipio landed was newly subdued by Hannibal in his passage towards Italy, and therefore the more easily shaken out of obedience: particularly the Bargusians. Hannibal had found, at his coming among them, such an apprehension of the Roman greatness, as made him suspect, that any light occasion would make them start from the Carthaginians. Wherefore he not only appointed Hanno governor over them, as over the rest of the province between Iberus and the Pyrenees, but made him also their lord; that is (as I conceive it, for I do not think he gave the principality of their country to Hanno and his heirs), he made him not only lieutenant-general over them, in matters of war, and things concerning the holding them in obedience to Carthage, but took from them all inferior officers of their own, leaving them to be governed by Hanno at his discretion. These, therefore, had good cause to rejoice at the coming of Scipio, with whom others also, no doubt, found reasons to join; it being the custom of all conquered nations, in hatred of their present lords, to throw themselves indiscreetly into the protection of others, that many times prove worse than the former. This bad affection of this province would not suffer Hanno to temporize: 10,000 foot and 1000 horse Hannibal had left unto him; besides which, it is like, that some forces he was able to raise out of his province. Therefore he adventured a battle with Scipio; wherein he was overthrown and taken. Following this victory, Scipio besieged Cissa, a town hard by, and won it. But Asdrubal, having passed Iberus, and coming too late to the relief of Hanno, with 8000 foot and 1000 horse,

Year of ROME 535.

Polyb. b. 3. c. 34.

Livy, b. 21. c. 60. Polyb. b. 3. c. 76.

Year of ROME 535. fell upon the Roman sea forces, that lay not far from Tarracon, whom he found careless as after a victory, roving abroad in the country; and with great slaughter drove them aboard their ships. This done, he ran up into the country, where he withdrew the Ilergetes[f] from the Roman party, though they had given hostages to Scipio. Scipio, in the mean season, was gone to visit and aid his fleet, where having set things in order, he returned back, and made towards Asdrubal, who durst not abide his coming, but withdrew himself again over the Iberus. So the Ilergetes were compelled by force, having lost Athanagia, their chief city, to pay a fine to the Romans, and increase the number of their hostages. The Ausetani likewise, confederates of the Carthaginians, were besieged in their chief town, which they defended thirty days; hoping, in vain, that the sharp winter, and great abundance of snow that fell, would have made the Romans dislodge. But they were fain at length to yield, and for this their obstinacy they were amerced twenty talents of silver. During the siege, the Lacetani came to help their distressed neighbours, and were beaten home by Scipio, leaving 12,000 of their company dead behind them. I cannot but wonder how these Lacetani, that are said to be the first which embraced the friendship of Scipio, should, without any cause remembered, become Carthaginian on the sudden, in the next news we hear of them. As also it is strange, that all the sea-coast northward of Iberus, having lately become voluntary *ditionis Romanæ*, subject unto Rome, should, in continuance of the story, after a few lines, hold war against Scipio, without any resistance of the Carthaginians. Neither can I believe, that Asdrubal, as it were by a charm, stirred up the Ilergetes, making them lay aside all care of their hostages, and take arms in his quarrel; whilst himself had not the daring to

Livy, b. 21. c. 61.

[f] Polybius says nothing of the rebellion of the Ilergetes, Ausetani, or Lacetani. The historian follows *Livy*.

stand against Scipio, but ran away, and saved himself beyond the Iberus. Philinus perhaps, or some Carthaginian writer, would have told it thus: that Scipio, adventuring too far into the country, was beaten by Asdrubal back to his ships, whence he durst not stir until winter came on: at what time the Carthaginian returned to the heart of his province, leaving some few garrisons to defend those places, that after Scipio won, by returning upon them, unlooked for, through a deep snow. As for the Lacetani, Ilergetes, and the rest, we may reasonably think, that they sought their own benefit; helping themselves one while by the Romans against the Carthaginians, and contrariwise, upon sense of injuries received, or apprehension of more grievous tyranny, under which they feared to be brought by these new masters, hearkening again unto the comfortable promises of those that had ruled them before. For that it was their intent to live under their own country laws, and not under governors sent from Rome or Carthage, their demeanour in all ages following may testify; even from henceforth unto the days of Augustus Cæsar, till when they were never thoroughly conquered. Year of ROME 535.

"The year following this, Cn. Scipio had a victory against the Carthaginians in fight at sea; or rather came upon them unlooked-for, while they rode at anchor, most of their men being on shore. All their ships that ran not too far on ground he took; and thereby grew master of the whole coast, landing at pleasure, and doing great hurt in all places that were not well defended: after this victory above 120 nations, or petty estates in Spain, are said to have submitted themselves unto the Romans, or given hostages; whereby Asdrubal was compelled to fly into the utmost corners of the land, and hide himself in Lusitania. Yet it follows, that the Ilergetes did again rebel, that Asdrubal hereupon came over Iberus; and that Scipio (though having easily vanquished the Ilergetes) went not forth to meet him, but Year of ROME 536. Polyb. b. 3. c. 95. Livy, b. 22. c. 20.

Year of ROME 536. stirred up against him the Celtiberians, that lately were become his subjects, and had given him hostages. These took from the Carthaginian three towns, and vanquished him in two battles, wherein they slew 15,000 of his men, and took 4000 prisoners. Then arrived P. Scipio with a supply [of 8000 men and a fleet of thirty galleys]; and henceforward the two brethren jointly administered the business in Spain.

"The Carthaginians being occupied in the Celtiberian war, the two Scipios did *haud cunctanter*, "without both fear or doubt," pass over Iberus, and besieged Saguntum.[g] Little cause of doubt had they, if Cneius had already subdued many nations beyond it, and among many others the same Celtiberians, who with their proper forces were able to vanquish Asdrubal. Bostar, the governor of Saguntum, a simple man, suffered himself [as has been before related, p. 58.] to be persuaded by one Abelox, a Spaniard, that the only way to get the favour and hearty good-will of the country, was by freely restoring unto them their hostages, as resting without any pledge assured of their faith: but the crafty Spaniard, being trusted with this message, and restitution of the hostages, carried them all to the Roman generals; persuading them as he had done Bostar, to make the liberality their own. Hereby the Romans purchased much love, if the tale were true; and if it were not rather true, as afterward, and ere this we find, that all the Spanish hostages were left in New Carthage. I am weary of rehearsing so many particularities, whereof I can believe so few. But since we find no better certainties, we must content ourselves with these.

Year of ROME 537. "The year following was like unto this: Asdrubal must be beaten again. The two Scipios divide their

[g] Neither Livy nor Polybius says that Saguntum was besieged. The Romans seem to have designed it, but winter coming on, hindered them. "Saguntum pergunt ire:—defectionem omnes [Hispani] spectare, armaque extemplo mota forent, ni hiems—intervenisset." Liv. b. 22. c. 22. "Saguntinorum urbi appropinquarunt, 5 milia ab oppido—castra faciunt.——Quia autem instabat hiems, utrique [Rom. et Hispani] in hyberna suos exercitus dimiserunt." Polyb. ll. 3. c. 97. 99. Casaub. trad.

forces; Cneius makes war by land, Publius by sea. Asdrubal, with much labour and entreaty, hath gotten 4000 foot and 500 horse out of Afric. He repairs his fleet, and provides every way to make resistance. But all his chief seamen and masters of his ships revolt unto the Romans, because they had been chidden the last year for their negligence, which had betrayed the navy. The revolt of these shipmasters animates to rebellion the Carpesians or Carpetani, an inland people, about Toledo, in the very centre of Spain. These do much mischief, so that Asdrubal is fain to make a journey to them. His sudden coming cuts off some of them that were found scattered abroad in the fields: but they making head, so valiantly assail him, that they drive him, for very fear, to encamp himself strongly on a high piece of ground, whence he dares not come forth to give them battle. So they take a town by force, wherein he had laid up all his provisions, and shortly make themselves masters of the country round about. This good success breeds negligence, for which they dearly pay. Asdrubal comes upon them, takes them unprepared, beats them, kills the most of them, and disperseth the rest; so that the whole nation yieldeth to him the next day. Then come directions from Carthage, that Asdrubal should lead his army forth into Italy; which we may wonder why the Carthaginians would appoint him to do, if they had been informed by his letters in what hard case he was, and had so weakly supplied him, as is shewed before. But thus we find it reported, and that upon the very rumour of his journey, almost all Spain was ready to fall to the Romans. Asdrubal, therefore, sends word presently to Carthage, that this must not be so; or if they will needs have it so, that then they must send him a successor, and well attended with a strong army, which to employ they should find work more than enough, such notable men were the Roman generals. But the senate of Carthage is not much moved with

Year of ROME 537.

Year of ROME 537. this excuse. Asdrubal must needs be gone: Himilco with such forces as are thought expedient for that service, both by land and sea, is sent to take the charge of Spain. Wherefore Asdrubal hath now no more to do, than to furnish himself with store of money, that he might have wherewithal to win the friendship of the Gauls, through whose countries he must pass, as Hannibal had done before him. The Carthaginians were greatly to blame for not remembering to ease him of his care. But since it can be no better, he lays great impositions upon all the Spaniards his subjects; and having gotten together as much treasure as he could, onward he marcheth towards Iberus. The Scipios, hearing these news, are careful how to arrest him on the way. They besiege Ibera (so called of the river's name running by it), the richest town in all those quarters, that was confederate with Asdrubal, who thereupon steps aside to relieve it. The Romans meet him, and fight a battle with him, which they win the more easily, for that the Spaniards, his followers, had rather be vanquished at home, than get the victory, and afterward be haled into Italy. Great numbers are slain, and few should have escaped, but that the Spaniards ran away ere the battles were fully joined. Their camp the Romans take and spoil, whereby (questionless) they are marvellously enriched; all the money that could be raked together in Spain being carried along in this Italian expedition. This day's event joins all Spain to the Romans, if any part of the country stood in doubt before; and puts Asdrubal so far from all thought of travelling into Italy, that it leaves him small hope of keeping himself safe in Spain. Of these exploits advertisement is sent to Rome, and letters to the senate from P. and Cn. Scipio, whereof the contents are, that they have neither money, apparel, nor bread, wherewith to sustain their army and fleet; that all is wanting; so as unless they may be supplied from Rome, they can neither hold their forces together, nor

Livy, b. 23. c. 48.

See p. 100. of this vol.

tarry any longer in the province. These letters come to Rome in an evil season, the state being scarcely able, after the loss at Cannæ, to help itself at home. Yet relief is sent. At the coming of this supply, the two Scipios pursue Asdrubal, and hunt him out of his lurking holes. What else can we think, than remember the last news of him, and how fearfully he mistrusted his own safety? They find him, and Mago and Hamilcar, the son of Bomilcar, with an army of 60,000 men, besieging Illiturgi[h] (which the learned Ortelius and others probably conjecture to have stood where Carinnena is now, in the kingdom of Arragon; for there was Illiturgi,[h] afterward called Forum Julii, quite another way), a town of the Ilergetes, the nearest neighbours, for having revolted to the Romans. The town is greatly distressed; but most of all for want of victuals. The Romans, therefore, break through between the enemy's camps, with terrible slaughter of all that resist them; and having victualled the place, encourage the townsmen to defend their walls as stoutly, as they should anon behold them fighting manfully with the besiegers in their behalf. So they issue forth, about 16,000 against 60,000, and killing more of the enemies than themselves were in number, drove all the three Carthaginian commanders, every one out of his quarter, and took that day, besides prisoners and other booty, fifty and eight ensigns.

Year of ROME 538.

See p. 101. of this volume.

"The Carthaginian army, being thus beaten from Illiturgi, fall upon Incibili, that stood a little southward from the mouth of Iberus. The Spaniards are blamed as too greedy of earning money by war, for thus reinforcing the broken Carthaginians. But it may be wondered whence the Carthaginians had money to pay them; since Asdrubal was lately driven to poll the country, wanting money of his own, and being beaten in his jour-

[h] Father Rouillé (b. 29. p. 208. Note 6.) and Cellarius (vol. 1. p. 69.) seem rightly to have placed Illiturgi on the river Bætis, near Castulo. But that the Carthaginians should, after being beaten from thence, go and lay siege to Incibili, which stood where Sir W. Raleigh places it, is not easy to be credited.

Year of ROME 538. ney, had lost his wealthy carriages, when his camp was taken after the battle by Ibera. Howsoever it happens, the Carthaginians (according to their custom) are beaten again at Incibili, where there were of them above 13,000 slain, and above 3000 taken, besides two-and-forty ensigns, and nine elephants. After this (in a manner) all the people of Spain fell from them unto the Romans. Thus could Fabius, Valerius Antias, or some other historian, to whom Livy gave credit, conquer all Spain twice in one year,[i] by winning famous victories, whereof these good captains P. and Cn. Scipio perhaps were not aware.

Year of ROME 539. "The Romans, notwithstanding this large access of dominion, winter on their own side of Iberus. In the beginning of the next year, great armies of the Spaniards rise against Asdrubal, and are overthrown by him. P. Scipio, to help these his friends, is forced to make great haste over the river. At Castrum Altum,[k] a place in the midway between New Carthage and Saguntum, Publius Scipio encampeth, and stores the place with victuals, being strong and defensible; as intending to make it his seat for a while. But the country round about is too full of enemies: the Carthaginian horse having charged the Romans in their march, and are gone off clear; falling also upon some stragglers, or such as lagged behind their fellows in march, they have cut off 2000 of them. Hereupon it is thought behoveful to retire unto some place more assured. So Publius withdraws himself unto Mons Victoriæ,[l] that rising somewhat eastward from Incibili, overlooketh the southern outlet of Iberus. Thither the Carthaginians pursue him. His brother Cneius repairs unto him; and Asdrubal the son of Gisco, with a full army, arrives to help his companions. As they lie

Livy, b. 24. c. 14.

[i] Not twice in the same year according to Livy.

[k] Rouillé (Note 54. p. 238. b. 29.) says it is the same with Valeria, which he and Cellarius (v. 1. p. 103.) place at the head of the Sucro.

[l] According to Rouillé, (loc. cit. note 56.) this hill was part of Mount Orospeda, between the Sucro and the Anas. But then Publius, instead of retiring, was advancing farther into the country.

thus near encamped together, P. Scipio, with some light-armed, going closely to view the places thereabouts, is discovered by the enemies, who are like to take him, but that he withdraws himself to a high piece of ground; where they besiege him until his brother Cneius fetched him off. After this (but I know not why), Castulo,[m] a great city of Spain, whence Hannibal had taken him a wife, joineth with the Romans, though being far distant from them, and seated on the head of the river Bætis. Nevertheless the Carthaginians pass over Iberus to besiege Illiturgi again, wherein lodgeth a Roman garrison, hoping to take it by famine. We may justly wonder what should move them to neglect the rebellion of Castulo, yea, and the Roman army lying so close by them, and to seek adventures farther off, in that very place wherein they had been so grievously beaten the year before. But thither they go; and thither follows them Cneius Scipio with one legion; who enters the town by force, breaks out upon them the next day, and, in two battles, kills above 12,000, and takes more than 1000 of them prisoners, with six-and-thirty ensigns. This victory, doubtless, is remarkable, considering that the greatest Roman legion at this time consisted of no more than 5000 men. The vanquished Carthaginians besiege Bigerra,[n] but that siege is also raised by Cn. Scipio. Thence the Carthaginians remove to Munda,[o] where the Romans are soon at their heels. There is a great battle fought, that lasteth four hours, wherein the Romans got a notable victory; and a more notable would have gotten, had not Cn. Scipio been wounded. Thirty-nine elephants are killed, and 12,000 men; 3000 prisoners taken, and seven-and-fifty ensigns. The Carthaginians fly to Auringes,[p] and the Romans pursue them. Cn.

Year of ROME 539.

[m] Castulo is upon the Bætis, not far from Orospeda.

[n] Bigerra, according to Rouillé (who follows Ptolemy) and Cellarius, (v. 1. p. 108.) stood in the country of the Bastetani, a people in the east part of Bætica.

[o] Munda, Cellarius (p. 73.) places near the sea, not far from the Straits of Gibraltar.

[p] According to Cellarius, Aurinx, or Oringi, is not far from Illiturgi on the Bætis, but nearer the sea. Cellar. v. 1. p. 75.

Year of ROME 539. Scipio, in a litter, is carried into the field, and vanquishes the Carthaginians again, but kills not half so many of them as before; good cause why, for there are fewer of them left to fight. Notwithstanding all these overthrows, the Spaniards, a people framed even by nature to set war on foot, quickly fill up the broken troops of Asdrubal, who having also hired some of the Gauls, adventures once more to try his fortune with the Romans. But he is beaten again, and loseth 8000 of his men, besides prisoners, elephants, ensigns, and other appurtenances. After so many victories, the Romans are even ashamed to leave Saguntum enthralled unto the Carthaginians, since, in behalf of that city, they had at first entered into this war. And well may we think it strange, that they had not recovered it long before, since we may remember, that, long before this, they had won all the country once and again. But it must not be forgotten, that they had ere now besieged Saguntum; and were fain (as appears) to go their way without it: so as that they need not to blush for having so long forborne to do that, which ere now they had attempted, but were unable to perform. At the present they win Saguntum, and restore the possession thereof unto such of the poor dispersed citizens as they can find out. They also waste and destroy the country of the Turdetani, that had ministered unto Hannibal matter of quarrel against the Saguntines. This last action (questionless) was much to their honour; and wherein we may be assured, that the Carthaginians would have disturbed them if they had been able.

"But overlooking now this long continuance of great victories, which the Romans have gotten in Spain, other print or token of all their brave exploits we can perceive none, than this recovery of Saguntum, excepting the stopping of Asdrubal's journey, which was indeed of the greatest importance, but appertaining to their own defence. For they have landed at Emporiæ, a haven town,

built and peopled by a colony of the Phocæans, kin to the Massilians, friends to the Romans. They have easily won to their party, lost, recovered, and lost again, some petty bordering nations of the Spaniards, that are carried one while by persuasion, other whiles by force, and sometimes by their own unsettled passions; and now finally they have won a town, whereof the Carthaginians held entire possession, who had rooted out the old inhabitants. Wherefore we may easily believe that when they took Saguntum (if they took it not by surprise, which is to be suspected, since in this action we find no particulars remembered, as when the same place was taken by Hannibal), they had gotten the better of their enemies in some notable fight. In like sort also must we think, that all those battles lately remembered, after every one of which Asdrubal sat down before some place that had rebelled, or seemed ready to rebel, were prosperous unto the Carthaginians. For it is not the custom of armies vanquished, to carry the war from town to town, and beleaguer cities of their enemies; but to fortify themselves within their own places of strength, and therein to attend the levy and arrival of new supplies. And surely if the Romans had been absolute masters of the field, when they won Saguntum, they would not have consumed a whole year following in practising only with the Celtiberians, the next adjoining people. Yet made they this, little less than two years' business. Of these Celtiberians we hear before, that they have yielded up themselves unto the Romans; for security of their faith given hostages to Scipio; and, at his appointment, made war against the Carthaginians, with their proper forces. Wherefore it is strange, that they are now thus hardly wrought, and not without express condition of a great sum, hired to serve in the Roman camp. How this may hold together I cannot perceive, unless perhaps in those days it were the Roman custom, or rather the custom of some bad author, whom

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Livy, b. 24. c. 49.

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Livy follows, to call every messenger or straggler, that entered their camp, an hostage of that people from whom he came.

Livy, b. 25. c. 32. et seq.

"The Celtiberians at length, hired with great rewards, send an army of 30,000 men to help the Romans, out of which 300,[q] the fittest, are chosen and carried into Italy, there to deal with their countrymen that follow Hannibal in his wars. But if any of these 300[r] return back into Spain, it is to be feared that he brings with him such news of the riches and welfare of Hannibal's men, that all his fellows at home are the less unwilling to follow Asdrubal, when he shall next have a desire to lead them into Italy. Hereof we find more than probability, when these mercenary Celtiberians meet the Carthaginian army in the field. The two Scipios, presuming on this access of strength, divide their forces, and seek out the enemies, who lie not far off, with three armies. Asdrubal, the son of Hamilcar, is nearest at hand, even among the Celtiberians, at Anitorgis.[s] With him Cn. Scipio doubts not to take good order: but the fear is, that this one part of the Carthaginian forces being destroyed, Mago and the son of Gisco, hearing the news, will make use of their distance, which is five day's march, and, by running into the farthest parts of the country, save themselves from being overtaken. Publius, therefore, must make the more haste, and take with him the better soldiers, that is, two parts of the old Roman army; leaving the third part, and all the Celtiberians, to his brother. He that hath the longer journey to make, comes somewhat the sooner to his life's end. Mago, and Asdrubal,

[q] Livy does not say these 300 were Celtiberians, *nobilissimos Hispanos* 300. l. 24. c. 49.

[r] These 300 were sent into Italy the year before the siege of Capua, and three years after the battle of Cannæ. It may therefore be questioned, whether Hannibal's soldiers were so rich as Sir Walter represents.

[s] It is not agreed where Anitorgis stood. Rouillé places it near the Anas, (n. 24. p. 266. b. 31.) Cellarius (v. 1. p. 77.) seems to think it the same with Cunistorgis, which Strabo calls a town of the Celticæ, but which Appian places in Lusitania. The Anitorgis here mentioned by Livy, must have been near the Iberus; for according to him, Publius Scipio's camp, which Fonteius and Marcius possessed after the general's death, was near that river.

the son of Gisco, are not studying how to run away: they find no such necessity. They join their forces together, meet with Publius Scipio, and lay at him so hardly, that he is driven to keep himself close within his trenches, wherein he thinks himself not well assured. Especially he is vexed by Masinissa, prince of the Massylii, Numidians bordering upon Mauritania, in the region now called Tremizen; to whom the chief honour of this service is ascribed, for that he becomes afterward confederate with the Romans. In this dangerous case, Publius Scipio gets intelligence that Indibilis, a Spanish prince, is coming with 9,500 of the Suessetani[1] to join with his enemies. Fearing, therefore, to be strait shut up and besieged, he issues forth by night, to meet with Indibilis upon the way; leaving T. Fonteius, his lieutenant, with a small company, to defend the camp. He meets with Indibilis, but is not able, according to his hope, to defeat him at the first encounter. The fight continues so long, that the Numidian horse appear, (whom he thought to have been ignorant of his departure), and fall upon the Romans on all sides: neither are the Carthaginians far behind, but come so fast upon him in rear, that Publius Scipio, uncertain which way to turn, yet fighting and animating his men, where need most requireth, is struck through with a lance, and slain; very few of his army escaping the same destiny, through benefit of the dark night. The like end hath Cneius Scipio within nine-and-twenty days after. At his meeting with Asdrubal, the Celtiberian mercenaries all forsake him, pretending that they had war in their own country. If Anitorgis, where Asdrubal then lay, were, as Ortelius following Beuterus takes it, a Celtiberian town, this was no vain pretence, but an apparent truth. But we may justly believe, that they were won by Asdrubal, and easily persuaded to take as much money for not fighting, as they should have had for hazarding their lives. Cneius Scipio,

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[1] The Suessetani were a people on the north side of the Iberus.

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therefore, being unable to stay them, and no less unable without their help, either to resist the enemy, or to join with his brother, maketh a very violent retreat; herein only differing from plain flight, that he keeps his men together. Asdrubal presseth hard upon him; and Mago, with Asdrubal, the son of Gisco, having made an end of Publius, hasten to dispatch his brother after him. Scipio steals from them all by night; but is overtaken the next day by their horse, and arrested in an open place of hard stony ground, where grows not so much as a shrub, unfit for defence of his legions against such enemies. Yet a little hill he finds of easy ascent on every side, which he takes for want of a more commodious place, and fortifies it with pack-saddles, for default of a better palisado. These weak defences the Carthaginians soon tear in sunder,[u] and breaking in on all hands, leave very few of them alive, that saving themselves, I know not how, within some woods adjoining, escape unto T. Fonteius, whom Publius had left in his camp, as is before said. It is a terrible overthrow, they say, out of which no man escapes. Yet how they that were thus hemmed in on every side, in so bare a ground as afforded not a shrub to cover them, could break out and shroud themselves within woods adjoining, I should much wonder, did not a greater miracle following call away mine attention. T. Fonteius is in Publius Scipio's camp, on the north side of Iberus, fearful (as may be supposed) of his own life, since his general, with two parts of the Roman army, had little hope to remain long safe within it. Thither comes L. Marcius, a young Roman gentleman of a notable spirit; who having gathered together the scattered soldiers, and drawn some companies out of their garrisons, makes a pretty army. The soldiers, being to choose a general by most voices, prefer this L. Marcius before Fonteius, the lieutenant, as well they may. For Asdrus-

[u] Livy says it cost them a great deal of trouble, and they were a long while about it. B. 25. c. 36.

bal, the son of Gisco, coming upon them, this L. Marcius so encourageth his men (fondly weeping when he led them forth, upon remembrance of their more honourable generals lately slain), and admonished them of their present necessity, that he beats the Carthaginians into their trenches. A notable victory perhaps he might have gotten, but that he wisely sounds the retreat, reserving the fury of his soldiers to a greater occasion. The Carthaginians are at first amazed, and wonder whence this boldness grows, in enemies lately vanquished, and now again little better than taken. But when they see that the Roman dares not follow his advantage, they return to their former security, and utterly despising him, set neither *corps de garde* nor centinel, but rest secure, as if no enemy were near. Marcius therefore animates his soldiers with lively words, and tells them that there is no adventure more safe, than that which is farthest from suspicion of being undertaken. They are soon persuaded to follow him in any desperate piece of service. So he leads them forth by night, and steals upon the camp of Asdrubal; where finding no guard, but the enemies fast asleep, or very drowsy, he enters without resistance, fires their cabins, and gives a terrible alarm; so that all affrighted, the Carthaginians run headlong one upon another, they know not which way. All passages out of their camp Marcius hath prepossessed; so that there is no way to escape, save by leaping down the rampart; which as many do as can think upon it, and ran away towards the camp of Asdrubal, the son of Hamilcar, that lay six miles off. But Marcius hath waylaid them. In a valley between their two camps he hath bestowed a Roman cohort, and I know not what number of horse; so that into this ambush they fall every one, and are cut in pieces. But lest perchance any should have escaped, and give the alarm before his coming, Marcius hastens to be there as soon as they. By which diligent speed he

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Year of ROME 541. comes early in the morning upon this farther camp, which with no difficulty he enters, and partly by apprehension of danger, which the enemies conceived, when they beheld the Roman shields foul, and bloodied with their former execution, he drives headlong into flight all that can save themselves from the fury of the sword. Thirty-seven thousand of the enemies perish in this night's work, besides 1,830 taken prisoners. Hereunto Valerius Antias adds, that the camp of Mago was also taken, and 7000 slain, and that in another battle with Asdrubal, there were slain 10,000 more, besides 4,330 taken prisoners. Such is the power of some historians. Livy, therefore, hath elsewhere well observed, that there is none so intemperate as Valerius Antias in multiplying the numbers that have fallen in battles. That whilst Marcius was making an oration to his soldiers, a flame of fire shone about his head, Livy reporteth as a common tale, not giving thereto any credit; and temperately concludeth, that this captain Marcius got a great name; which he might well do, if with so small forces, and in such distress, he could clearly get off from the enemies, and give them any parting blow, though it were far less than that which is here set down.

"Of these occurrents L. Marcius sent word to Rome, not forgetting his own good service, whatsoever it was, but setting it out in such wise as the senate might judge him worthy to hold the place of their vicegerent in Spain, which the better to intimate unto them, he styled himself proprætor. The fathers were no less moved with the tidings than the case required, and therefore took such careful order for supplying their forces in Spain, that although Hannibal came to the gates of Rome, ere the companies levied to serve that province could be sent away, yet could they not stay a tide for defence of the city itself, but shipped them in all haste for Spain. As for the title of proprætor, which Marcius had assumed, they thought it too great from him, and were

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Livy, b. 26. c. 11.

offended at his presumption in usurping it; foreseeing well, that it was a matter of ill consequence, to have the soldiers abroad make choice, among themselves, of those that should command armies and provinces. Therefore C. Claudius Nero was dispatched away, with all convenient haste into Spain, carrying with him about 6000 of the Roman foot, and as many of the Latins, with 300 Roman horse, and of the Latins 800. Year of ROME 542. Livy, b. 26 c. 17.

"It happened well that about these times the affairs of Rome began to prosper in Italy, and afforded means of sending abroad such a strong supply, otherwise the victories of Marcius would ill have served, either to keep footing in Spain, or to stop the Carthaginian armies from marching towards the Alps. For when Claudius, landing with his new forces, took charge of that remainder of the army, which was under Marcius and Fonteius, he found surer tokens of the overthrows received, than of those miraculous victories, whereof Marcius had made his vaunts to the senate. The Roman party was forsaken by most of the Spanish friends, whom how to reclaim it would not easily be devised. Yet Claudius advanced boldly towards Asdrubal, the brother of Hannibal, whom he found among the Ausetani,[x] near enough at hand, encamped in a place called Lapides atri, out of which there was no issue, but only through a strait, whereon the Roman seized at his first coming. What should have tempted any man of understanding to encamp in such a place, I do not find; but as little reason can I find in that which followed. For it is said that Asdrubal, seeing himself thus locked up, made offer to depart forthwith out of all Spain, and quit the

[x] The Ausetani were indeed near enough at hand. Pliny mentions a people of that name near Emporiæ. Livy, as quoted by Cellarius, (v. 1. p. 116.) places them near the Iberus. But the Lapides atri (the black rocks), according to the same Cellarius, (p. 99.) were between Illiturgi and Mentesa, or Mentissa, on the Bætis. Livy also says the Lapides atri were between Illiturgi and Mentissa, but then he places these towns in the country of the Ausetani, which agrees to the situation Sir Walter Raleigh gives to Illiturgi. "Asdrubal ad Lapides atros castra habebat in Ausetanis: is locus est inter oppida Illiturgim et Mentissam." Liv. l. 26. c. 17. Rouillé (N. 33, 34. p. 320 b 32.) agrees with Cellarius.

Year of ROME 542. province to the Romans, upon condition that he and his army might be thence dismissed; that he spent many days in entertaining parley with Claudius about this business; that night by night he conveyed his footmen (a few at a time) through very difficult passages out of the danger, and that finally taking advantage of a misty day, he stole away with all his horse and elephants, leaving his camp empty. If we consider, that there were at the same time, besides this Asdrubal, two other Carthaginian generals in Spain, we shall find no less cause to wonder at the simplicity of Claudius, who hoped to conclude a bargain for so great a country, with one of these three chieftains, than at the strange nature of those passages, through which the footmen could hardly creep out by night, the horse and elephants easily following them in a dark misty day. Wherefore, in giving belief to such a tale, it is needful that we suppose both the danger wherein the Carthaginians were, and the conditions offered for their safe departure, to have been of far less value. Howsoever it was, neither this nor aught else that the Romans could do, served to purchase any new friends in Spain, or to recover the old which they had lost. Like enough it is, that the old soldiers, which had chosen Marcus their prætor, took it not well, that the senate, regardless of their good deserts, had repealed their election, and sent a prætor whom they fancied not so well. Some such occasion may have moved them to desire a proconsul, and, perhaps, young Scipio by name, as if a title of greater dignity were needful to work regard in the barbarians, and the beloved memory of Cneius and Publius likely to do good, were it revived in one of the same family. Whether upon these or upon other reasons, C. Claudius was recalled out of the province, and Publius the son of P. Scipio sent proconsul into Spain.

"This is that Scipio, who afterward transferred the war into Afric, where he happily ended it to the great

honour and benefit of his country. He was a man of goodly presence, and singularly well conditioned, especially he excelled in temperance, continency, bounty, and other virtues that purchase love; of which qualities what great use he made shall appear in the tenor of his actions following. As for those things that are reported of him, savouring a little too much of the great Alexander's vanity; how he used to walk alone in the Capitol, as one that had some secret conference with Jupiter; how a dragon (which must have been one of the gods, and in likelihood Jupiter himself) was thought to have conversed with his mother, entering her chamber often, and vanishing away at the coming in of any man; and how of these matters he nourished the rumour by doubtful answers; I hold them no better than fables, devised by historians, who thought thereby to add unto the glory of Rome; that this noble city might seem not only to have surpassed other nations in virtue of the generality, but also in great worth of one single man. To this end nothing is left out that might serve to adorn this Roman champion. For it is confidently written, as matter of unquestionable truth, that when a proconsul was to be chosen for Spain, there durst not any captain of the principal citizens offer himself as a petitioner for that honourable but dangerous charge; that the people of Rome were much astonished thereat; that, when the day of election came, all the princes of the city stood looking one another in the face, not one of them having the heart to adventure himself in such a desperate service; and finally, that this Publius Cornelius Scipio, being then about four-and-twenty years of age,[y] getting up upon a high place, where he might be seen of all the multitude, requested and obtained, that the office might be conferred upon him. If this were true, then were all the

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[y] Polyb. (b. 10. c. 3.) says upon the authority of C. Lælius, from whom he heard it, that Scipio was seventeen years of age at the battle of the Ticin, and (c. 6.) twenty-seven when he went into Spain. But if he was seventeen at the battle of the Ticin, and went to Spain this year (as Livy and Pighius say), he was now only twenty-four.

Year of ROME 542. victories of L. Marcius no better than dreams; and either very unreasonable was the fear of all the Roman captains, who durst not follow Claudius Nero, that not long before was gone into Spain proprætor, or very bad intelligence they had out of the province, which Asdrubal the Carthaginian, as we heard even now, was ready to abandon. But upon these incoherences, which I find in the too partial Roman historians, I do not willingly insist.

Year of ROME 543. "P. Scipio was sent proconsul into Spain, and with him was joined M. Junius Silanus as proprætor and his coadjutor. They carried with them 10,000 foot, and 1000 horse, in thirty quinquireme galleys. With these they landed at Emporiæ, and marched from thence to Tarracon along the sea-coast. At the fame of Scipio's arrival, it is said, that embassages came to him apace from all quarters of the province, which he entertained with such a majesty, as bred a wonderful opinion of him. As for the enemies, they were greatly afraid of him, and so much the greater was their fear, by how much the less they could give any reason of it. If we must believe this, then must we needs believe, that their fear was even as great as could be; for very little cause there was to be terrified with the fame of so young a man, which had as yet performed nothing. All the winter following (or, as some think, all the next year) he did nothing, but spent the time, perhaps, as his foregoers had done, in treating with the Spaniards. His first enterprise was against New Carthage, upon which he came unexpected, with 25,000 foot and 2500 horse; his sea-forces coasting him, and moderating their course in such wise, that they arrived there together with him. He assailed the town by land and sea, and won it by assault the first day. The Carthaginians lost it by their too much confidence upon the strength of it, which caused them to man it more slenderly than was requisite. Yet it might have been well enough defended, if some fishermen of Tarracon had not discovered unto Scipio a

Polyb. b. 10. c. 6. et seq. et Livy, b. 26. c. 19.

C. 20.

B. 27. c. 6.

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Polyb. loc. cit. et Livy, b. 26. c. 42. et seq.

secret passage unto the walls, whereof the townsmen themselves were either ignorant, or thought, at least, that their enemies could have no notice. This city of New Carthage resembled the old and great Carthage in situation, standing upon a demi-island, between a haven and a great lake. All the western side of the walls, and somewhat of the north, was fenced with this lake, which the fishermen of Tarracon had sounded, and finding some part thereof a shelf, whereon at low water men might pass knee-deep, or, at most, wading up to the middle, Scipio thrust thereinto some companies of men, who recovered the top of the walls without resistance, the place being left without guard, as able to defend itself by the natural strength. These falling suddenly upon the backs of the Carthaginians within the city, easily forced a gate, and gave free entrance to the Roman army. What booty was found within the town,[a] Livy himself cannot certainly affirm, but is fain to say, that some Roman historians told lies without measure, in way of amplification. By that small proportion of riches, which was afterward carried by Scipio into the Roman treasury, we may easily perceive how great a vanity it was to say, that all the wealth of Afric and Spain was heaped up in that one town. But therein were bestowed all the Spanish hostages,[b] or at least of the adjoining provinces, whom Scipio entreated with singular courtesy, restoring them unto their kindred and friends, in such gracious manner as doubled the thanks due to so great a benefit."

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A procedure so generous encouraged a woman of a majestic mien, to come and throw herself at his feet. (She was the wife of Mandonius, brother to Indibilis, king of the Ilergetes.) With tears in her eyes she be-

Polyb. b. 10. c. 18. Livy, b. 26. c. 49.

[a] Polyb. (b. 10. c. 19.) says, Scipio found in the town 600 talents of the public money; and that he had brought with him 400 talents from Rome, for the expense of the war.

[b] Scipio promised to send home the hostages, provided their friends would enter into an alliance with Rome. Polyb. l. 10. c. 18.

Year of ROME 544. sought him, that he would order his Romans to be more civil to their captives than the Carthaginians had been. Her modesty hindered her from expressing herself more clearly; and Scipio misunderstood her meaning. Imagining that she and her companions had been hardly treated with respect to the necessaries of life, he gave her an assurance, that, for the future, they should want nothing. "That (returned the noble matron) has no part in my concern. Cares of another kind disturb my thoughts, when I consider the age of these about me." Scipio casting his eyes upon her nieces (the daughters of Indibilis), and other beautiful captives of like quality, who were with her, and seemed to regard her as a mother, understood the nature of her petition. Moved with compassion for young princesses, whose honour had been exposed to so much danger, tears dropped from his eyes; and, reaching out his hand to raise the suppliant, he replied, "For my own sake, and for the sake of the Roman people, I would suffer nothing, that is any where esteemed sacred, to be violated amongst us. But that virtue and dignity, which you have preserved under all your misfortunes, oblige me to be more particularly attentive to your protection." He then appointed men of known probity to have the charge of the fair captives and their conductress, and commanded, that they should be respected as his sisters and daughters.

A second adventure made it believed, that it was not mere policy, but virtue, which moved Scipio to such generous actions. His officers, knowing that he loved women, brought to him a young virgin of surprising beauty. Wherever she appeared she charmed the eyes of all; and Scipio was struck at the sight of her. Nevertheless he gave this answer to the officers: "Were I in a private station, you could not make me a more agreeable present; nor, in the post I now fill, a present less acceptable." Then, having asked the lady concern-

ing her birth, country, and circumstances; and, finding that she was contracted to a prince of the Celtiberians named Allucius, he sent for her father, and for the prince. When they came into his presence, he thus addressed himself to the lover of the captive. "Allucius, we are both young, and may therefore speak freely to one another of our sentiments. My soldiers have brought me hither a virgin, who, I hear, is your mistress, and that you passionately love her. Her beauty makes me easily believe it; and would the business with which I am entrusted by our republic allow me to think of such pleasures, I should be glad to be indulged in them, while they did not exceed the bounds of justice and honour. Your love I can favour, and am pleased with an opportunity to do it. Your mistress has been with us, as if she had been with her own parents, or yours, that I might make you a present worthy of me and of you. The only return I ask is this: be a friend to the Roman people. If you believe me to be an honest man, such as my father and uncle were esteemed in these countries, know, that Rome has many citizens like us; and that there is not at this day, in the world, a nation, whom you and your countrymen would think a more terrible enemy, or a more desirable friend." At these words he put the fair captive into the hands of the Celtiberian prince; and, as her parents had brought a rich present of money for the proconsul, he gave that likewise to Allucius, as an addition to his wife's portion. This action did the Roman republic great service in Spain: Allucius published in Celtiberia, "That there was come among them a young hero, terrible and beneficient as the immortals, all conquering by his benignity as by his sword." Year of ROME 544.

The grateful prince soon after brought to Scipio a reinforcement of 1400 horse; "and two petty kings of the Ilergetes and Lacetani, nearest neighbours to Tarracon, and dwelling on the north side of the Iberus, for- Sir W. R. b. 5. c. 3. § 11.

Year of ROME 544. sook the Carthaginian party, and joined with the Romans. The speech of Indibilis, king of the Ilergetes, is much commended for that he did not vaunt himself, as commonly fugitives use, of the pleasure which he did unto the Romans, in revolting from their enemies, but rather excused this his changing side, as being thereto compelled by the injuries of the Carthaginians, and invited by the honourable dealing of Scipio. This temperate estimation of his new-professed friendship was indeed no unsure token that it should be long lasting. But if the Ilergetes had long ere this (as we have heard before) forsaken the Carthaginian party, and stoutly held themselves as friends to Cn. Scipio, then could nothing have been devised more vain than this oration of Indibilis, their king, excusing, as new, his taking part with the same, when he should have rather craved pardon for his breach of alliance, formerly contracted with the father and the uncle. Most likely, therefore, it is, that howsoever the two elder Scipios had gotten some few places among these their neighbours, and held them by strength; yet were the Romans never masters of the country, till this worthy commander by recovering their hostages from the Carthaginians, and by his great munificence in sending them home, won unto himself the assured love and assistance of these princes. The Carthaginian generals, when they heard of this loss, were very sorry, yet nevertheless they set a good face on the matter, saying, that a young man, having stolen a town by surprise, was too far transported and overjoyed; but that shortly they would meet with him, and put him in mind of his father and uncle, which would alter his mood, and bring him to a more convenient temper.

Livy, b. 27. c. 7. et seq.

Year of ROME 545. "Now if I should here interpose mine own conjecture, I should be bold to say, that the Carthaginians were at this time busy in setting forth towards Italy, and that Scipio, to divert them, undertook New Carthage, as his father and uncle, upon the like occasion, sat down be-

fore Ibera. And in this respect I would suppose, that it had not been much amiss, if the passage over the lake had been undiscovered, and the town held out some longer while. For howsoever that particular action was the more fortunate in coming to such good issue upon the first day, yet in the generality of the business between Rome and Carthage, it was more to be wished that Asdrubal should be stayed from going into Italy, than that half of Spain should be taken from him. Whereas, therefore, he had nothing left to do that should hinder his journey; Mago, and Asdrubal, the son of Gisco, were thought sufficient to hold Scipio work, in that lingering war of taking and retaking towns, whilst the main of the Carthaginian forces; under Asdrubal, the son of Hamilcar, went to a greater enterprise, even to fight in trial of the empire. Year of ROME 545.

"But the Roman historians tell this after another fashion, and say that Asdrubal was beaten into Italy, whither he ran for fear, as thinking himself ill assured of the Spaniards, as long as they might but hear the name of Scipio. Scipio, say they, coming upon Asdrubal, his vant-currers charged so lustily the Carthaginian horse, that they drove them into their trenches, and made it apparent, even by that small piece of service, how full of spirit the Roman army was, and how dejected the enemy. Asdrubal, therefore, by night retired out of that even ground, and occupied a hill, compassed on three sides with the river, very steep of ascent, and not easy of access on the foreside, by which himself got up, and was to be followed by the Romans. On the top of it there was a plain, whereon he strongly encamped himself, and in the midway, between the top and the root of the hill, was also another plain, into which he descended, more upon bravery, that he might not seem to hide himself within the trenches, than for that he durst adventure his army to the hazard of a battle, for which this was no equal ground. But such advantage

Year of ROME 545. of place could not save him from the Romans. They climbed up the hill to him, they recovered even footing with him, drove him out of this lower plain up into his camp on the hill top, whither although the ascent were very difficult, and his elephants bestowed in the smoothest places to hinder their approach, yet compassing about, and seeking passage where it was hardest to be found, but much more strongly breaking their way, where the Carthaginians had got up before them, they drave both men and elephants headlong, I know not whither; for, it is said, that there was no way to fly. Out of such a battle, wherein he had lost 8000 men, Asdrubal is said to have escaped, and gathering together his dispersed troops, to have mached towards the Pyrenees, having sent away his elephants ere the fight began.[c] Livy. b. 24. c. 20. Nevertheless Mago, and Asdrubal, the son of Gisco, are reported after this to have consulted with him about this war, and finally to have concluded, that go he needs must, were it but to carry all the Spaniards, as far as might be, from the name of Scipio. How likely this was to have been true, it shall appear at his coming into Italy, whence these incoherent relations of the Spanish affairs have too long detained us."

CHAP. XXXII.

TWELFTH AND THIRTEENTH YEARS OF THE WAR.

546. The consul Livius Salinator is sent to oppose Asdrubal, while the consul, Claudius Nero, acts against Hannibal. Nero, understanding, by some intercepted letters, that Asdrubal is marching into Umbria, hastens with a detachment of his troops to join Livius. The Carthaginian, misled by his guides, is forced to hazard a battle at the Metaurus, where his whole army is routed, and he himself slain in the action. Hannibal, finding it impossible to preserve all his conquests in Italy, retires into Bruttium with all his forces, where he still appears terrible to the Romans, and gains some advantages over the new consuls.

Battle of the Metaurus.

Year of ROME 545. THE approach of Asdrubal (as was before observed), made it incumbent on the Romans to be very careful in their choice of consuls to succeed Marcellus and Quinc-

[c] Polybius, (b. 10. c. 35, 36,) relates this battle somewhat different from Livy, whom Sir W. Raleigh follows.

tius. The conscript fathers cast their eyes on C. Claudius Nero, who had formerly served in Spain; a man of approved courage and ability: but where to find him a proper colleague was the difficulty; for Nero, being somewhat hasty, and extremely enterprising, it seemed necessary to join with him, in the command, some person whose phlegm might temper his vivacity. It happened, about this time, that the reputation of one M. Livius Macatus was attacked in the senate. His kinsman, M. Livius Salinator, spoke in his defence. Salinator had discharged the office of consul with great prudence twelve years before; yet was afterward unjustly censured by the people for a pretended unequal distribution of the spoils of Illyricum. Piqued at the affront, he retired from all public business to his country farm; and though Marcellus and Lævinus obliged him to return to the city, he lived there like a man in disgrace, his beard long, his hair neglected, and his dress slovenly, till the censors forced him to shave himself, and take his place in the senate; and even then he continued to shew his resentment of the affront he had received, giving his opinion only by an aye or a no, or by moving from one side of the house to the other. The cause of his friend now engaged him to speak; this drew upon him the attention of the fathers. They called to mind his merit, and his past services, were surprised at themselves for having so long neglected a man of his worth and abilities, and judged him a proper person to be joined with Nero in the consulship. But when the *comitia* met, Livius himself opposed his own election: "If I am worthy," said he, "to be chosen consul a second time, why was I condemned? Or if my condemnation was just, why should I be placed again at the helm?" However, he was at length prevailed upon to accept of the dignity offered him. It fell to his lot to march against Asdrubal, and to Nero's to oppose Hannibal in Bruttium: but the rest of the winter was spent in the cele-

Year of ROME 545. Livy, b. 27. c. 33. c. 34. Year of ROME 546. B. C. 206. 545th consulship.

Year of ROME 546. B. C. 206. bration of games, processions, and other religious ceremonies, to render the gods propitious.

245th consulship. When the spring came, the consuls began to make new levies with extraordinary vigour. Five out of seven maritime colonies, which had been hitherto exempted, by treaty, from furnishing their contingents of troops, were deprived of that immunity, which was confirmed only to Ostia and Antium. The volones were enrolled in the legions, and Scipio sent from Spain to Livius 2000 legionaries, 8000 Spaniards and Gauls, and 1800 horse, partly Numidian, and partly Spanish.

Livy, b. 27. c. 38.

Asdrubal had come from Spain to Italy in a much shorter time than Hannibal. He had found means to gain the good will of the Gauls. A great number of the Arverni had enlisted themselves in his service; and even the mountaineers of the Alps, being by this time sensible that there was no design upon their cottages and possessions, and that their hills were only a road by which one powerful state marched its armies to attack another, at a great distance from them, had been so far from opposing his march, that many of them had joined his army. The Carthaginian, after passing the Alps, laid siege to Placentia. While he was before the town, the consuls in great haste set out for their respective provinces. Nero found, as Livy would have us believe, that the prætor Hostilius (who met him at Venusia, and there resigned the command of the troops to him) had, with some light-armed cohorts, attacked all Hannibal's army on a march, killed 4000 of his men, and taken nine standards. The same author adds, that Nero obtained a victory over Hannibal, by means of an ambush he placed behind the Carthaginian army, slew 8000 of them, and four elephants, and took 700 prisoners, with the loss only of 500 men; and, in a second engagement, cut in pieces 2000 of the enemy. Soon after this, four Gallic and two Numidian troopers, who had been dispatched with letters to the Carthaginian general from

c. 39.

c. 40.

c. 41.

c. 43.

Asdrubal, missing their way, fell into the hands of some Roman soldiers, in the neighbourhood of Tarentum, who carried them before Q. Claudius, the proprætor; and when dread of torture had made these messengers confess their errand, Claudius sent them under a guard, with the letters unopened, to the consul Nero at Canusium. Nero having caused these letters to be interpreted, and finding the import of them to be, "that Asdrubal was repairing to Umbria, and desired his brother to join him there," he sent them straight to the senate, signifying to them, by the same express, that he was resolved to march with 6000 foot and 1000 horse, of his choicest troops to reinforce his colleague, and give Asdrubal battle, before Hannibal could come to his assistance. This step was contrary to the laws, which forbade generals to make war out of their own provinces, or to enter those of their colleagues; but the consul imagined, that the present perilous circumstances would justify his conduct. Year of ROME 546. B. C. 206. 245th consulship.

The messenger dispatched, Nero sent orders to the people of the several provinces through which he was to march, to have provisions, horses, carts, and all other accommodations, in readiness. Then having caused a report to be spread, that he was going to force a Carthaginian garrison in a neighbouring city of Lucania, he left the command of the body of his army with one of his lieutenants, and in the night took the road to Picenum. When he was got to a considerable distance from his camp, he discovered his intention to the detachment he had taken with him, and encouraged them to the enterprise by the prospect of the glory they would acquire by a victory over Asdrubal, in which, notwithstanding the smallness of their number, they would be undoubtedly thought to have had the greatest share. Livy, b. 27. c. 45.

Nero's design, when known at Rome, threw the people into a consternation? some thought, that to leave an army without its general, and deprived of its bravest c. 44.

Year of ROME 546. B. C. 206. 245th consul-ship.

soldiers, in the neighbourhood of Hannibal, was too bold a step; others approved the enterprise; and the least equitable suspended their judgment till they should see the success.

Livy, b. 27. c. 46.

In the mean time the consul drew near his colleague's camp, by whose advice he entered it in the night, to conceal his arrival from the enemy. A council of war was immediately held, in which many were for giving Nero's troops time to refresh themselves after so long a march; but the general himself opposed this motion, being in hopes to defeat Asdrubal, and return to his camp at Canusium, before Hannibal should discover his absence, or be able to take any advantage of it.

Zon. b. 9.

Livy, b. 27. c. 47.

Notwithstanding the precautions used by the Romans, to conceal from the enemy the arrival of Nero, Asdrubal the next morning perceived that Livius had got a reinforcement; and imagining that Hannibal had been defeated, and that the victorious army was come against him, he declined a battle, though he had already drawn out his men in order to engage; and, the next night, under favour of the darkness, he decamped, and took the road to Insubria, resolving to wait there for an answer from his brother, with certain intelligence of his situation. The two guides, whom the Carthaginian chose to conduct him, proved unfaithful, and on a sudden disappeared; so that the army was bewildered, and knew not what route to take. They marched all night along the banks of the Metaurus, a river in Umbria, Asdrubal designing to pass it as soon as it was light: and while he pursued his tedious march along the winding stream, the Romans had time to come up with him. He was forced to give battle in a disadvantageous situation, and when his men were faint with thirst, hunger, and want of rest. Nay, he had lost a great number of his soldiers in the night, especially of the Gauls, who, not able, or not willing, to endure the fatigue of so painful a march, had laid themselves down to sleep. He ranged his elephants,

Polyb. b. 11. c. 1. and Livy, b. 27. c. 48.

which according to Polybius, were ten in number, in the front of his battle, before the centre, which consisted of his Ligurians. His Gauls he posted in the left, on an eminence near the river; and, in the right, his Africans and Spaniards, which were the strength of his army; and the whole was drawn up very deep in file. The main body of the Romans was led by L. Porcius, the prætor of Gaul, who with his forces had joined Livius before the arrival of Nero. This last took upon him the command of the right wing, and Livius of the left. Asdrubal, knowing that his Gauls were secured by the advantage of their situation, made his greatest efforts against the left of the enemy. There the battle continued obstinate a long time. At length Nero, unable to mount the eminence to attack the Gauls, and impatient of inaction, chose out the stoutest of his soldiers, and, having led them round the rear of their own army, fell upon the Africans and Spaniards in flank and rear. Victory then declared for the Romans; and Asdrubal (after having performed all the duties of a great general) seeing the entire rout of his troops, and unwilling to survive their defeat, threw himself into the midst of a Roman battalion, and was slain. There were more elephants killed by the Carthaginians than by the enemy: for when the beasts grew unruly, their riders drove a sharp iron into the joint, where the head is set on to the neck. This (says Livy) was found to be the quickest method of dispatching those animals, a method invented by Asdrubal. According to the Latin historian, the Carthaginians had 56,000 men killed in the battle, and 5400 taken prisoners; above 4000 Roman captives were found in the enemy's camp; the Romans lost, in the action, 8000 men. But Polybius says, that of the Carthaginians there died only 10,000 men, and of the Romans 2000. Livy reports that the conquerors were so fatigued with slaughtering their enemies, that the next day, when advice was brought to Livius, that a

Year of ROME 546. B. C. 206. 245th consulship.

B. 11. c. 3. Orosius. b. 4. Livy, b. 27. c. 50, 51.

Year of ROME 546. B.C. 206 — 25th consulship.

large body of Ligurians and Cisalpine Gauls (who either had not been in the battle or had escaped from it) were going off in great disorder, without leaders and without ensigns, and that it would be very easy to put them all to the sword; "No matter (said he), let some remain to carry the news of their own defeat and of our bravery." Nero set out from the camp of his colleague the night after the battle, and in six days' time reached his own camp at Canusium.

The joy of the people at Rome, on the news of this success, was equal to the fears they had been in, on account of Nero's march. It quite changed the face of the city: from this time the citizens ventured to make contracts, to buy and sell, lend money, and pay debts, as securely as in a time of peace. Nero, at his return to his camp, ordered Asdrubal's head, which he had brought with him, to be thrown before the advanced guards of the enemy, and some African prisoners to be exposed in chains to their view. Two of these prisoners he set at liberty, and sent them to Hannibal's camp, to give him an account of the victory. The Carthaginian, struck with a blow so fatal to his republic and his family, is said to have cried out, "It is like the fortune of Carthage." He immediately decamped, and retired into Bruttium with all his forces. Thither he transplanted the Metapontines, and all those of the Lucanians who still adhered to him; preparing to defend this corner of Italy, since he was obliged to abandon the rest of it.

To add to the good fortune of the republic this year, the proconsul Sulpicius, in conjunction with Attalus, king of Pergamus, and the other allies, had kept Philip employed in Greece, and thereby secured Italy from an invasion from that quarter. And Lævinus had gained a victory over the Carthaginians at sea, and sent a large supply of corn from Sicily to Rome.

From some motive, not known, the Romans were desirous of having a dictator to preside at the approach-

ing elections. Nero named his colleague Livius to that dignity. Q. Cæcilius Metellus, and L. Veturius Philo, who had both distinguished themselves by their valour in the last campaign under Livius, were chosen consuls. Year of ROME 547. B. C. 205. 246th consulship.

These new generals had orders to carry on the war jointly at Bruttium against Hannibal. And now, strange as it may appear, the Carthaginian made himself feared, even in the low condition to which the defeat and death of his brother had reduced him: he gained some advantages over the consls, in the plains of Consentia; and they durst not attack him in his camp. Hannibal never appeared greater than in his adversity. Who (says Polybius), that considers attentively Hannibal's conduct, how many great battles he fought, how many lesser actions he was engaged in, the prodigious number of towns he took,[d] the various turns of fortune he experienced, and the difficult situations in which he often found himself, during the course of a sixteen years' war, which he[e] alone supported against the most powerful state of the world: who, that considers these things, can help admiring his extraordinary talents as a general? And though, during all that time, he kept the field with his army, and that army was a mixture of Africans, Spaniards, Gauls, Carthaginians, Italians, and Greeks, differing in their laws, customs, and languages, and having no other bond of union but his command; and though they were often in want of necessities (especially, adds Livy, when confined to Bruttium, a country little able to sustain them in its prosperity, much less when exhausted by so long a war, and when its inhabitants were forced to leave tilling their lands to enlist as soldiers), such was the excellence of Hannibal's discipline, that no sedition ever happened amongst his troops, no mutiny against the general. B. 11. c. 17. B. 28. c. 12.

[d] According to Appian (in Syr. c. 91.), he took no less than 400 in Italy.

[e] Polyb. de Virt. et Vit. Excerp. ex lib. 1. tells us, that Hannibal was the sole spring and director of the second Punic war. "He carried it on in Italy by himself; in Spain by his brothers, first Asdrubal, then Mago; in Sicily by Hippocrates, and afterward by Mytto (Mutines); and in Greece by King Philip."

Year of ROME 547. B.C. 205. 246th consulship.

Polybius adds, that had the Carthaginian invaded the other parts of the world first, and reserved Italy for his last attempt, it is not to be doubted, but he would have succeeded in all his undertakings; but having begun where he should have ended, his illustrious actions found their period on the same theatre where they had their commencement.

CHAP. XXXIII.

Scipio. Syphax. Masinissa.

In Spain, where Scipio (afterward Africanus) commands the Roman forces, one of his officers defeats two Carthaginian generals, and he himself routs a great army of the enemy. He then sails to Africa, to persuade Syphax to break his treaty with Carthage. Falling sick, at his return to Spain, a report of his death encourages part of his army to mutiny, and some of the Spaniards to rebel. Scipio recovers, quiets the sedition, and punishes the rebels. Masinissa, a Numidian king, enters into a treaty with the proconsul. The Carthaginians abandon Spain, and, there being now no open enemies to the Romans in that country, Scipio returns to Rome. He is no sooner gone than several of the Spanish nations take up arms again, but are quelled on the loss of a battle.

Year of ROME 545. B. C. 163.

THE next day after the battle, in which Scipio is said* to have defeated Asdrubal, and driven him over the Pyrenees, he assembled the prisoners, amounting to 10,000 foot and 2000 horse: he ordered the Africans to be sold, but the Spaniards he dismissed, without ransom. This act of generosity had such an effect upon the Spaniards in general, that they with one voice saluted him king. The Roman answered, that "to him the greatest title was that of imperator, which his soldiers gave him; that the name of king, so much respected in other places, was intolerable at Rome: that if to have a royal soul was in their estimation the highest character among men, they might silently think of him as they pleased, but he desired they would forbear the appellation."

* See p. 163. 189. of this volume.

There seems to have been no more action this year in Spain. The Carthaginians had two generals in that country, Mago, the brother to Hannibal, and Asdrubal, the son of Gisco, each with an army. Mago resigned his troops to Asdrubal, and went into the Baleares to make new levies there, while the latter posted himself in

Lusitania, near the straits of Gades. Scipio wintered at Tarraco. Year of ROME 546.

The year following, Silanus, the proprætor under Scipio, with a detachment of 10,000 foot and 500 horse, routed the united forces of Mago and Hanno, which latter had been sent from Africa with an army to supply the place of Hannibal's brother Asdrubal. Hanno was taken prisoner in the action, but Mago escaped with his broken troops to Asdrubal (the son of Gisco). These, with their united strength, marched from Gades into Bætica, in order to protect their allies in that country, but at the approach of Scipio were obliged to return to the place from whence they came. Upon their departure, the proconsul sent his brother Lucius to besiege Oringi, a city of importance at the head of the Bætis, and, after the reduction of that town, retired to Terraco for the winter.

Mago, having employed himself for some time in making levies among the Spaniards, brought such recruits to Asdrubal, that the army consisted of 54,000, some say 74,000 men. With these forces the two generals, in conjunction with Masinissa, marched the following spring in quest of the Romans, and encamped in a vast plain near a town called Silpia, on the confines of Bætica. Scipio, upon the news of the enemy's surprising preparations, thought it necessary for him also to arm the Spaniards; but remembering the misfortune that befel his father and uncle, by relying on them too much, he resolved to be cautious of employing them on critical occasions. Having swelled his army to 45,000 foot and 3000 horse, he moved from Tarraco, marched towards the Carthaginians, and pitched his camp in the same plain with them. Year of ROME 547. B.C. 205. 546th consulship.

The two armies were frequently drawn up before their intrenchments; and as Scipio observed, that Asdrubal always placed his best troops, which were his Africans, in the centre, and his Spaniards in the two wings, he

Year of ROME 547. B.C. 205. 246th consulship.

constantly posted his Spaniards in the wings, and his Romans in the centre: but this he did to deceive the enemy. For when the day came, on which he resolved to give battle, he changed this disposition, and placed his legionaries in the two wings, and the Spaniards in the middle. In this order he marched out of his camp very early in the morning, and sent his cavalry and the light-armed foot to provoke the enemy; insomuch that Asdrubal was obliged to draw out his men before they had taken their usual refreshment. In the mean time Scipio advanced with his infantry. At his approach, his cavalry and velites, pursuant to orders, ceased the fight, and retired through the intervals of the foot. He then directed his centre to move on slowly, but his wings to advance very fast, the cavalry and light-armed men at the same time moving from the rear, and extending themselves to fall upon the enemy in flank. Thus the bravest of his troops came to an engagement with the weakest of the opposite army, and defeated them before the two centres could join battle. And the great prudence of the Roman general, in this conduct, was visible, when, after he had routed the enemy's wings, he came to attack their centre; for the Africans made so stout a resistance, as almost quite disheartened the Romans: insomuch that Scipio (as one author relates) was forced to dismount, and throw himself, sword in hand, into the midst of the enemy's battalions, before he could engage his men to make the necessary efforts to complete the victory. But then the Africans gave ground, and the slaughter was terrible. Asdrubal, with the runaways gained the camp; but the Spaniards deserted him so fast, that he laid aside the thought of fortifying himself there, and retired in the night towards the shore of the ocean. Scipio pursued, and came up with him; and, after a second slaughter, the three chiefs, Asdrubal, Mago, and Masinissa, had no more than 6000 men left about them, and these for the most part disarmed.

Polyb. b. 11. c. 20.

Appian. in Iberic.

With all expedition they gained the summit of a steep hill, and there intrenched themselves as well as they could. Asdrubal, perceiving that these remains of his army continually lessened, abandoned them in the night. The sea was near, he found ships ready to sail, and embarked for Gades. Scipio, being informed of Asdrubal's flight, left Silanus with 10,000 foot and 1000 horse to besiege the enemy's camp, and he himself with the rest of his forces marched back to Tarraco. After his departure Masinissa had private conferences with Silanus, and entered into engagements to favour the Roman cause. Mago escaped to Gades with some ships which Asdrubal had sent him; and the soldiers, abandoned by their generals, either went over to the enemy, or dispersed themselves up and down the country. Year of ROME 547. B.C. 205. 246th consulship.

The Carthaginian power in Spain was now almost totally reduced; but the proconsul did not confine his views to Spain alone. He began to think of paving his way to Africa. Syphax, king of Masæsylia, was now in alliance with the Carthaginians; and, as Scipio knew that the Numidian's friendship to them would not be more constant than their good fortune, he sent his friend Lælius to persuade him to break the treaty. Lælius's arguments wrought conviction; but he being only a subaltern in Scipio's army, the king insisted, for his greater security, upon having a personal conference with the proconsul himself; and he protested, that if Scipio would come into Numidia, he should be received there with honour, and dismissed with satisfaction. The Roman considered the hazard of such an enterprise; but being above the fear of danger, when he had the interest of his republic in view (leaving Marcius at Tarraco, with a part of his troops, and ordering Silanus with the rest to New Carthage), embarked with Lælius for Africa, and arrived at the capital of king Syphax. Asdrubal happened to arrive there the same day from Spain; and nothing could be more agreeable to the Numidian prince, Livy, b. 28. c. 17

Year of ROME 547. B. C. 205. 40th consulship.

than to see two generals of the two most powerful nations in the world, at his court, at the same time; and both come to seek his alliance. He first put on the person of a mediator, and would have had Scipio enter into a conference with the Carthaginian, in order to an amicable accommodation. But Scipio excused himself, as not having received any commission from his republic to treat of peace. However, he accepted of an invitation to dine at the king's table with Asdrubal. And then not only Syphax, a stranger to the Roman manners, but even Asdrubal, a Carthaginian, a mortal enemy, was charmed with his conversation. The latter is reported to have said, "That he did not question but Syphax and his kingdom would soon be at the devotion of the Romans, such an art had Scipio of conciliating to him the hearts of men; that the Carthaginians need not inquire how Spain was lost, but how Africa might be preserved; that Scipio's voyages were not voyages of pleasure; that he would not have crossed the sea with only two vessels, nor put himself in the power of a king whose honour he had never tried, but with a view to gain all Africa." Asdrubal judged rightly. Syphax entered into a treaty with Scipio; and lest the Roman, in his return to Spain, should be attacked at sea by Asdrubal's galleys, kept the Carthaginians with him, and amused them till the proconsul was safely arrived at New Carthage.

Livy, b. 28. c. 18.

Appian. in Ibericis.

His chief business now was to punish the nations and cities which had signalized themselves against the Romans, and to keep the Spaniards in awe by examples of severity. He marched in person to besiege Illiturgi, and sent Marcius to invest Castulo. The former, which, Livy says, had revolted to the enemy after the death of the two Scipios, was taken by assault, sacked, and burnt; and men, women, and children, put to the sword. The latter capitulated, and was more favourably treated. From Castulo, Marcius went and appeared before Astapa, a city obstinately devoted to the Carthaginians. The

Livy, b. 28. c. 19.

inhabitants, being desperate, brought all their moveables, and threw them in a heap in the market-place; and then putting their wives and children on the top of the pile, and encompassing it with faggots, they chose out fifty of the most steady of their citizens to guard this dear depositum; and spoke to them in the following manner; "Be assured, we will either repulse the Romans, or all perish in the attempt. If we are overcome, do you, upon the first news of the enemy's approach, save the honour and liberty of our wives and children. First make use of your swords, and then of fire, to preserve these remains of an unfortunate people from captivity and infamy."— After this they did not wait to be attacked, but marched out at one of the gates, in good order, to give battle; and all died fighting. And the news of this slaughter produced another in the heart of the city: the fifty Astapans discharged their trust, and then threw themselves into the flames.

Year of ROME 547. B. C. 205. 546th consulship. Livy, b. 28. c. 22.

Whilst Marcius was executing vengeance on these cities, Scipio returned to New Carthage, where he entertained his army with a fight of gladiators, in honour to the manes of his father and uncle, pursuant to a vow he had made. On this occasion two Spanish princes are said to have fought a duel with each other for a principality. During these divertions, some deserters arrived from Gades, the only city of Spain in the Carthaginian interest; and upon their report of a conspiracy, among the Gaditani, to put the Romans into possession of the place, Scipio dispatched Marcius, with some troops by land, and Lælius by sea, with eight ships, to carry on the enterprise. But Lælius, in his passage, having met and defeated eight Carthaginian triremes, learned from the prisoners, that the conspirators at Gades had been discovered, and sent in chains to Carthage to be tried there. Whereupon he gave Marcius notice of it, advising him to lead back his troops; and he himself likewise returned to New Carthage.

c. 30.

Year of ROME 547. B.C. 205. 216th consulship.

And now it appeared, how necessary Scipio's presence was, both to preserve his conquests in Spain, and to maintain discipline in the army. He happened to fall dangerously sick; and fame made his case worse than it was; nay, a report prevailed that he was dead; and this had such an effect, that not only Indibilis (a petty king beforementioned) and his brother Mandonius, who had not been rewarded suitably to their expectations, immediately revolted from the Romans, and stirred up the Celtiberians against them, but 8000 Roman legionaries, who were encamped on the banks of the Sucro, to keep that part of Spain in awe, mutinied, cast off their leaders (who would not enter into their measures), and chose two insolent common soldiers, Atrius and Albius, to conduct them. And the madness of these two fellows rose to such a height, that they usurped the consular dignity, and ordered lictors to walk before them. The pretence for the mutiny was want of pay, which they had not received for six months. They also demanded to be led against the enemy, or, if Spain was already reduced, to be permitted to return to Italy.

Livy, b. 28. c. 24.

c. 25. Polyb. b. 11. c. 23–25.

The proconsul recovered his health; but was much embarrassed how to manage the mutineers, so as not to push them to extremities, and yet to make such examples as should keep his troops in their duty. He at length decoyed them to New Carthage, by promising to pay them their arrears there, and by giving such orders as deceived them into a belief, that the troops with him were immediately to go, under the command of Silanus, upon an expedition against Indibilis and Mandonius; which would leave the proconsul absolutely at the mercy of the malecontents. Full of these hopes, they entered the city. Scipio had before sent seven tribunes to them, to supply the place of those whom they had driven away. And these, who had by an artful conduct gained the confidence of the rebels, were ordered each of them to invite five of the most

guilty to his house, make them drink plentifully, then bind them, and give the general notice of the success. Thirty-five of the mutineers were thus secured, without the knowledge of the rest. The next morning, by break of day, Silanus, who was to lead away the faithful troops, pretended to make preparation for his march, and drew up his manipuli near the gates: but he had secret orders to return into the heart of the city, upon a signal agreed on. Scipio, at a proper time, gave the usual notice for his soldiers to assemble in the market-place; and, upon the first sound of the trumpet, the seditious all ran thither without their arms, as the laws required. Silanus, at the same time, brought back his armed troops, and surrounded the assembly. The proconsul, in a long harangue, expostulated with the mutineers on the baseness and folly of their late proceeding, when the sum of their grievances could amount to no more than this: "That their general, being sick, had neglected to pay them at the usual time." As soon as he had ended his speech, the names of the thirty-five chiefs of the revolt who had been already condemned by a council of war, were called over; they appeared before the tribunal half naked, were whipped, and afterward beheaded by the lictors. Then the herald called over the names of all the rest of the mutineers; the general took the military oath of them anew; and thus ended the sedition.

Year of ROME 547. B. C. 205. 246th consulship.

Livy, b. 28. c. 27.

Scipio was yet at New Carthage, when he received an account that Indibilis and Mandonius had raised an army among their subjects and allies, of 20,000 foot, and 2500 horse, and were living upon free quarter, in the territories of the friends of Rome. It was necessary to put a stop to the progress of these faithless princes, and to employ the seditious troops (who were now quiet, and had received their pay jointly with the rest), in the expedition. Scipio therefore, having assembled all in the market-place, spoke to this effect: "The resolution I have taken to punish the perfidious Spaniards, gives me

c. 32.

Year of ROME 547. B. C. 205. 146th consulship.

much less uneasiness than the vengeance I was forced to execute on the late mutineers. Among these, I found none but citizens of Rome, or Latins, old soldiers who had been attached to my father, and the companions of my victories. I could not do justice upon them without tears. But among those I am going to punish, I shall find none but strangers and ingrates, robbers and their leaders, who lay waste the fields of our allies, and burn their houses. Let us go then and clear the plains of these banditti; nor let it be said, that in this province, so happily subdued, we left in arms one single enemy of the Roman name." Whilst the proconsul was speaking, he saw alacrity and joy painted on every face; and taking advantage of the present disposition of his soldiers, he immediately began his march. In fourteen days he came up with the enemy in the country of the Sedetani, and there gained a complete victory. The Spaniards lost about two-thirds of their army, the rest escaped with Indibilis and Mandonius. These brothers had now no resource but in the clemency of the conqueror. Mandonius came and fell at the proconsul's feet, begging pardon for the king, and for himself. He laid the blame of their revolt on the misfortunes of the times, and the unaccountable effect which the report of Scipio's death had caused in the minds of men, even of the Romans themselves. The proconsul gave him the following answer: "Both Indibilis and you have deserved to die; live nevertheless, and owe your lives to my favour, and the favour of the Roman people. I shall not disarm you; that would look as if I feared you. Neither will I take vengeance upon your blameless hostages, should you again rebel, but upon yourselves. Consider, therefore, whether you shall like better to feel the effects of our clemency in peace, or to experience the severity of our revenge." Scipio carried his resentments no farther; only he obliged the two princes to furnish him with a large sum of money. Then he divided his army

Polyb. b. 11 c. 29.

Livy, b. 28. c. 34.

into two parts; gave one to Silanus, to conduct it to Tarraco; and ordered Marcius to lead the other to the shores of the ocean. He himself joined the latter soon after near Gades. Year of ROME 547. B. C. 205. 246th consulship.

The proconsul's chief design in this journey was to fix Masinissa in the interest of Rome: the Numidian, who was then at Gades with Mago, delayed concluding an alliance with the republic, till he should confer with Scipio in person, and have his sanction to the treaty. Upon the approach of the Roman general, Masinissa representing to Mago, that the cavalry were not only a burden to the island, but would be ruined by inaction and want of forage, obtained leave to transport them to the continent. He was no sooner landed, but he sent three Numidian chiefs to the proconsul; who, with them, fixed the time and place for an interview. Masinissa had already conceived a high opinion of Scipio, and was confirmed in that opinion by the first sight of him. The proconsul had an equal mixture of majesty and sweetness in his countenance; he was in his full strength, and in the bloom of manly beauty. His hair flowed down his back to a great length. There was nothing affected, or too negligent about him; his habit plain, but neat, and such as became a soldier, who despised the studied elegances of dress. The Numidian began with a compliment of thanks for Scipio's having formerly sent him back his nephew, taken prisoner in battle; assuring him, that ever since that time he had been seeking the opportunity which now presented itself, and desired nothing more earnestly than a strict union with Scipio and Rome. He added, that if the republic would send the proconsul into Africa at the head of an army, he did not doubt but the domination of Carthage would soon be at an end. Scipio returned these advances with dignity and politeness; and was extremely pleased to engage in his interest a prince, who, in every battle, had been the soul of the enemy's cavalry; and

Livy, b. 28. c. 35.

Year of ROME 547. B.C. 205. 246th consulship.

whose very aspect promised a man of spirit. The treaty concluded, Scipio set out for Tarraco. The Numidian concealed the true design of his excursion, by pillaging some part of the continent, before he went back to Gades; and Mago soon after abandoned the place, having received orders to go to the assistance of his brother Hannibal in Italy.

Livy, b. 28. c. 36, 37.

The Carthaginian signalized his departure from Gades, by cruel exactions and oppressions. He stripped the temples, plundered the public treasury, and forced private persons to give him their gold and silver. His view was with this money to raise new levies among the Ligurians in Cisalpine Gaul. But as he coasted along Spain in his way thither, he formed the rash design of surprising New Carthage, and in the attempt lost 800 men. After this misfortune he returned to Gades, where, finding the gates shut against him, he retired to Cimbis, a neighbouring city. From thence he sent deputies to the Gaditani (who were themselves a colony of Phœnicians, as well as the Carthaginians), to complain of their proceedings. The chief magistrate and the treasurer of the city went out to him, and assured him, that the refusal he had met with was owing wholly to the populace, whom the Carthaginian soldiers had plundered at their departure. This civility Mago returned with cruelty, causing the deputies to be inhumanly scourged, and afterward crucified. He then steered his course towards the Baleares, landed at the island now called Minorca, forced 2000 of the inhabitants into the service of his republic, and sent them to Carthage. Winter approaching, he did not sail for Italy till the spring.

Zon. b. 9. c. 11. Livy, b. 28. c. 38.

As soon as Mago had left Spain, the Gaditani submitted to the Romans; and Scipio's conquest was complete. Before he got back to Tarraco, two new proconsuls, Cornelius Lentulus and Manlius Acidinus, arrived in the port with commissions from the senate, one

to govern Hither Spain, the other Farther Spain. Scipio surrendered up the fasces; and, attended by his brother Lucius, and his friend Lælius, immediately set sail with ten ships for Italy. Year of ROME 547. B.C. 205. 246th consulship.

Scarce was Scipio gone, when Indibilis and Mandonius despising the new proconsuls, revolted, and engaged several of the Spanish nations to take arms to recover their independence. They got together 30,000 foot, and about 4000 horse. Lentulus and Acidinus endeavoured to bring them back to obedience by negotiations. These proving ineffectual, a battle ensued; Indibilis was slain, the confederate army totally routed, 13,000 of them killed, and 800 taken prisoners. Livy, b. 29. c. 1.

The Spaniards, to preserve their countries from the ravages of the enemy, seized Mandonius with the other heads of the revolt, and sent them in custody to the camp of the proconsuls, who had insisted on this as a condition of their shewing mercy to the vanquished. Thus was [illegible] broken; and Spain continued [illegible] tranquillity.

CHAP. XXXIV.

FOURTEENTH YEAR OF THE WAR.

Scipio, now consul, has Sicily assigned him for his province, but is extremely desirous of having a commission immediately to transport an army into Africa. Fabius Maximus strenuously opposes his request. The conscript fathers, after a long debate, give him permission to carry the war into Africa, if he shall think it for the interest of the republic. He equips a fleet with great expedition, embarks a body of volunteers, and sets sail for Sicily. In the mean time, Mago, the brother of Hannibal, lands an army in Italy, takes Genoa, and gathers great numbers of the Gauls about him. Two Roman generals march against him, but no action of moment happens. Nor is any thing of importance done in Bruttium, the plague raging in the Roman and Carthaginian camps. Scipio sends Lælius to make a descent upon Africa, and Pleminius to take possession of Locri, which the inhabitants had promised to betray to the Romans. Pleminius succeeds in his enterprise, but exercises unheard-of cruelties upon the Locrians. The Romans, terrified by prodigies, send in great devotion to fetch the goddess Cybele from Phrygia, who works a miracle as soon as she lands. 548.

WHEN Scipio arrived from Spain, he did not immediately enter within the walls of Rome, but according to the established custom of generals, continued in the suburbs, till the senate, assembled in the Temple of Livy, b. 28. c. 38.

Year of ROME 547. B.C. 205 — 216th consulship. Bellona, had heard the relation of his expeditions. He gave them a detail of his exploits, told them how many battles he had fought, how many towns he had taken, and what nations he had subdued, adding, that though he had found in Spain four Carthaginian generals at the head of four flourishing armies, yet he had not left in the country one Carthaginian in arms. But though Scipio deserved a triumph, he demanded it but faintly, as knowing that the laws were against his having that honour: his appointment to the proconsulship had been extraordinary, and out of rule: he had not passed to it from the consulship, nor had he taken the command of an army under the sanction of the greater auspices, like the consuls. However, he adorned his entry into Rome by a great quantity of silver, which he had brought from Spain for the public treasury, and which was carried before him in the procession.

Year of ROME 548. B.C. 204. — 217th consulship. And now the *comitia* being held for electing new consuls, it is not to be expressed with what zeal the centuries gave their suffrages in favour of Scipio, though he had not yet attained to the years customarily required for that dignity, being only between twenty-eight and twenty-nine years of age. The colleague appointed him was P. Licinius Crassus, surnamed Dives, who being at this time pontifex maximus, an office which confined him to Italy, the province of Sicily was given to Scipio without drawing lots. But Scipio could not be satisfied, unless he had also a commission to go immediately with an army into Africa. The matter was debated in the senate. Scipio depending upon the favour of the people, had not scrupled openly to give out, that he had been appointed consul, "not only to carry on the war, but to finish it; that this could be done no other way than by his transporting an army into Africa; and that if the senate should oppose this design, he would have recourse to the people, and put it in execution by their authority." These unguarded words had given great

Livy, b 28. c. 40. et seq.

offence to the fathers. Old Fabius, now president of the senate, declared loudly against the pretensions of the young consul, and employed all his eloquence to hinder his being sent into Africa. In a long and studied harangue, he set forth the difficulties of such an enterprise, the fatal consequences which might attend it, and the necessity of driving Hannibal out of Italy, before the war could safely be carried into the neighbourhood of Carthage. He said, it would be endless to enumerate all the instances of kings and generals, who, by rash invasions of foreign countries, had ruined themselves and their armies. He mentioned the irreparable mischief which had happened to the Athenians, by their descent upon Sicily, in pursuance of the advice of Alcibiades, a noble youth, and an expert general. But he insisted especially on the more recent and interesting example of Atilius Regulus, the catastrophe of whose fortune, fair in its beginning, ought to be a useful lesson to them. And Fabius took great pains to guard against the suspicion of his being actuated by emulation or jealousy of another's glory in this opposition to Scipio's desires. "I (said he) am grown old in the possession of honours. Two dictatorships, five consulships, the success of my counsels, many victories, raise me above any rivalship with a young general, not yet come to the years of my son. When I was dictator, and in the full career of glory, and when my general of the horse, a man incessantly declaiming against me, was put upon an equality with me in the command (an unprecedented hardship), no one heard me, either in the senate or in the assemblies of the people, refuse to acquiesce. And is it likely that now, in my old age, when weary of public affairs, weary of the world, and even of life itself, I should enter into an emulation with a youth, a general in the prime of life, full of vigour and activity; or that I expect to have the province of Africa assigned to me, if it should be denied to him? No, I am content with the glory I

Year of ROME 548. B. C. 204. 547th consulship. Plut. Life of Fabius.

Year of ROME 548. B.C. 204. 247th consulship.

have acquired. It is enough for me to have hindered Hannibal from completing his conquest, that by younger captains, you that are in the flower of your age and strength, he might be afterward entirely overcome. But you will pardon me, P. Cornelius, if I, who, for the sake of the commonwealth, always neglected popular applause, and my own private advantage, cannot now to the real welfare of the republic prefer the imaginary interests of your glory. I say, imaginary interests; for no sooner will you have a view of that coast, whither you are so eager to sail, than you will be sensible that your exploits in Spain were but sport and play, in comparison of what you will have to do in Africa. In Spain you landed at Emporiæ, a confederate port; and, through countries in alliance with Rome, or guarded by Roman troops, you marched safe and undisturbed to New Carthage, which you had opportunity to besiege, without fear of molestation from any one of the Carthaginian generals, who were then all at a great distance. In Africa, no friendly port to receive your fleet, no ally to add strength to your army—unless you trust to Syphax and the Numidians. You trusted them once; let that suffice: rashness is not always fortunate. The fraudulent sometimes procure themselves credit by fidelity in small things, that they may afterward the more easily deceive in matters of moment, and when it can serve a weighty interest. Syphax and Masinissa, it is not to be doubted, would gladly be more powerful in Africa than the Carthaginians; but it is as little to be questioned, they had rather Carthage should have the superiority there than strangers. Emulation prevails amongst those powers, while the fear of foreign arms is yet remote: let them but once see the Roman banners displayed in Africa, and they will all run together as to extinguish a fire, that threatens the general destruction. What if Carthage, confiding in the strength of her walls, the fidelity of her allies, and the unanimity of all the

states around her, should resolve, when she sees Italy no longer guarded by you and your troops, to pour in upon us a new army from Africa? Or order Mago, who is even now with a fleet on the coast of Liguria, to join his brother Hannibal? We should then be in the same terror as when Asdrubal invaded Italy, that Asdrubal, whom you, who, with your army, are to invest not only Carthage, but all Africa, suffered to slip through your hands into this country. You will say, 'you vanquished him.' Be it so. But I could wish then, for your own sake, as well as for the sake of the republic, that you had not opened a passage for the same vanquished man to come into Italy. However, let us ascribe to your wise conduct every enterprise of yours that prospered, and all your ill success to fortune and the chance of war. The more brave and the more worthy you are, the more it concerns your country and all Italy to retain such a protector. That wherever Hannibal is, there is the principal seat of this war, you yourself allow, since to draw him into Africa is your sole pretence for passing thither. With Hannibal, therefore, you propose to contend, whether here or there. And will you be stronger in that country, and alone, than here, when joined by your colleague and his army? Will Hannibal be weaker in the neighbourhood of Carthage, and supported by all Africa, than now, when he is confined to a corner of Bruttium, and in want of supplies, which he has long, but in vain, demanded from his country? Would a prudent man choose to fight where the enemy is double the number, when he may with two armies attack one, and this one already fatigued and exhausted by many battles and a distressful war? Consider how different your conduct is from your father's. He, though on his way to carry the war into Spain, returned to meet Hannibal at the foot of the Alps: you, while Hannibal is in Italy, are preparing to leave the country, not because it is advantageous to the

Year of ROME 548. B.C. 204. 247th consulship.

Year of ROME 548. B. C. 204. 247th consulship.

republic, but because you think it for your glory; as when, being general for the Roman people, you, against law, and without authority from the senate, left your province and your army, and with only two ships sailed to Africa, hazarding in your person the interest of the public, and the majesty of the empire. My opinion, conscript fathers, is, that P. Cornelius was created consul, not for himself, but for us and for the republic; and that the armies were raised for the defence of Rome and Italy, and not that the consuls, might, out of pride, like kings, transport them into whatever countries they pleased."

Notwithstanding what Fabius had said of his own integrity, and his unmixed zeal for his country's good on the present occasion, Scipio did not fail to observe, that "while the old man was proving himself free from all jealousy or emulation, he had taken particular care to extol his own actions, and to depreciate those of a young man, with whom, nevertheless, it was impossible he should have any competition for glory." He then proceeded to justify his design of going into Africa. "Fabius tells us, that it is an inaccessible coast, that there is no port open to receive us. He reminds us of Atilius Regulus, taken captive in Africa; as if Regulus had failed in attempting a descent on that country. He forgets, that this unfortunate commander found the Carthaginian havens open, performed many noble actions the first year, and, to the last, remained unconquerable by any Carthaginian general. But, it seems, we are to take warning from the example of the Athenians. If we have leisure, conscript fathers, to hearken to Grecian tales, why does he not rather speak of Agathocles, king of Syracuse, who, when Sicily was distressed by the Carthaginians, transferred* the war from that island to the very gates of Carthage?" He then asserted that no method could be so effectual to force Hannibal out of Italy as to carry the war into Africa,

* See vol. 2. p. 449.

whither Carthage would undoubtedly recall him in so pressing a danger. He argued, that since the allies of Rome had deserted her after the battle of Cannæ, and this in greater numbers than Hannibal himself could have expected, certainly the Carthaginian republic, imperious and oppressive to her subjects, and faithless to her allies, had little reason to depend on the constancy of the Africans. That as she had no inherent strength, and was obliged to trust absolutely to mercenaries, or to allies, whose very character was inconstancy, she would not be able to support the war like Rome, potent by her own strength, and whose citizens were all soldiers. He concluded with these words, "It would be tedious, and what no way concerns you, conscript fathers, if, as Q. Fabius has made light of my actions in Spain, I should attempt to lessen his merit, and extol my own. I shall therefore do neither: in moderation at least, and in continence of speech, if in nothing else, young as I am, I will surpass this old general. Such has been the constant tenor of my life and actions, both in public and private, that I can be silent on this subject, and easily rest contented with the opinion which you have formed of me." Year of ROME 548. B. C. 204. 247th consulship.

Scipio's discourse was not favourably received by the senate. The report that he intended to have recourse to the people, had prejudiced the assembly against him. Fulvius, who had been twice consul and once censor, desired him to declare frankly, whether he would refer the affair of the provinces to the deliberation of the fathers, and acquiesce in their decree; or, in case he should not like it, appeal from it to the people. Scipio answered, that he would do what he thought most conducive to the public welfare. To which Fulvius replied; "When I asked you these questions, I was not ignorant either of what you would answer, or of what you would do: for it is plain your design is rather to sound than consult the senate; and, unless we immediately decree

Year of ROME 548. B. C. 204. 247th consulship.

you the province you desire, you are prepared to lay the matter before the people." Then turning towards the tribunes of the commons, "I refuse (said he) to declare my opinion; because should it be approved by the senate, the consul would not submit to their determination: and I desire you, tribunes, to support me in this refusal." Scipio contended, that it was not equitable for the tribunes to obstruct a consul in his demanding the opinion of any senator. They nevertheless pronounced, that, if the consul would refer the matter in question to the senate, the senate's decree should stand; nor would they suffer an appeal from it to the people; but if he would not refer the matter to the senate, they would support all those who should refuse to declare their opinions. Scipio desired one day's time to consult with his colleague. To this they consented. The day following the assembly met again, and then, the consul submitting the affair to the determination of the conscript fathers, without appeal, they decreed, That Scipio should have Sicily, and the fleet of thirty ships of war, now commanded by the prætor of that island, and that if he thought it for the advantage of the republic, he might sail to Afric.[f] As for Lucinius, he was directed to carry on the war against Hannibal in Bruttium.

Livy, b. 28. c. 45.

Though Africa was not assigned to Scipio as his province, nor any levies granted him for the enterprise which he had in view; nevertheless, he obtained leave to take with him into Sicily as many volunteers as he could assemble; and also permission to ask of the allies all necessaries for building and equipping a new fleet. Many of the provinces and cities voluntarily taxed them-

[f] From this decree, and the after conduct of the senate, it is not improbable what Livy hints (speaking of the transactions of the next year), that their design was to make preparations for carrying the war into Africa, without doing it by public authority: and to lull the Carthaginians into security, by making them believe, that these preparations were only the effect of Scipio's ambition, which the senate would not fail to oppose. "Quanquam nondum aperte Africa provincia decreta erat (occultantibus id, credo, Patribus, ne præsciscerent Carthaginienses) tamen in eam spem erecta civitas erat, in Africa eo anno debellatum iri, finemque bello Punico adesse." Livy, b. 29. c. 14.

elves, in order to furnish him, not only with materials for the ships, but with arms and provisions for the marines. So that in five-and-forty days' time, after bringing the timber from the forest, he was in a condition to set sail with a fleet of thirty new galleys, and about 7000 volunteers.[g] Year of ROME 548. B. C. 204. 247th consulship.

About this time Mago (the brother of Hannibal) with 12,000 foot and near 2000 horse, landed at Genoa, and took it: and finding two nations of Liguria, the Ingaunians and Intemelians, at war, he joined the former, his army increasing daily by the great number of Gauls that flocked to him from all parts. These advices from Spurius Lucretius, who commanded in Cisalpine Gaul, caused a general alarm in the senate: they ordered M. Livius to march his army, of volones, then in Hetruria, to Ariminum; and Lævinus, to lead the legions appointed for the defence of Rome, to Aretium. Other advices came, that Octavius, the prætor of Sardinia, had taken fourscore ships of burden belonging to the Carthaginians. In Bruttium no remarkable action happened between the armies this campaign. The plague raged in Licinius's camp; and Hannibal's troops were afflicted with pestilence and famine at the same time. Liv. b. 28. c. 46.

Scipio was busy in Sicily, forming an army for his African expedition. In his choice of men, he preferred, before all others, the veterans who had served under Marcellus at the siege of Syracuse. He refitted the old galleys he found in the island, gave the command of them to Lælius, and commissioned him to make a descent on Africa, and pillage the country.

Lælius landed near Hippo, and laid the territory about it waste; which drew the people of Carthage into a great consternation: for they falsely imagined, that Scipio was come with a formidable army. When their B. 29. c. 4.

[g] According to Plutarch, Fabius would have engaged the consul Licinius, to obstruct Scipio's measures: not succeeding herein, he dissuaded the Roman youth from following him into Sicily, as volunteers; and he had before, by his influence in the senate, hindered any funds being assigned to Scipio, for the expense of his armament.

Year of ROME 548. B. C. 204. 217th consulship.

fright, upon better information, was over, they sent ambassadors to Syphax, and other princes of Africa, to renew their treaties with them; and also to king Philip of Macedon, offering him 200 talents of silver, if he would invade either Italy or Sicily. Messengers were dispatched to Hannibal and Mago, with instructions to these two brothers, to hinder, if possible, the departure of any troops which Scipio expected from Italy; and a reinforcement of 6000 foot and 800 horse was sent to Mago in Liguria, with large sums for hiring troops in Cisalpine Gaul.

Masinissa having learnt the arrival of Lælius in Africa, came to confer with him. He assured him, that there could not be a more favourable opportunity to attack Carthage; and expressed his surprise that Scipio had lingered so long in Sicily. The king added, that though he was by violence dispossessed of the throne of his ancestors, yet he could still bring some troops into the field, and would join the consul at his landing. He also told Lælius, that he believed a Carthaginian fleet was already sailed out of the port to intercept him; and advised him to hasten his departure. Lælius took the prince's counsel, weighed anchor the next day, and arrived safe in Sicily with his booty.

In the mean time, Mago received the reinforcement from Carthage, with orders to raise as numerous an army as possible, and hasten to join his brother: upon which he called a council of the chiefs of Liguria and Cisalpine Gaul, and endeavoured to persuade them to declare openly against Rome; and furnish him with troops. The Ligurians complied; but the Gauls durst not follow their example; because there were actually two Roman armies (under Livius and Lucretius) in their neighbourhood. However, they consented to his levying men privately in their country; and supplied him with provisions and forage. Livius led his army from Hetruria into Gaul, intending, if Mago approached Rome,

Livy, b. 29. c. 5.

to march, in conjunction with Lucretius, and give him battle; but to post himself near Ariminum, in case the Carthaginian should continue in Liguria; which it is probable he did, since we hear of no action in that part of Italy this campaign. Year of ROME 548. B.C. 204. 217th consulship.

While Scipio was at Messina, he received information, that a plot was formed by some Locrians, then in exile at Rhegium, to surprise their native city (which stood on the sea-coast in Bruttium) and put it again into the hands of the Romans. He sent Pleminius with two tribunes, and 3000 men, to assist in the enterprise. There were two citadels belonging to the place; and, when the Romans had made themselves masters of one, the Carthaginians retired into the other, leaving the inhabitants in sole possession of the city. These favoured the Romans; so that when Hannibal came to invest the place, they let in Scipio (who had hastened to their relief) privately in the night: the next morning he made a vigorous sally, and repulsed the assailants. Hannibal having learnt, that Scipio was in person at the head of his troops, immediately retired to his camp near the Alex, sending orders to the Carthaginians in the citadel to provide for their safety as well as they could. Hereupon, setting fire to the houses, they escaped amidst the confusion, and joined their general before night. Livy, b. 29. c. 6. et seq.

Scipio left the government of Locri to Pleminius, who treated the inhabitants more cruelly than if their city had been taken by assault: he rifled the temples of their gods, and seized the treasure in the sanctuary of Proserpine. The two tribunes were no less rapacious. Their soldiers, in a scuffle with those of the proprætor, about plunder, happened to wound some of them; of which these having made their complaint to him, he ordered the tribunes to be whipped. But the tribunes were rescued by their followers, who not only mauled the lictors, but pulled Pleminius himself from off his tribunal, dragged him into a private place, beat him severely, cut

Year of ROME 548. B. C. 204. 247th consulship.

off his nose and ears, and left him weltering in his blood. This accident made it necessary for Scipio to return to Locri. He took the part of the proprætor, put the tribunes in chains, and ordered them to be carried to Rome to be judged. But this did not satisfy Pleminius: as soon as the consul was gone, he of his own authority condemned the tribunes to die by the most cruel torments, and their bodies to be left unburied; and, not yet content, he exercised the same cruelty towards those of the inhabitants who had complained to Scipio of his rapines and brutalities. The odium of these horrible actions fell in some measure upon the consul: he had indeed been too indulgent to the guilty governor; for which (as we shall see hereafter) his enemies, in the senate, did not fail to inveigh against him, when occasion offered.

The time for the elections drew near: the consul Licinius, being sick of the plague in his camp, could not go to Rome to preside in the *comitia*. He, therefore, with the approbation of the senate, named, a dictator for that purpose: and his choice fell upon Q. Cæcilius Metellus, who, in the quality of proconsul, was commanding a second army in Bruttium. In this army also the plague so raged, that Licinius pressed the senate to recall the troops, assuring them, that otherwise there would not be a soldier left alive.

Livy, b. 29. c. 10.

Many prodigies happening this year, and the Sybilline books being consulted for the proper expiations, the decemvirs found it written in those oracles, "That if a foreign enemy invaded Italy, he might be vanquished, and driven out of it, if the goddess Cybele were brought to Rome from Pessinus in Phrygia." This same Cybele (styled the mother of the gods) was nothing more than a shapeless stone, which, as was pretended, had fallen down from heaven upon mount Ida. The conscript fathers sent five ambassadors, men of distinction, to obtain by negotiation this powerful protectress. And, be-

App. in Annib. Ovid. Fast.

Livy, b. 29. c. 11.

cause the Romans had little commerce with the Asiatics, the ambassadors were to engage Attalus, king of Pergamus, in their interest. They went by the way of Delphi, and there consulted the oracle; from which they received this answer, "That by the help of Attalus they should infallibly obtain what they desired; but that, when they had carried the goddess to Rome, they should put her into no hands, but of the most virtuous man in the republic." King Attalus was so obliging as to conduct the ambassadors himself to Pessinus, where the inhabitants, with equal complaisance, granted them the stone they so earnestly desired. One of them sailed away before the rest, to give notice at Rome, that the goddess was coming; and to report the answer of the Delphic oracle. And now the great difficulty was, to find out that man of superior probity, who alone was worthy to receive the sacred and important stone, at its landing. History has not told us the remarkable virtues which gained P. Cornelius Scipio, surnamed Nasica, the preference before all others: but this young man, cousin-german to the great Scipio, and son to Cneius Scipio, (who lost his life in Spain) was the person who obtained the honourable distinction. Attended by such of the ladies of Rome, as were in the highest veneration for their virtue, he went to meet the goddess. Some of the vestals likewise accompanied him, and particularly Quinta Claudia; of whom it is related, that when the vessel, on which the goddess was imported, unfortunately stuck upon a bank of sand near the mouth of the Tyber, and neither the mariners, nor several yoke of oxen, were able to move it, she, pulling it only by her girdle tied to it, easily set it afloat. Claudia is said to have been suspected of incontinence; and it is added, that this miracle was wrought in answer of her prayer to the goddess, to give a testimony of her innocence. There are not wanting fathers of the church, who allow the fact, but they piously impute it to good angels, sent by

Year of ROME 548. B. C. 204. 247th consulship.

Livy, b. 29. c. 14.

App. in Annib. 345.

Year of ROME 548. B. C. 204. 547th consulship. God, to destroy the unjust aspersion cast upon the vestal. The day on which Cybele arrived at Rome became a solemn annual festival, distinguished by games, called Megalenses. She was deposited in the Temple of VICTORY.

CHAP. XXXV.

FIFTEENTH YEAR OF THE WAR.

549. The Romans conclude a treaty of peace with Philip of Macedon and his allies. Scipio, now continued in his former command, is accused in the senate, by his quæstor Cato, of profuseness and idleness; and, by the Locrians, of partiality to the cruel Pleminius. Commissioners are appointed to inquire into his conduct. These making a favourable report of the condition of his army, the conscript fathers pass a decree, that he shall immediately go into Africa. Syphax is drawn off from the Roman interest, by means of his wife Sophonisba, the daughter of Asdrubal, the Carthaginian general, and enters into an alliance with Carthage. At length Scipio arrives with his army in Africa, where he is joined by Masinissa, who had been thrice stripped of his dominions by Syphax. After some exploits of little importance, the Roman general lays siege to Utica, but upon the approach of Asdrubal and Syphax with two great armies, retires to a promontory near his fleet, and there intrenches himself. In Italy the campaign produces no remarkable exploit that is well vouched. The censors Livius Salinator and Claudius Nero quarrel, and behave themselves extravagantly.

Sophonisba. Masinissa.

Year of ROME 549. B. C. 203. 548th consulship. BEFORE the arrival of the goddess, the dictator Q. Cæcilius Metellus had held the *comitia* by centuries where M. Cornelius Cethegus, and P. Sempronius Tuditanus, were chosen consuls. Sempronius was then proconsul in Greece. The Romans having, for two years past, (*i. e.* from the year 546,) neglected their affairs in Greece, Philip had forced the Ætolians to conclude a peace with him upon his own terms. Soon after this, Sempronius arrived at Dyrrachium with 10,000 foot, 1000 horse, and thirty-five ships of war. He was very angry with the Ætolians, for having, contrary to the league, made peace without consent of the Romans. Yet, not daring to venture a battle with Philip, he was easily prevailed upon to come to an agreement with him, by the mediation of the Epirots. The treaty was confirmed by the people of Rome. In this treaty were included, on Philip's side, Prusias, king of Bithynia, the Achæans, Bœotians, Thessalians, Acarnanians, and Epirots; and, on the side of the Romans, the Ilienses, king

Livy, b. 29. c. 12.

Attalus, Pleuratus, Nabis, the tyrant of Lacedæmon, the Eleans, Messenians, and Athenians. Sempronius returned to Rome, after which the following distribution of offices was agreed upon. The consul Cornelius had the command of the forces in Hetruria; his colleague Sempronius was ordered into Bruttium with new levies, to act against Hannibal; and Licinius continued at the head of two legions, in that country, in quality of proconsul. Pomponius Matho had the prætorship of Sicily; Scipio, the army and fleet he before commanded; and M. Livius and Sp. Lucretius remained in Gaul to oppose Mago. There were also two other armies in Italy, one at Tarentum, under T. Quintius Flaminius, the other at Capua, under Hostilius Tubulus.

Year of ROME 549. B.C. 203. 243th consulship.

About this time young Marcellus dedicated a temple to Virtue. His father had formerly vowed one to Honour and Virtue, intending to place the statues of both under one roof. But the pontifices opposed this, declaring, that it was not lawful to worship more than one god in one temple; and they likewise urged, that if lightning fell upon the building, or any prodigy should happen in it, it would be impossible to discover to which of the two divinities expiatory duties should be paid. The temple, therefore, which Marcellus had designed for both divinities, was dedicated only to Honour, and another built in all haste to Virtue.

Livy, b. 29. c. 11. et b. 27. c. 25.

And now the republic being to recruit her armies, she thought proper to call to account the twelve Roman colonies, who, about six years before, had with impunity refused their contingents of men and money. The senate determined, that each colony should furnish double the number of foot it had done in any year of the war, and 120 horse. If any of them could not raise the number of horse required, they were to send three foot soldiers in the room of each horseman wanting. The fathers also imposed a new yearly tax upon each colony, and ordered its census to be taken according to the form used

Year of ROME 549. B.C. 203. at Rome. This decree was put in execution with rigour. It was followed by another in favour of those private persons, who, in the consulship of Lævinus, had sent the republic the sums requisite to supply her pressing wants. At the motion of Lævinus, the senate ordered these debts to be discharged at three payments; the first to be made immediately, and the last within five years.

248th consulship.

Livy, b. 29. c. 16.

Such instances of equity in the conscript fathers imboldened all, who were oppressed, to demand justice; and particularly the Locrians, who the last year had been so ill treated by Pleminius. From this people, ten deputies, in a neglected and sordid dress (the mark of grief and distress among the ancients), and with olive-branches in their hands, came to Rome, and laid before the senate, in a long and pathetic harangue, the grievances and miseries they had suffered under the tyranny of the pro-
c. 19. prætor. When the Locrians had done speaking, Fabius asked them, whether they had made their complaint to Scipio; to which they answered, that deputies had been sent to him for that purpose, but that he was then busy about his preparations for war, and that now he was either gone for Africa, or intended to sail in a few days; that they had seen, in the quarrel between the tribunes and Pleminius, how much Scipio favoured the latter, whom, though equally criminal, if not more so, he had continued in his government, while he ordered the tribunes to be laid in irons. After the deputies had withdrawn, some of the chief senators not only inveighed against Pleminius, but began to take Scipio's character to pieces. Among these was M. Porcius Cato, the first of his family who distinguished himself at Rome. He
Plut. in Cat. Maj. had been quæstor to Scipio in Sicily, and had reproved him for his profuseness to his soldiers, to which the general had answered, "that he did not want to exact a quæstor; that he would make war at what expense he pleased, nor was he to give an account to the Roman people of the money he spent, but of his enterprises and

the execution of them." Cato, provoked at this answer, had left Sicily, and returned to Rome. He now declaimed against Scipio, accusing him of making great and useless expenses, of passing his time boyishly at the theatre and the Gymnasia, as if he had been commissioned, not to make war, but to celebrate games. Others of the senators added, that the proconsul had laid aside the Roman habit, publicly appeared in the Greek cloak and sandals, and that the reading of Greek books, and the pleasures of Syracuse, had made him entirely forget Hannibal and Carthage, while his army, grown as effeminate as their general, was become more terrible to their allies than their enemies. Fabius called Scipio a man born to be the corrupter of military discipline. "He acted (said the old man) the like part in Spain, where we lost not much less by sedition than we did by the war. One while he indulges his soldiers in all licentiousness, and then cruelly tyrannizes over them; as if he were a king and a foreigner."[h] Fabius's sentence was as harsh as his invective:—"That Scipio should be recalled home, for having quitted his province without orders from the senate; and that the tribunes should be desired to move the *comitia*, to depose him from the proconsulate. That Pleminius should be brought to Rome in chains, and, in case the crimes laid to his charge were proved, be executed in prison, and his goods confiscated. And, lastly, that the senate should disavow the ill treatment of the Locrians, and give them all the satisfaction possible for the wrongs they had suffered."

Year of ROME 549. B.C. 203. 548th consulship. Livy, b. 29. c. 19.

The debate was carried to such a length, that the opinions of all the senators could not be taken that day. In the next assembly, the fathers concurred in opinion with Q. Metellus. He approved the proposals of Fabius, with regard to Pleminius and the Locrians, but urged, that it was unreasonable, upon dubious accusations, to c. 20.

[h] Externo et regio more, et indulgere licentiæ militum, et sævire in eos. Livy, b. 29. c. 19.

Year of ROME 549. B.C. 203. 248th consulship.

recall a general, whom Rome had chosen consul, in the expectation of being by him delivered from Hannibal, and of becoming mistress of Africa: and he moved, that two tribunes of the people, one ædile, and ten other commissioners,[1] out of the senate, should be sent into Italy with Pomponius, the prætor of that island, to take cognizance of Scipio's conduct in the affair of Pleminius; and, if they found him an accomplice in that proprætor's crimes, to send him to Rome; but in case Scipio had already sailed for Africa, the tribunes, the ædile, and two of the commissioners should follow him thither, the last to assume the command of the army, if the proconsul should be ordered home. The commissioners, who were to embark at Rhegium, went first to Locri. There they seized the guilty governor, and thirty-two of his accomplices, put them in irons, and sent them to Rome. They also made reparation to the Locrians for their losses, and having examined them, concerning Scipio's conduct, received answer, "That though the proconsul had not shewn great concern at the miseries of their city, yet he was a man they had much rather have for a friend than an enemy: that they persuaded themselves so many heinous crimes had not been committed by his command, or with his approbation; that he had only given too much credit to Pleminius, and too little to them; and that such was the disposition of some men, they were more willing to believe people innocent, than disposed to punish them when guilty." This declaration pleased the commissioners, as it freed them from the invidious office of beginning a criminal process against a man so much in favour with the people of Rome. And, when they came into Sicily, they were thoroughly con-

Livy, b. 29. c. 22.

[1] Perhaps this pompous embassy was rather designed to inquire into the state of Scipio's army, and to see whether it was yet a proper time for the senate to give him openly a commission to carry the war into Africa. This conjecture seems confirmed by the conduct of the commissioners, who, even after the Locrians had cleared Scipio, or dropped the accusation, went nevertheless into Sicily; though the decree of the senate, as it is in Livy, had confined their commission to the affair of Pleminius.

vinced, by the vast preparations Scipio had made for his intended expedition, and the fine appearance both of his army and fleet, that the general had not spent his time wholly at the theatre, and in amusements. "Go (said they) into Africa, and the gods give you that success which the Roman people promised themselves from your virtue and abilities, when they chose you consul. Such a general and such an army will conquer the Carthaginians, or they are invincible." Year of ROME 549: B. C. 203. 248th consulship.

The report of the commissioners at their return to Rome, raised the glory of Scipio. The senate passed a decree, that he should immediately go into Africa, and take with him such of the Roman troops in Sicily as he thought fit for his enterprise. And, as for the people, the favour in which he stood with them, made them tender even to the guilty Pleminius, for whom they imagined the proconsul had some regard. Their compassion for the criminal was likewise raised, by seeing the miserable figure he made, without his nose and ears; so that, though he was often produced before them, he was never condemned. He died in prison, or, as some say, was, long after this, executed for attempting to set fire to Rome.

It has been before observed, that Scipio, in order to pave his way to Carthage, had gained over to the Roman interest the two Numidian kings, Syphax and Masinissa. The African republic endeavoured to destroy the engagements which those princes had entered into with her enemy: and Asdrubal, the son of Gisco, by the means of his daughter Sophonisba, drew off Syphax.[k] The his- Livy, b. 29. c. 23. Appian. in Punic. 6.

[k] According to Appian (in Punic. c. 6.) Asdrubal had promised his daughter in marriage to Masinissa: but, Syphax being in love with her, the Carthaginians, to bring him off from the alliance of Rome, gave him Sophonisba, without the knowledge of her father, who was then in Spain. Masinissa, in revenge, privately entered into a league with Scipio. Upon hearing this, Asdrubal (says the same historian) was indeed sorry for the injury done to the young prince, but resolved to have him murdered, because it was for the interest of Carthage. Accordingly he sent guards with him under pretence of convoying him into his dominions, but gave them secret instructions to kill him. Masinissa having discovered the design, found means to escape. Zonaras tells us, that Asdrubal promised his daughter to Masinissa, but afterward broke his word, and gave her to Syphax; thinking it of greater consequence to gain this prince to the interest of Carthage than the other.

Year of ROME 549. B. C. 203. torians represent her as a woman of excellent beauty, accompanied with graces and a manner irresistibly winning; love for her country, the ruling passion of her soul, with a courage to execute whatever that love could dictate. This lady being given in marriage to Syphax, his passion for her made him forget his engagements with Rome; and he readily entered into an alliance offensive and defensive with Carthage. Prompted by Asdrubal, he wrote a letter to Scipio, to dissuade him from making a descent upon Africa, acquainting him at the same time with his marriage, the new alliance he had made with the Carthaginians, and the necessity he should be under of taking part with them, in case they were attacked.

248th consulship.

Livy, b. 29. c. 24. The proconsul received this letter at Syracuse with some surprise; and, to conceal the contents of it from his army, sent back the messenger immediately, with a short answer to the Numidian prince, advising him to beware how he offended both gods and men, by a violation of public faith: after which, assembling his troops, he bid them prepare for a voyage to Africa: "Formerly (said he) Masinissa complained to Lælius of my dilatoriness; and now Syphax presses me to hasten my departure; and desires, that if I have changed my resolution, I will let him know it, that he may provide for his own safety." He then ordered his ships of war and transports to Lilybæum; and thither he, in person, marched the land forces, purposing to set sail with the first favourable wind. All the troops shewed an incredible ardour to follow him in this expedition, especially those legionaries, who had run away at the battle of Cannæ, and had, therefore, been condemned to stay in Sicily, for the whole time that Hannibal should continue in Italy. As they were old soldiers, and had been in many battles and sieges, the proconsul, notwithstanding their disgrace, took with him as many of them as were fit for service.

Lælius commanded the fleet. It is uncertain what number of men were embarked; but never was embarkation made with more order and solemnity; and the concourse of people, who came from all parts to see it, and to wish the proconsul a prosperous voyage, was incredibly great. Just before he weighed anchor, he appeared on the poop of his galley, and, after a herald had proclaimed silence, addressed this prayer to heaven: "O all ye gods and goddesses of earth and sea, I entreat and implore you to make whatever I have done, am doing, or shall do, in my command, prosperous to me, to the people and commons of Rome, to the allies and the Latin name, to all those who espouse the cause of the people of Rome and mine, and follow my command and auspices by land, by sea, and on rivers: to favour all these enterprises, and increase them with good increase: bring us all home safe and unhurt, victorious over our enemies, adorned with spoils, loaded with booty, and triumphant: and enable us to execute upon Carthage all that she designed against Rome." When he had ended this prayer, he caused a victim to be slain, and the entrails to be thrown into the sea; and then the trumpets sounding, he weighed anchor, and with fifty galleys and 400 ships of burden, set sail, with a favourable wind, for Africa. As he drew towards the coast, he asked the name of the nearest land then in view, and being told it was called the Fair Promontory, he liked the omen, ordered his pilots to direct their course thither, and safely landed his army. Soon after, Masinissa, the only African prince in the interest of Rome, came and joined him. The historians have left us the following relation of the adventures of this young king.

Year of ROME 549. B. C. 203. 248th consulship. Livy, b. 29. c. 25. c. 27. c. 29.

Gala, king of Massylia,[1] and father of Masinissa, had, according to the laws of Numidia, been succeeded by his younger brother Œsalces. And when the latter died, his son, Capusa, had mounted the throne. Capusa

[1] A part of Numidia.

Year of ROME 549. B. C. 203. 248th consul-ship. was slain in a battle against his rebellious subjects, headed by one Mezetulus, a factious man of the blood royal, and a constant rival and competitor of the kings of Numidia. The conqueror, though he durst not assume the title of king, made himself tutor to Lacumaces, the younger brother of Capusa, and seized the government, as in right of his ward. And to secure himself in his usurped authority, he not only entered into an alliance with king Syphax, but married his pupil's mother who was niece to Hannibal; hoping thereby to gain the Carthaginians to his interest.

Livy, b. 29. c. 30—33. Masinissa was then in Spain; where, hearing of Capusa's death, he passed into Africa, and asked assistance of Bocchar, king of Mauritania. Bocchar lent him 4000 men to convoy him to the frontiers of Massylia. There, being joined by a small body of Numidians, and having advice that Lacumaces was marching into Massæsylia,[m] to ask succours of king Syphax, he surprised the young prince near Thapsus, routed his forces, and took the town; but Lacumaces escaped to Syphax. This success engaged many of the Numidians to side with Masinissa; and particularly the soldiers who had served under his father Gala. Encouraged by these veterans, he ventured, though inferior in number, to attack Mezetulus, who was now in the field with a great army, Lacumaces having brought him a reinforcement of 15,000 foot from Syphax. Masinissa's superior skill in war, and the bravery of his troops, gave him the victory. Lacumaces, with his tutor, and the small remains of their forces, fled for refuge into the territories of Carthage; and the conqueror took possession of the vacant throne. But now, apprehending he should have a much more difficult war to sustain against Syphax, he thought it advisable to come to an accommodation with his kinsman. He offered to place him in the same rank Œsalces had held at Gala's court, pardon Mexetulus, and restore to him

[m] A part of Numidia

all his effects. The princes preferring a moderate, but certain fortune, in their own country, to uncertain hopes in exile, accepted the proposals, notwithstanding all the industry of the Carthaginians to hinder it. Year of ROME 549. B. C. 203. 248th consulship.

At this time Asdrubal, happening to be at Syphax's court, insinuated to him, that Masinissa was an ambitious enterprising youth, who would not be contented, like his father Gala, or his uncle Œsalces, with the dominion of Massylia, and, if not crushed in the beginning, might one day prove a dangerous neighbour, both to him and the Carthaginians. Syphax, instigated by these suggestions, marched an army against Masinissa: a pitched battle was fought, in which the Massylians were totally vanquished; the king himself narrowly escaped, with only a small guard of horse, to Mount Balbus. Thither some families of his own subjects followed him, with all their cattle (wherein the riches of the Numidians chiefly consisted), and there being plenty of pasture and water round the mountain, he lived on the milk and flesh of their flocks. The rest of the Massylians submitted to the conqueror.

Masinissa having, in this retreat, got some troops together, began to make nocturnal incursions upon the frontiers of the Carthaginians; and, in a short time, his forces augmenting, he ventured, in open day, to penetrate farther into their country, destroyed their inhabitants, and brought thence a considerable booty. Carthage, to put a stop to his devastations, had recourse to Syphax. The king, disdaining to go in person to reduce a band of robbers, dispatched away Bocchar, one of his officers, with 4000 foot and 2000 horse. These surrounded the mountain where Masinissa was lodged, hindered the return of the detachments he had sent out, and forced him to the top of the hill.

Bocchar, thinking that he had his enemy secure, sent back all his troops, except 500 foot and 200 horse. Soon after, he surprised Masinissa in a narrow pass, attempt-

Year of ROME 549. B. C. 203. 248th consulship.

ing to get away by stealth. The prince, with only fifty horse, escaped by flight. Bocchar, and his 200 horse, pursued him, came up with him near Clypea, and cut in pieces all his guard except four. With these Masinissa, though wounded, fled full speed; and finding a river in their way, they leaped man and horse into it. Two of them were drowned in crossing the stream; but the prince, and the other two, gained the opposite bank, and hid themselves among some bushes. Bocchar, who pursued them to the river, imagined they had all perished, and went no farther; and from that time it was reported at Carthage, and the court of Syphax, that Masinissa was dead. In the meanwhile, he hid himself in a cave, dressed his wound with herbs, and lived upon the prey which his two companions brought him.

Dethroned princes, who have any spirit, do not easily relinquish the hopes of a restoration. Masinissa, as soon as his wound would suffer him to mount on horseback, left his cave, and took the road to his own country. In a few days after his appearance there, some of his people, to the number of 6000 foot and 4000 horse, gathering about him, he not only possessed himself of Massylia, but made dreadful ravages in the territories of the Carthaginian allies, and king Syphax. The latter thinking the affair serious, came in person with an army to stop the enemy's progress. During the battle which followed, Vermina, the son of Syphax, having with a large detachment fetched a compass, fell upon the Massylians in the rear. By this means Masinissa was again defeated.[n] With only sixty horse he fled to the sea coast near the lesser Syrtis; and there he continued, for

[n] Appian makes no mention of this second battle. According to him, after Masinissa was once driven from his kingdom, he continued dispossessed of it till Scipio's arrival in Africa; at which time Syphax and the Carthaginians, to draw him off from the Romans, pretended to be reconciled to him, and restored him to his kingdom. Though Masinissa was sensible that they were not sincere, yet he pretended to come into their measures, and joined Asdrubal with his cavalry. However, he held secret intelligence with Scipio, and only waited a favourable opportunity to go over to him, which he did soon after, betraying, at the same time, a party of Carthaginian horse into the hands of the Romans. In Punic. Sect. 7. et seq.

the most part, till the arrival of Scipio; by which time he had augmented his troop; for he joined the proconsul with 200, some say, 2000 horse. Year of ROME 549. B C. 203.

The alarm and terror which Scipio's descent caused among the Carthaginians, made them think it necessary to strengthen the fortifications of their capital. They had no general in any degree qualified to oppose him in the field. Asdrubal, the son of Gisco, the best they had, is spoken of by Livy, as a man of great quality and wealth, but as excelling in no military talent, except that of saving himself by a swift retreat;° nor were they provided with disciplined and experienced soldiers. 248th consulship. Livy, b. 29. c. 28.

Scipio, having ordered his fleet towards Utica, encamped on certain eminences, not far from the sea-coast. Next day, a body of 500 Carthaginian horse, commanded by Hanno, a young warrior, who had been sent to watch the motions of the enemy, fell in with the advanced guards of the Roman camp, who routed them, and slew their commander. c. 34.

This first success was a good augury; and Scipio drew near to Locha, a city which seemed to promise his soldiers a rich booty. He had no sooner planted his ladders for the assault, than the inhabitants being terrified, sent a herald to ask their lives, with liberty to retire. Hereupon the general sounded a retreat; but the soldiers, greedy of plunder, would not obey; they forced the town, and put all, even women and children, to the sword. It was necessary to punish so signal a disobedience; and the centurions being the most guilty, as having encouraged the soldiers to it, the proconsul decreed that three of them should die as lots should determine. The soldiers were deprived of the booty they had taken. After some few expeditions of small moment, Scipio undertook the siege of Utica with all his army. But Asdrubal, who commanded 30,000 foot, and 3000 horse, being joined by Syphax with 50,000 Appian. in Punic. 9.

° —— Asdrubale, fugacissimo duce. Liv. b. 30. c. 36.

Year of ROME 549. B.C. 203. 248th consulship. foot, and 10,000 horse, obliged the Roman to dislodge, after he had been before the place forty days. He retreated to a promontory, under which his fleet rode at anchor, intrenched himself there, and waited the return of the spring to renew the war. Asdrubal lay encamped near him, and Syphax at a little distance from the Carthaginian. We shall leave them here awhile, and return to the affairs of Italy.

Livy, b. 29. c. 36. The consul Sempronius, who marched into Bruttium against Hannibal, was worsted in the first engagement with him, and lost 1200 men: but, in a second, being assisted by the forces of the proconsul Licinius, it is said, he defeated the enemy, left 4000 of them dead upon the spot, and retook several towns after the victory.

On the other hand, the consul Cethegus, who was to act against Mago, kept Hetruria in awe. By commencing legal processes against those who had entered into a correspondence with the enemy, he prevented the insurrections which the Carthaginian endeavoured to raise in that country. The guilty would not appear upon the summons, but went into a voluntary banishment; and their estates were confiscated.

c. 37. While the consuls were thus employed abroad, the two censors at Rome, Livius Salinator and Claudius Nero, drew a contempt on themselves by a most ridiculous behaviour. Though their quarrels with each other had formerly been very great, yet the distress of the republic, during their consulship, had reconciled them in appearance for some time; but now their mutual hatred broke out afresh. It was customary for the censors, just before leaving their office, to draw up a list of the senators, review the Roman knights, assemble the tribes, and set a mark of infamy on such persons as deserved it. As to the first, Livius and Nero were equitable in their proceedings; but when they came to review the knights, of which body they both were, Nero ordered his colleague's name to be struck out of the

list, on pretence, that he had been formerly condemned by the people for a misdemeanor. And Livius, when Nero's name was called over, passed the like sentence against him: "My reasons (said he) are, that he has borne false witness against me, and that his reconciliation with me was not sincere." Their passion and folly appeared yet more extravagant, when they came to take an account of the tribes. Nero ranked his colleague among those whom he declared Ærarii, *i. e.* persons deprived of the rights of Roman citizenship, but still obliged to pay the public taxes. And Livius not only did as much for Nero, but disfranchised all the thirty-five tribes, except the Mæcian, which was the only one that had formerly voted for him upon his trial, "for (said he) it must be owned they acted unjustly, either once when they condemned me, or twice, when they conferred upon me the consulship and censorship." Among the effects of Livius's anger against the people, may be reckoned a tax he laid, during his censorship, upon salt; ordering that it should be sold dearer in some places than others. It was hence that he got the name of Salinator. These censors, however, were very exact in taking an account of the number of Roman citizens, and sent to the most distant of the camps abroad for that purpose. The number appeared to be 214,000 fit to bear arms.

Year of ROME 549. B.C. 203. 236th consulship.

CHAP. XXXVI.

SIXTEENTH YEAR OF THE WAR.

650. Scipio, having under pretence of negotiating a treaty of peace, got perfect intelligence of the state and disposition of the Carthaginian and Numidian camps, sets fire to them in the night, and destroys the armies of Asdrubal and Syphax. The king and the Carthaginians again take the field with new forces, and are defeated in a pitched battle. Carthage dispatches messengers into Italy, to order Hannibal and Mago to the defence of their native country. In the mean time Masinissa and Lælius pursue Syphax into the heart of his dominions, vanquish him in battle, and take him prisoner. Cyrtha, the capital of his kingdom, surrenders to Masinissa, who, captivated by the charms of Sophonisba, promises her protection against the Romans; and, as the best means to perform his promise, marries her immediately. Syphax, being brought in chains to Scipio's camp, insinuates to the general that Sophonisba's power over her new husband would soon make him regardless of his engagements with the republic. The Roman, therefore, insists upon Masinissa's delivering up his wife, as the captive of the people of Rome; and the Numidian, seeing no way to protect her, sends her a cup of poison, which she resolutely drinks off. Carthage, to gain time for Hannibal and Mago to arrive in Africa, proposes a treaty of peace with Scipio, and consents to the articles he dictates. Two Roman generals, uniting their forces, obtain a victory over Mago in Insubria, who, being wounded in the action, dies at sea, in his voyage to Africa. Hannibal, receiving a command from Carthage to return home, leaves Italy with great reluctance; and the Romans order public thanksgivings to the gods for his departure. The senate approves the conditions of peace proposed by Scipio. During the truce, the Carthaginians plunder some Roman ships, driven by stress of weather upon their coast; and afterward offer violence to certain ambassadors whom Scipio had sent to demand satisfaction. In the mean time, Hannibal arrives safely in Africa.

Hannibal leaves Italy.

Year of ROME 550. B. C. 202.

WHEN the *comitia* had elected Cn. Servilius Cæpio and C. Servilius Geminus consuls for the new year, and came to appoint the proconsuls, they nominated Scipio for Africa, directing that he should continue there, in that capacity, till the end of the war.

249th consulship.

Livy, b. 30. c. 1.

Early in the spring, Scipio knowing the levity of the Numidian, and hoping (says Polybius) that he might by this time be tired both of his wife and of the Carthaginians, employed some persons to sound his inclinations. Finding that the king insisted on the Romans leaving Africa, and Hannibal's returning from Italy, as the conditions of a treaty, the proconsul formed a new design. He pretended to be very desirous of a peace; and, to carry on a negotiation, frequently sent deputies to the Numidian. These deputies were attended by officers, who understood the art of war, and who, in the habit of servants, acted the part of spies, and observed exactly the state and disposition of both the enemies' camps

Polyb. b. 14. c. 1. Livy, b. 30. c. 3.

The Romans seemed so fond of an accommodation, that Syphax and Asdrubal (for Scipio had desired the king to consult with the Carthaginian) started new pretensions; and the discussion of these demands gave the spies all the time they could desire to make their observations. They at length returned, and made their report to Scipio: who thereupon sent the Numidian this answer: "That he himself was earnest for the treaty, but that none of his council approved the conditions. That the king must, therefore, come over to the Romans or expect no peace." This declaration put an end to the truce, and Scipio was at liberty to execute his project. Year of ROME 550. B. C. 202. 249th consulship. Appian. in Punic. Livy, b 30. c 4. Polyb. b. 14 c 2.

In order thereto, he first sent a detachment to take possession of the ground where he had posted himself the last autumn, when he besieged Utica. This he did to secure his camp from being attacked in his absence, by the garrison of Utica; and to make Asdrubal and Syphax believe, that he intended to renew his enterprise upon that town. He then assembled the ablest and most faithful of his officers, and told them, that his design was to set fire to the two camps of the enemy the following night, an enterprise which might be easily effected, the barracks in which the Carthaginians had wintered being made of wood, and those of the Numidians of reeds. The project was universally applauded. Whereupon Scipio divided his troops, and gave the command of one part to Masinissa, and of another to Lælius, with orders to assail the camp of Syphax on different sides. He himself, with the rest of his forces, marched towards Asdrubal, but resolving not to begin the attack on his camp till he saw that of the Numidian actually in flames. The whole scheme was happily executed. The Romans surprised and burnt both camps, and destroyed 40,000 of the enemy, by fire or sword. Syphax fled to Abba; Asdrubal to a city named Anda; whither being pursued by Scipio, and finding the inhabitants wavering in their resolutions, he would not ven- Livy, b. 30. c. 5.

Year of ROME 550. B. C. 202. 249th consulship.

ture to stand a siege. He retired to Carthage with 2000 foot and 500 horse.

Great was the consternation of the people in that city, when they saw him arrive there with those poor remains of his routed army. The suffetes (whose office in the Carthaginian republic resembled that of the consuls at Rome) convened the senators. Divided in opinion, some were for sending immediately for Hannibal; others for proposing a truce with the enemy: but the Barcine faction insisted upon continuing the war, and would hearken to no expedient which tended to the recalling Hannibal from Italy; and these prevailed. The senate ordered levies to be made both in the city and in the country, and dispatched ambassadors to Syphax, pressing him to steadiness in the cause of the republic. Syphax, still at Abba, was greatly at a loss what measures to follow. The ambassadors assured him, that Asdrubal[p] would speedily take the field with a considerable army, and that a large body of Celtiberians from Spain, hired into the service, were already landed, and on their march to Abba. By these assurances, but chiefly by the tears and entreaties of his wife Sophonisba, he was fixed in the interest of Carthage.

Polyb. b. 14. c. 7. Livy, b. 30. c. 8.

Scipio was busy in the siege of Utica, when he received intelligence that the enemy, having got together near 30,000 men, were encamped in a place called the Great Plain, about five days' march from him. He immediately turned the siege into a blockade, and hastened to attack them. After some slight skirmishes, the two armies came to a general battle, in which the Romans obtained a complete victory. However, the stout resistance made by the Celtiberians gave the Africans the better opportunity to escape by flight. Asdrûbal, with the remains of his army, retired to Carthage, and Sy-

[p] Appian differs widely from Polybius and Livy. He tells us, that the Carthaginians condemned Asdrubal to death for his misconduct, and appointed Hanno, the son of Bomilcar, to command the army in his room; and that the former being then at Arda, got together a body of 8000 foot, and 3000 horse, and carried on the war against the Romans, as an independent general. App. in Punic. 15.

phax, with the best part of his cavalry, into his own country. Year of ROME 550. B. C. 202

The proconsul having called a council of war, it was there agreed, that Lælius and Masinissa should pursue Syphax, and not give him time to recruit his forces; and that Scipio should apply himself to reduce the towns in the neighbourhood of Carthage. Tunis, from whence the capital could be seen, opened her gates to him; the garrison, upon his approach, having deserted the place. 249th consulship. Polyb. b. 14. c. 9. Livy, b. 30. c. 9.

And now Carthage herself, expecting to be besieged, prepared for a long defence; and the senate dispatched messengers into Liguria and Bruttium, with orders for Hannibal and Mago to return home with all possible expedition. In the mean time the Carthaginians formed a design to burn the Roman fleet, which lay in shelter under the promontory near Utica. Hamilcar, with 100 galleys, equipped in a few days, sailed away to execute this enterprise. The course which the Carthaginian steered was perceived by Scipio from Tunis: he made all haste to his fleet, and got thither by land before the enemy arrived. To preserve his galleys, he drew them up as near to the shore as he could, and made a triple or quadruple defence before them of his ships of burden moored together, but with spaces between, for small vessels to launch out against the enemy. Over these spaces he laid bridges, for the convenience of sending assistance from one row of ships to another; and in the ships he placed 1000 chosen men, with great quantities of missive weapons. Had Hamilcar been expeditious, he might have destroyed all the Roman fleet, but it being night before he came up, he was obliged to lie by; so that Scipio had time sufficient to prepare for his reception. Next day the attack began: the Carthaginian broke the chain of ships in the first line, and took six of them; but he had not courage to pursue his advantage: he returned with his small prize to Carthage. c. 10.

Year of ROME 550. B.C. 202. 249th consulship.

In the mean time, Masinissa and Lælius, with a third part of the Roman legions, were in pursuit of Syphax. In fifteen days they arrived in the heart of Numidia; and, when Masinissa had taken possession of his own kingdom, he carried the war into the dominions of his enemy. Syphax, with a numerous army, advanced confidently to meet him; but, in a general action which ensued, was defeated and made prisoner, together with one of his sons.

Appian. in Punic. Livy, b. 30. c. 11. et seq.

After this, the victorious Numidian, with the approbation of Lælius, who was to follow by easy marches, hastened to appear before Cyrtha, the capital of Syphax's dominions, whom he took with him. On the appearance of their king in chains, those of the inhabitants who were upon the walls deserted them in a fright; others, to gain the favour of the conqueror, opened the gates to him. Quickening his horse, he rode directly to the palace to take possession of it. In the entrance of the portico stood Sophonisba, the wife of Syphax. When she saw Masinissa, judging by the richness of his armour, and other marks of distinction, that he was the king, she fell down at his feet, and said: "The gods, your valour, and your good fortune, have given you all power over us. But, if a captive woman may be allowed to supplicate the arbiter of her life and death, if she may be permitted to touch your knees and this victorious right hand, I beg and implore you, by the regal majesty—with which we also, it is not long since, were invested;—by the name of Numidian, common to you with Syphax; by the gods of this palace (may they receive you more auspiciously than they have sent Syphax hence!) to grant me this favour, that you yourself will determine my fate, and not abandon me to the pride and cruelty of any Roman. Were it only that I am the wife of Syphax, I would rather be at the mercy of a Numidian, a native of Africa, as I am, than of an alien and a stranger. I need not say what a Carthaginian, what a

daughter of Asdrubal has to fear from Roman enmity. If you can no otherwise save me from falling into their hands, do it by my death, I beseech you, I conjure you." Surpassingly beautiful was the suppliant, and in the richest bloom of life: she clasped the prince's hand, she embraced his knees; and her pleading, when she sued to him for a promise, that he would not give her up to the Romans, was more like the blandishments of love, than the prayer of wretchedness. The victor, melting not only to pity, but to love, gave her his right hand, the pledge of assured protection. Masinissa promised, without weighing the difficulty of performing; and, had he weighed it, he would still have promised. For, when he began to consider by what means he might be able to keep his word, Sophonisba, being truly Scipio's captive, he took counsel only of his passion. He married her that very day; flattering himself, that neither Lælius nor Scipio could think of treating, as a captive, the wife of Masinissa. The ceremony was hardly over when Lælius arrived. Far from dissembling the displeasure this marriage gave him, he was, at first, going to snatch the queen from the arms of her husband, and send her away with the rest of the prisoners to Scipio; but being overcome at length by the king's entreaties, who begged him to refer the matter to the judgment of the pro-consul, he forebore that violence, and took Masinissa with him to assist in the reduction of some towns which adhered to Syphax; while this unfortunate king, mad with rage at the success of his rival, was sent under a guard to Scipio's camp.

Year of ROME 550. B. C. 202. 249th consulship.

The whole army were much affected with the spectacle of king Syphax in chains, a prince, whose alliance had been so lately courted by two powerful republics. The general remembered the hospitable entertainment the Numidian had formerly given him at his court; and the same remembrance encouraged Syphax to speak with the more freedom to his conqueror. When Scipio

Year of ROME 550. B.C. 202. 249th consul-ship.

asked him, what it was that could induce him, not only to reject the alliance of Rome, but, without provocation, to begin a war against her; "madness," answered Syphax. "But this madness did not then commence, when I took up arms against the Roman people; that was the end of it, not the beginning. Then it began, then I forgot all private ties and public leagues, when I married a Carthaginian woman. It was the nuptial torch that set my palace on fire. Sophonisba was the sorceress, who by her enchantments deprived me of my reason; nor did she ever rest till with her own hands she had armed me with those impious arms I have employed against my guest and my friend. But, in the midst of my adversity and ruin, I have this consolation left, that I see the pest, the fury, gone into the house of my most implacable enemy. Masinissa will not be more prudent or more steady than Syphax: nay, he will be less upon his guard; for he is younger. This at least is sure; his marriage speaks more of folly and intemperance of passion than mine. Sophonisba will have all power over him; and it is in vain to hope she will ever be brought to favour the Roman cause; so deeply rooted, so immoveable is her affection to her country."

App. de Bell. Punic. c. 18.

Though these words were dictated by the hatred of an enemy, and the rage of jealous love, yet they made a strong impression in the mind of the proconsul. Masinissa's precipitate marriage in the midst of arms, without consulting, or even waiting for Lælius, made the king's prediction but too credible: and such sallies of passion, says Livy, seemed the more inexcusable to Scipio, as he, during his command in Spain, had never suffered himself, though young, to be transported by the charms of any of his fair captives. While he was revolving in his thoughts this strange event, Lælius and Masinissa arrived. The proconsul received them both with equal marks of kindness; and having, in a crowded assembly of his officers, expatiated in their praise, he took Masinissa

aside, and spoke to him in the following manner: "It was doubtless, Masinissa, some good qualities you saw in me, which inclined you, in Spain, to enter into friendship with me; and afterward, in Africa, to commit yourself and your fortunes to my protection. Of all the virtues for which you think my friendship desirable, there is none in which I pride myself more than continence: and I wish, Masinissa, that you, to your other eminent virtues, would add this also. There is not, believe me, there is not so much danger, to our years, from armed enemies, as from the pleasures that on all sides surround us. He who has acquired the mastery over his appetites and passions, has made a nobler conquest, and gained greater glory, than we by our vanquishing king Syphax. The exploits of bravery, which you have performed in my absence, I have just now publicly acknowledged, and shall remember: the rest I had rather you yourself should reflect upon, than that I, by the mention of it, should put you to the blush. Syphax was conquered and made prisoner, under the auspices of the people of Rome. He, therefore, his wife, his kingdom, his lands, his towns, all who inhabit them, all that belonged to Syphax, are become the property of the Roman people. Sophonisba, if she were not a Carthaginian, if her father did not command the army of our enemies, must, as well as her husband, be sent to Rome: it is the prerogative of the senate and people there, to determine the fate of a woman, who is charged with having seduced a king from our alliance, and hurried him to take arms against us. Masinissa, get the better of yourself. Beware of tarnishing, by one vice, the lustre of many virtues. Do not lose the merit of so many services, by a single fault, to which the cause of it bears no proportion,"[q]

Year of ROME 550. B.C. 202. 249th consulship.

[q] It is somewhat strange, that Livy should make his divine Scipio preach such a grave lecture upon continence, when he had nothing in his heart but murder. The manifest aim of his ethics, as appears by the sequel, was to persuade the prince either to murder the woman he had just married, or to give her up to be [illegible]

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Livy tells us, that this discourse brought blushes into the prince's cheeks, and drew tears from his eyes. When he had promised an absolute submission to the general's pleasure, and had begged that he might be permitted, as far as the situation of things would allow, to perform the rash promise he had given Sophonisba, of not delivering her into the power of any other person, he left Scipio's tent in confusion, and retired to his own. There shutting himself up, he spent some time alone in sighs and groans, so loud as to be heard by the soldiers without the pavilion. At length he called a trusty slave, who had charge of the poison, which (after the manner of kings) was kept ready against unforeseen adversities; and bid him, when he had prepared a potion, carry it to Sophonisba, with this message: "Masinissa would gladly have fulfilled the marriage engagement, the obligation of a husband to a wife; but since to do this is denied him by those who have the power to hinder it, he now performs his other promise, that she should not be delivered up alive to the Romans. Sophonisba, mindful of her father, her country, and the two kings, whose wife she has been, will consult her own honour." When the minister of death came to the queen, and with the message presented her the poison: "I accept (said she) this marriage-gift; nor is it unwelcome, if my husband could indeed do nothing kinder for his wife. This, however, tell him—that I should have died with more honour, if I had not married at my funeral." She spoke these words with a resolute countenance, took the cup with a steady hand, and drank it off. The news being brought to Scipio, he sent for the Numidian prince; and, lest his distempered mind should carry him to some action yet

Romans. Had the Numidian married half the women of Cyrtha, he would probably have escaped the lecture, provided Sophonisba had not been of the number. But Scipio dreaded the power of the beautiful Carthaginian dame over her new husband.

Appian (differing from Livy) tells us, that Scipio at first only desired Masinissa to deliver up Syphax's wife; that the prince refusing to comply, the general sharply forbade him to think of keeping by force what of right belonged to the Roman people; and, having commanded him to give up the prey, added, that then, if he pleased, he might petition for it. App. in Punic. l. 15.

more desperate, discoursed to him in a friendly manner; now endeavouring to console him; then gently reproving him, for having expiated one act of temerity by another, and given a more tragical conclusion to the affair than was necessary. Next day the proconsul assembled the soldiers, mounted his tribunal, and before them all, addressing himself to Masinissa, styled him king; and, when he had been lavish in his praise, presented him with a crown and cup of gold, a curule chair, an ivory sceptre, an embroidered robe, and a tunic wrought with palm-branches. And these presents he enhanced, by saying, that "in a TRIUMPH, than which nothing among the Romans was more magnificent, the triumphant victors had no statelier ornaments; and that Masinissa was the only foreigner the Roman people thought worthy of them." The king's affliction was soothed by these honours, and his mind raised from its depression, to the hope of possessing all Numidia. Year of ROME 550 B. C 202. 249th consulship.

The season of the year being far advanced, Scipio, when he had sent Lælius, with Syphax, and the rest of the Numidian captives, to Rome, returned to his old post near Tunis. Carthage, greatly alarmed at the neighbourhood of the Roman army, and the loss she had suffered by the captivity of Syphax, began now to think of changing her measures, and of endeavouring to gain time, by a fraudulent treaty of peace, till Hannibal and Mago should arrive from Italy. The senate dispatched to the proconsul thirty of its principal members; who cast themselves at his feet, threw the whole blame of the war upon the ambition of Hannibal, implored the clemency of the conqueror, and offered to accept any terms he should impose. Scipio haughtily answered, "That his intention, in coming into Africa, was not to make peace with the Carthaginians, but to conquer them, which he had now in a manner done." He added: "Yet, to convince the world that Rome can put an end to wars, as well as begin them with Livy, b. 30. c. 16.

Year of ROME 550. B.C. 202. justice, I shall not refuse you a peace on these conditions:

249th consulship. "You shall restore all prisoners, deserters, and fugitive slaves;

"Withdraw your troops from Italy and Cisalpine Gaul;

"Make an absolute cession of Spain to us;

"Yield up to us all the islands between Italy and Africa;

"Give us all your long ships, except twenty.

"Furnish my army with 500,000 modii of wheat, and 300,000 of barley;

"And pay us 5000 talents.

"I allow you three days to consider of these conditions; and if in that time you agree to them, you shall have a truce, till the return of the ambassadors, whom you shall send to Rome, to conclude a peace there."

As the business of the Carthaginians was only to gain time, they made no great difficulty of consenting to Scipio's demands; and, the better to impose upon him, they sent a small number of Roman captives, and deserters, to Rome, with their ambassadors.

Livy, b. 30. c. 17. In the mean time, Lælius arrived at Rome, with Syphax, and the Numidian nobles taken in war. The conscript fathers, upon his report of the wonderful success of the Roman arms, decreed a four days' supplication to the gods. As to Syphax, they ordered that he should be confined a prisoner at Alba (in the country of the Marsi): they confirmed to Masinissa the title of king, which Scipio had given him; and sent him new presents in the name of the republic.

The campaign in Bruttium seems to have produced no remarkable action this summer. Several towns in that country surrendered to the consul Servilius Cæpio, who is also said to have fought a battle with Hannibal, the success uncertain. The other consul, Servilius Geminus, did nothing memorable either in Hetruria or

Gaul, except that he recovered his father and uncle from the captivity in which they had been, for sixteen years, among the Boii. He entered Rome, with one of them on his right hand, and the other on his left. But he was forced to petition the people to grant a decree, indemnifying him for having, contrary to law, executed the offices of tribune of the commons and plebeian ædile, in the lifetime of his father, who had been a curule magistrate. His plea was, that he then knew not whether his father were alive or dead; and the people allowed it to be good. Year of ROME 550. B C. 202. 249th consulship.

Mago fell down upon Insubria, and fought a battle with two Roman armies, under the conduct of the proconsul Corn. Cethegus and the prætor Quintilius Varus. The victory was obstinately disputed, till the Carthaginian general, by a wound which he received, was constrained to yield the day to the Romans. He decamped the night following, and retired into Liguria. Hither came messengers from the senate of Carthage, with orders to him to return to Africa as soon as possible. Embarking all his troops, both Ligurian and Spanish, he set sail immediately. Scarce had he doubled the island of Sardinia when he died of his wound; and a storm dispersing the fleet, many of the ships were taken by the Romans.

When Hannibal received the same orders as his brother, he was scarce able to restrain his tears. "Now (said he) the senate openly and expressly recall me; but they have been dragging me away ever since they refused to send me supplies of men and money. The Romans, whom I have so often routed, have not vanquished Hannibal. It is the Carthaginian senate that, by detraction and envy, have overcome me.[r] Nor will Scipio exult more at my leaving Italy than Hanno; who, since

[r] Plutarch imputes this to the good fortune which constantly attended Rome. It was this good fortune (says he) which poured forth Hannibal like water, and wasted him in Italy, while his countrymen, through envy and civil discord, refused to send him supplies. Plut. de Fortun. Roman. S. 21.

Year of ROME 550. B.C. 202. 249th consulship.

he can no other way destroy my family, is resolved to overwhelm it with the ruins of his country." However, as he had foreseen what now happened, he had prepared his fleet for a voyage. Sending away the useless part of his soldiery into the towns of Bruttium, under pretence of guarding them, he embarked all the strength of his army for Africa.[s] No man ever went into banishment from his own country, with greater reluctance than Hannibal left the country of his enemies. When he was out at sea, he often looked back on the coast, accusing gods and men, and himself (says Livy), for being disappointed of his expected conquest.

The joy at Rome, on the news of his departure, was great, but not universal. Some of the fathers thought it a dishonour to the Roman name, that Hannibal was suffered to leave Italy, with all his army, as quietly as if he had been setting out from his own country. They also feared the difficulties which Scipio would have to struggle with; and Fabius increased their terror, by exclaiming, "that the republic was never in a more deplorable state." Others confided in the abilities of the proconsul, and thought it the greatest of all advantages, to see Italy rid of her most dangerous and most implacable enemy: and the senate, coming into this sentiment, directed that public thanksgivings should be offered to the gods during five days.

Plut. Life of Fabius.

Lælius, whom the republic had just chosen quæstor to Scipio's army, in the room of Cato, was upon his way to re-embark for Africa, when he received an order to return to Rome: for the ambassadors from Carthage being arrived, the conscript fathers thought it proper to have him present at so important a negotiation. The Carthaginians had their audience of the senate in the temple of Bellona, without the walls of Rome. They spoke in much the same strain as before to Scipio, throwing all the blame of the war upon Hannibal; and,

[s] Livy reports, that Hannibal massacred, in the temple of Juno Lacinia, some of the Italians, who had fled thither for refuge, after refusing to follow him into Africa.

in conclusion, desired, "that the articles agreed on between Rome and Carthage, in the time of C. Lutatius (the close of the first Punic war), might continue in full force, and be the foundation of a lasting peace." Upon this, some of the elder senators, who observed that these African ambassadors were young men, examined them concerning the expedients employed to put an end to that war; and the latter not being able to give any tolerable account of the times of Lutatius, the fathers began to suspect that Carthage was not sincere in the present affair. When they came to vote (after the ambassadors had withdrawn), some were against coming to any determination without one of the conuls, who were both absent; others advised the consulting of Scipio, previously to any conclusion; and others, fully persuaded that Carthage was dissembling, were for commanding the ambassadors immediately out of Italy, as so many spies, and for directing Scipio to prosecute the war with vigour. Lælius joined in this opinion; and some writers say that it prevailed: but others, with more probability affirm, that the peace was accepted on the foot upon which Scipio had proposed it in Africa.

Year of ROME 550. B. C. 202. 249th consulship.

Livy, b. 30 c. 23. Polyb b. 15. c. 1.

Whilst this affair employed the senate, Hannibal was making the best of his way to Carthage. The consul Servilius Cæpio, resolving to follow him, left his province, and went into Sicily, to prepare for an expedition into Africa; but his design did not please the conscript fathers: they thought he intended to rob Scipio of the honour of concluding the peace. A dictator was therefore created, merely that there might be a magistrate in the republic, who should have an undisputed authority to recall Servilius. The consul being recalled, obeyed, and returned to Rome.

About this time died, in a very advanced age, the famous Q. Fabius Cunctator.[t] He was certainly, says

[t] According to Val. Max. (b. 8. c. 13. §. 3.) Fabius was near 100 years old when he died. If this were true, he must have been about eighty-six when he conducted the war against Hannibal, and about eighty-nine in his last consulship.

Year of ROME 550. B. C. 202. Livy, worthy of the name of Maximus which he bore; and his glory equalled that of any of his ancestors. Prudence and circumspection were what distinguished him; not remarkable activity or an enterprising genius. But it is a question whether his cunctation was the effect of his temper, or owing to the nature of the war he had to conduct. Be that as it will, his wise management, in a dangerous conjuncture, saved his country from ruin:[u] and the Roman people, sensible of their obligation to him, greatly honoured him while living; and, when he died, laid a tax upon themselves to defray the expenses of his funeral.

249th consulship. Livy, b. 21. c. 60.

While the truce in Africa still subsisted, and before the ambassadors were yet returned, an accident discovered the fraudulent designs of the Carthaginians. Scipio had thought it necessary to have a strong sea-armament, in order to terrify the enemy, and to remove the necessity of protecting his fleet, as formerly, with his land army; and he had, therefore, sent for a reinforcement of ships, both from Sicily and Sardinia. The squadron from Sardinia arrived safe, but that from Sicily was dispersed by a tempest, and many of the vessels being driven near the port of Carthage, the Carthaginians seized and plundered them. Scipio, highly incensed at this proceeding, dispatched M. Bæbius, with two other officers, to Carthage, to complain of the injustice, and demand satisfaction. These envoys hardly escaped the fury of the populace: and even the senate being bent on war, agreed to send them back without an answer; such dependance they had on Hannibal, who was daily expected: nay, they gave orders (as some say) that the two galleys, appointed by them to convoy the quinquiremis, on which the envoys were embarked, should leave it at a certain time; and that some ships, kept in readiness for that purpose, should attack and sink it. The quinquiremis was accordingly deserted by her convoy, near

Polyb. b. 15. c. 1. Livy, b. 30. c. 25.

[u] "Unus homo nobis cunctando restituit rem."

the mouth of the river Bagrada, and being soon after attacked by three Carthaginian galleys, was forced to run aground on the strand; but the envoys escaped to the Roman camp. Year of ROME 550. B.C. 202. 249th consulship.

The general so impatiently expected by the African republic at length drew near the coast. To discover the country, he ordered a sailor to the mast-top; who being asked, what he saw, answered, "the ruins of a tomb, upon an eminence." Hannibal disliking the omen, sailed on; and landed his army at Little Leptis, a city between Susa and Adrumetum.

CHAP. XXXVII.

SEVENTEENTH YEAR OF THE WAR.

While Scipio, provoked at the perfidiousness of the Carthaginians, pursues the war with uncommon fury, Hannibal approaches with his army, and encamps near Zama. There having asked and obtained a conference with the Roman general, he proposes terms of peace, which Scipio rejects. Next day a decisive battle is fought, wherein victory declares for the Romans. Carthage makes humble supplications to Scipio for peace, and, by the advice of Hannibal, submits to the conditions proposed, which, after several debates, are the next year agreed to by the senate of Rome. Scipio having, in concert with ten commissioners, settled the affairs of Africa, returns home, has a magnificent triumph, and acquires the surname of Africanus. 551. Battle of Zama. 552.

TIB. CLAUDIUS NERO and M. Servilius Pulex being chosen consuls at Rome for the new year, it fell by lot to Servilius to conduct the army in Hetruria, and to Claudius to command the fleet in Africa: but the latter, by a decree of both senate and people, was to leave the direction of all affairs at land wholly to Scipio. Year of ROME 551. B.C. 201. 250th consulship. Livy, b. 30. c. 27.

Hannibal, having learned, soon after his landing, that hostilities were renewed, took measures to strengthen his army. Being in great want of horse, he sent to Tychæus, a friend of Syphax, and reputed to have the best in Africa; and of him obtained a body of 2000 Numidian cavalry. On the other hand, Scipio, pursued the war with an uncommon fury, kindled by the perfidiousness of the Carthaginians. He took towns, not by capitulation, but assault, put the garrisons to the sword, Polyb. b. 25. c. 3. App. in Punic. Polyb. b. 25. c. 3, 4.

Year of ROME 551. B.C. 201. 250th consul-ship.

and made all the inhabitants pass under the yoke. However, in the midst of his resentment, he did not forget the laws of nations. Bæbius, who had been so ill treated, when sent on an embassy to Carthage, had since arrested the Carthaginian ambassadors, on their arrival from Italy, in the port where the Roman fleet lay; and he thought that the injury he had suffered would be retaliated upon them by Scipio. But the proconsul did not consider so much what Carthage deserved, as what became a Roman. He commanded that the ambassadors should be well treated, and dismissed. As he continued, nevertheless, to make dreadful havoc in the Carthaginian territory, the senate dispatched orders to their general to advance and give him battle. Hannibal answered, that he would take the first opportunity that offered; and soon after, leaving his post at Adrumetum, drew near to Zama, a town in Numidia Propria, five days' journey south-west of Carthage. From hence he sent out spies, to discover the situation and strength of the Romans. These spies were apprehended: but though it was then customary in all nations to put such men to death, Scipio gave direction to lead one of them into all the quarters of the camp, and shew him every thing he came to learn; which done, dismissing both him and his companions, he bade them go to their general, and gave him the account he expected from them. Hannibal is said to have been struck with this magnanimity and air of confidence, and to have been thereby induced to ask an interview with the proconsul, in order to a peace. Scipio consented, and, to meet him, advanced as far as Nadagara, a town on the confines of Numidia. The Carthaginian came and encamped within four miles of the Romans, not far from Zama.[x]

[x] Appian tells us, that before this conference, Hannibal, being in great want of provisions, sent to Masinissa, desiring he would use his endeavours with Scipio to obtain a peace for the Carthaginians. Scipio consented to renew the former treaty, upon condition restitution was made of the ships, men, and effects of his dispersed fleet, which had been seized, and that Carthage should pay 1000 talents as a fine. Hannibal accepted these terms, and the senate of Carthage likewise agreed to them,

There was between the two camps a large plain, entirely open, and where no ambush could be laid. This place being, therefore, chosen for the conference, the two generals rode thither, escorted by an equal number of guards; from whom separating, and each attended only by an interpreter, they met in the midway. Both remained for a while silent, viewing each other with mutual admiration. Hannibal at length spoke thus: Year of ROME 551. B. C. 201. 250th consulship.

"Since fate has so ordained it, that I, who began the war, and who have been so often on the point of ending it by a complete conquest, should now come, of my own motion to ask a peace, I am glad that it is of you, Scipio, I have the fortune to ask it. Nor will this be among the least of your glories, that Hannibal, victorious over so many Roman generals, submitted at last to you. Livy, b. 30. c. 30. Polyb. b. 15. c. 6.

"I could wish, that our fathers and we had confined our ambition within the limits which nature seemed to have prescribed to it—the shores of Africa, and the shores of Italy. The gods did not give us that mind. On both sides we have been so eager after foreign possessions, as to put our own to the hazard of war. Rome and Carthage have had, each, in her turn, the enemy at her gates. But since errors past may be more easily blamed than corrected, let it now be the work of you and me, to put an end, if possible, to the obstinate contention. For my own part, my years, and the experience I have had of the instability of fortune, incline me to leave nothing to her determination which reason can decide. But much I fear, Scipio, that your youth,

but the populace would not give their consent. They were jealous of their general, and the nobles, whom they thought were desirous of making a peace advantageous to Rome, that by her means they might govern the more despotically at home. And the people were so full of these imaginations, that having got notice at this time, that Asdrubal, whom they had suspected of the same design, was returned to the city, they went in a tumultuous manner to seek him, in order to put him to death. He had fled to his father's tomb, and had there ended his days by poison. But the rage of the mutineers did not cease at the sight of his dead body. They dragged it out of the tomb, cut off the head, fixed it on a lance, and carried it through the streets of Carthage. App. Punic. c. 20.

Thus far Appian: but neither Livy nor Polybius mention any thing of all this, and some parts of the story are inconsistent with what those authors relate.

Year of ROME 551. B. C. 201. 250th consulship.

your want of the like experience, your uninterrupted success, may render you averse from the thoughts of peace. He, whom fortune has never failed, rarely reflects upon her inconstancy. Yet, without recurring to former examples, my own may perhaps suffice to teach you moderation. I am that same Hannibal who, after my victory at Cannæ, became master of the greatest part of your country, and deliberated with myself what fate I should decree to Italy and to Rome. And now—see the change! Here, in Africa, I am come to treat with a Roman, for my own preservation and my country's. Such are the sports of fortune. Is she then to be trusted, because she smiles? An advantageous peace is preferable to the hope of victory. The one is in your own power, the other at the pleasure of the gods. Should you prove victorious, it would add little to your own glory, or the glory of your country; if vanquished, you lose in one hour all the honour and reputation you have been so many years acquiring. But what is my aim in all this? That you should content yourself with our cession of Spain, Sicily, Sardinia, and all the islands between Italy and Africa. A peace on these conditions will, in my opinion, not only secure the future tranquillity of Carthage, but be sufficiently glorious for you, and for the Roman name. And do not tell me, that some of our citizens dealt fraudulently with you in the late treaty. It is I, Hannibal, that now ask a peace: I ask it, because I think it expedient for my country; and thinking it expedient, I will inviolably maintain it."

Scipio answered: "I knew very well, Hannibal, that it was the hope of your return which imboldened the Carthaginians to break the truce with us, and to lay aside all thoughts of a peace, when it was just upon the point of being concluded; and your present proposal is a proof of it. You retrench from their concessions every thing but what we are, and have been long possessed of. But as it is your care, that your fellow-citi-

zens should have the obligation to you of being eased from a great part of their burden, so it ought to be mine, that they draw no advantage from their perfidiousness. Year of ROME 551. B C 201.

"Nobody is more sensible than I am of the weakness of man, and the power of fortune, and that whatever we enterprise is subject to a thousand chances. If, before the Romans passed into Africa, you had, of your own accord, quitted Italy, and made the offers you now make, I believe they would not have been rejected. But as you have been forced out of Italy, and we are masters, here of the open country, the situation of things is much altered. And, what is chiefly to be considered, the Carthaginians by the late treaty, which we entered into at their request, were, over and above what you offer, to have delivered up their ships of war, restored to us our prisoners without ransom, paid us 5000 talents, and to have given hostages for the performance of all. The senate accepted these conditions, but Carthage failed on her part; Carthage deceived us. What then is to be done? Are the Carthaginians to be released from the most important articles of the treaty, as a reward of their breach of faith? No, certainly. If, to the conditions before agreed upon, you had added some new article to our advantage, there would have been matter of reference to the Roman people; but when, instead of adding, you retrench, there is no room for deliberation. The Carthaginians, therefore, must submit to us at discretion, or must vanquish us in battle."[y] 250th consulship.

The conference hereupon broke off, the two generals returned each to his camp, and bade their soldiers prepare for battle; a battle wherein the Carthaginians were to fight for their own preservation and the dominion of Polyb. b. 15. c 9 et seq.

y According to Livy, Scipio proposed to advise with his council about granting peace, provided the Carthaginians would, besides fulfilling the conditions of the late treaty, agree to pay a fine for having seized the Roman ships, and violated their ambassadors, during the truce. The account in the text is taken from Polybius, who, being personally acquainted with Masinissa, and intimate with the younger Scipio, and his friend Lælius, is more to be depended on than any other writer on this subject

Year of ROME 551. B. C. 201. Africa; and the Romans for the empire of the whole world.[a]

250th consulship. Early next morning Scipio led his troops into the plain, and drew them up after the Roman manner, except that he placed the cohorts of the principes directly behind those of the hastati, so as to leave sufficient space for the enemy's elephants to pass through from front to rear. C. Lælius was posted on the left wing with the Italian horse, and Masinissa, with his Numidians, on the right. The intervals of the first line Scipio filled up with his velites, or light-armed troops, ordering them, upon a signal given, to begin the battle; and, in case they were repulsed, or broke by the elephants, to run back through the lines before mentioned, and continue on their flight till they were got behind the triarii. Those that were wounded, or in danger of being overtaken, were to turn off to the right and left, through the spaces between the lines, and that way escape to the rear.

The army thus drawn up, Scipio went from rank to rank, urging the soldiers to consider the consequences of a defeat, and the rewards of victory: on the one hand, certain death or slavery (for they had no town in Africa strong enough to protect them), on the other, not only a lasting superiority over Carthage, but the empire of the rest of the world.

[a] Polybius adds, (b. 13. c. 11.) that, whichever party should prove victorious in this battle, would not only become masters of Africa and Europe, but of all the rest of the known world. Livy (b. 30. c. 32.) is of the same opinion. This, however, could hardly be true of the Carthaginians; for had they proved victorious at Zama, they would not have been in so flourishing a condition, as in the beginning of the war; nor have had so good a prospect of conquering the Romans as just after the battle of Cannæ, when Hannibal was master of the greater part of Italy. The Carthaginians were now driven out of Spain, had sustained infinite losses, and been at a vast expense during the course of a seventeen years' war. On the other hand, Rome had recovered the possession of all Italy, had powerful armies on foot there, and strong fleets at sea; so that had Scipio been defeated, she could easily transport more forces into Africa. And this suggests a reason why Hannibal did not decline a battle with the Romans, and endeavour to consume their strength without fighting. He doubtless foresaw, that they would daily grow stronger by continual supplies of men and money from Italy. Add to this, that the army which Hannibal now commanded seems to have been the last resource of Carthage. The greater part of it had been raised with difficulty, and it would be no easy matter to find pay and provisions for such numerous forces, during any considerable time, the treasury being exhausted, and the country ruined.

Hannibal ranged all his elephants, to the number of above eighty, in one front. Behind these he placed his mercenaries, consisting of 12,000 men, Ligurians, Gauls, Baleares, and Mauritanians. Year of ROME 551. B. C. 201. 250th consulship.

The new levies of Carthaginians, and other Africans, together with 4000 Macedonians, under a general named Sopater, composed the second line. And in the rear of all, at the distance of about a furlong, he posted his Italian troops, in whom he chiefly confided. The Carthaginian horse formed his right wing, the Numidians his left.[b]

He ordered the several leaders to exhort their troops, not to be discouraged by their own weakness, but to place the hope of victory in him and his Italian army; and particularly directed the captains of the Carthaginians, to represent to them what would be the fate of their wives and children, if the event of this battle should not prove successful. The general himself, walking through the ranks of his Italian troops, called upon them to be mindful of the seventeen campaigns, in which they had been fellow-soldiers with him; and of that constant series of victories, by which they had extinguished in the Romans all hope of ever being conquerors. He urged them to remember, above all, the battles of the Trebia, Thrasymenus, and Cannæ; with any of which the approaching battle was in no wise to be compared, either with respect to the bravery or the number of the enemies. "The Romans were yet unfoiled, and in the height of their strength when you first met them in the field; nevertheless you vanquished them. The soldiers now before us are either the children of the vanquished, or the remains of those whom you have often put to flight in Italy. Maintain therefore your general's glory

[b] Neither Polybius nor Livy mentions the number of forces Hannibal and Scipio had at Zama. Appian (in Punic. c. 22.) tells us, that Hannibal had near 50,000 men in the field, and Scipio 23,000 foot, and 1500 Italian horse, 600 Numidian horse, under one Lacumaces, and a great body of cavalry, commanded by Masinissa. But Appian gives a very romantic account of this battle, and differs widely from Polybius and Livy.

Year of ROME 551. B.C. 201. 250th consulship.

and your own, and establish to yourselves the name of *invincible*, by which you are become famous throughout the world."

When the Numidians of the two armies had skirmished a while, Hannibal ordered the managers of the elephants to drive them upon the enemy. Some of the beasts, frightened at the noise of the trumpets and other instruments of war, which sounded on all sides, immediately ran back amongst the Numidians of the Carthaginian left wing, and put them into confusion, which Masinissa taking advantage of, entirely routed them. Great destruction was made of the velites by the rest of the elephants, till these also being terrified, some of them ran through the void spaces of the Roman army, which Scipio had left for that purpose; others, falling in among the cavalry of the enemy's right wing, gave Lælius the same opportunity against the Carthaginian horse, as had been given to Masinissa against the Numidian, and of which the Roman did not fail to make the same use. After this the infantry of the foremost lines joined battle. Hannibal's mercenaries had the advantage in the beginning of the conflict; but the Roman hastati followed, and encouraged by the principes, who exhorted them to fight manfully, and shewed themselves ready to assist them, bravely sustained the attack, and at length gained ground upon the enemy. The mercenaries, not being seasonably supported by their second line, and therefore, thinking themselves betrayed, they in their retreat fell furiously upon the Africans; so that these, the hastati coming up, were obliged to fight for some time both against their own mercenaries and the enemy. When the two Carthaginian lines and ceased their mutual rage, they joined their strength; and, though now but a mere throng of men, broke the hastati: but then the principes, advancing to the assistance of the latter, restored the battle; and most of the Africans and mercenaries were here cut off. Hannibal

did not advance to their relief, the Roman triarii not having yet engaged, and the principes being still in good order: and, lest the routed Africans and mercenaries should break the ranks of his Italian soldiers, he commanded these to present their spears at those who fled to them for protection, which obliged the runaways to move off to the right and left. Year of ROME 551. B.C. 201. 250th consulship.

The ground, over which the Romans must march before they could attack Hannibal, being strewed with heaps of dead bodies and weapons, and being slippery with blood, Scipio feared that the order of his battalions would be broke, should he pass it hastily. To avoid this mischief, he commanded the hastati to give over the pursuit, and halt where they were, opposite to the enemies' centre: after which, having sent all his wounded to the rear, he advanced leisurely with the principes and triarii, and placed them on the wings of the hastati. Then followed a sharp engagement, in which victory was long and eagerly disputed. It would seem, that the Romans, though superior in number, were once upon the point of losing the day; for Polybius tells us, that Masinissa and Lælius came very seasonably, and as if sent from heaven, to their assistance. These generals, being returned from the pursuit of the cavalry, fell suddenly upon the rear of Hannibal's men, most of whom were cut off in their ranks; and of those that fled, very few escaped the horse, the country all around being a plain. Livy, b. 30. c. 34. Polyb. b. 15. c. 14.

There died of the Carthaginians in the fight about 20,000, and almost the like number were taken prisoners. The loss on the side of the Romans amounted to about 2000 men. Hannibal escaped with a few horse to Adrumetum, having performed every thing in the engagement which could be expected from a great general. His army (says Polybius) could not have been more skilfully drawn up. For as the order of the Roman battalions makes it extremely difficult to break

Year of ROME 551. B. C. 201. 250th consulship.

them, the Carthaginian wisely placed his elephants in the front, that they might put the enemy in confusion, before the armies should engage. In his first line he placed the mercenaries, men bold and active, but not well disciplined, that by their impetuosity he might give a check to the ardour of the Romans. The Africans and Carthaginians, whose courage he doubted, he posted in the middle between the mercenaries and his Italian soldiers, that they might be forced to fight, or, at least, that the Romans, by slaughtering them, might fatigue themselves, and blunt their weapons. Last of all, he drew up the troops he had disciplined himself, and in whom he chiefly confided, at a good distance from his second line, that they might not be broken by the rout of the Africans and mercenaries; and kept them in reserve for a vigorous attack upon a tired and weakened enemy.[c]

Livy, b. 30. c. 35.

The Carthaginian general was soon called from Adrumetum to Carthage, to assist the tottering republic with his counsels. He declared, "that she had no resource but in a peace;" and this, from the mouth of the warlike Hannibal, was decisive. The Carthaginians, therefore, prepared to make new supplications to the conqueror; whilst he, on the other hand, was considering how to make the best advantage of his victory. And having received a considerable reinforcement to his fleet, he went on board it, in order to appear before Carthage, giving instructions to Cn. Octavius to march their legions towards the same city. His intention was not to besiege it, but only to strike terror, and make the Carthaginians more eager for a peace; and the method he

[c] Livy reports (b. 30. c. 36.) that a few days after the battle of Zama, Vermina, the son of Syphax, came to the assistance of the Carthaginians, with an army of more horse than foot: that Scipio sent a part of his infantry and all the cavalry to encounter the Numidian, and that Vermina was routed, 15,000 of his men slain, and 1200 taken prisoners. This story is not very probable; for Hannibal, who was weak in cavalry, would doubtless have deferred fighting, had he known any thing of this approaching reinforcement, which he could not well be ignorant of, if it was within a few days' march of him. Polybius, who, had there been any ground for this story, would probably have mentioned it, says nothing of Vermina.

took had the desired effect. A galley adorned with olive-branches came out to him, with twelve deputies, who spared neither submissions, nor prostrations, nor promises. Scipio would give no answer, but that they should meet him at Tunis. He ordered his legions thither, sailed back with his fleet to Utica, and from thence went to Tunis by land. Thirty of the Carthaginian nobles repaired to him, and humbly sued for peace. Scipio seemed at first to neglect their submissions; but at the bottom was as fond of concluding a treaty as they: for he knew that the consul Nero was equipping a fleet, with all expedition, to come into Africa, and rob him of the glory of finishing the war. The conditions on which he insisted with the Carthaginians were as follow:

Year of ROME 551. B. C. 201. 250th consulship.

"We permit the Carthaginians to live according to their own laws and customs; and grant them all the cities and provinces they had in Africa, before the war. The Romans shall immediately abstain from plundering them. Polyb. b. 15. c. 18. Livy, b. 30. c. 37.

"Carthage shall deliver up to the Romans all their deserters, fugitive slaves, and prisoners of war;

"Surrender to Scipio all her ships of war, except ten triremes, and all her elephants trained up for war; and she shall not hereafter tame any more of these animals;

"Enter into no war, either in Africa, or out of Africa, without the consent of the Roman people;

"Restore to Masinissa all that she has usurped from him, or his ancestors, and shall make an alliance with him;

"Supply the Roman legions with corn, and pay their auxiliaries, till the return of the ambassadors whom she shall send to Rome, to have the peace ratified there;

"Pay to the Romans, in the space of fifty years, 10,000 talents of silver, at equal payments; 1,937,500*l.*

"Put into Scipio's hands 100 such hostages as he

Year of ROME 551. B. C. 201. 250th consul-ship.

shall choose; the youngest of whom shall not be under fourteen, nor the oldest above thirty years of age.

"Neither the peace, nor even a truce, shall take place, till the Carthaginians have restored to the Romans the ships and effects taken from them during the former truce."

These were hard conditions: and upon the return and report of the ambassadors, Gisco, a man of distinction in the republic, endeavoured in an assembly of the people to dissuade them from complying. Hannibal, fearing the influence his harangue might have, mounted the rostra, and drove the orator from it. And, perceiving that the people were angry at this his strange procedure, he thus addressed himself to them; "I was but nine years old when I went from this place, and have now spent six-and-thirty years in arms. In that time I have learned tolerably well the art of war. It is your business now to teach me the laws, customs, and civilities, which ought to be observed in your assemblies." After this apology, he made a long discourse on the necessity of concluding the treaty, though the conditions of it were heavy. The assembly acquiesced in the opinion of a general, whose inclination to arms, and whose hatred to Rome, they knew would never have suffered him to think of peace, had he retained the least hope of success in war.[d]

Livy, b. 30. c. 38.

In pursuance of his advice, deputies were sent to Scipio, who, to the articles above mentioned, added this, "That, till the conclusion of the treaty, the Carthaginians should send no embassy to any state but the Roman; and that they should give him an account of all embassies that came to them from abroad." Every thing being agreed on, Carthage sent ambassadors to

[d] Some authors say, that the Carthaginian general fled from the battle of Zama to the sea-coast, where, getting immediately on board a ship, he sailed into Asia to Antiochus: that Scipio demanded him of the Carthaginians, and was answered, he had left Africa. But others, better informed, tell us, that he continued some time in his own country, and was afterwrd honoured with the chief magistracy in his republic.

Rome, to get the peace confirmed there; and the pro-consul, to facilitate the negotiation, appointed three officers, of whom one was his brother Lucius Scipio, to accompany them. Year of ROME 551. B. C. 201. 250th consulship.

The consul Nero, who, on the renewal of hostilities in Africa, had, with the consent of the senate, prepared a fleet in order to pass into that country, was long detained, by bad weather, on the coast of Italy, and about Corsica and Sardinia. Afterward, a storm dispersed his ships near Sicily, and shattered many of them; and, while they were refitting, his consulship expired.

Cn. Cornelius Lentulus and P. Ælius Pætus being chosen consuls, the senate refused to determine any thing concerning their provinces, till the Carthaginian ambassadors (now arrived at Rome) were first heard. But Lentulus, ambitious of the honour of finishing the war with Carthage, declared that he would suffer no affair to be brought before the conscript fathers till they had decreed Africa for his province: his colleague (a wise and modest man) declined any competition with Scipio. After the matter had been warmly debated in the *comitia*, the people referred it to the conscript fathers; who decreed, that the consul, to whom the fleet should fall by lot, should sail with it to Sicily, and from thence, in case of war, to Africa; but that Scipio should have the sole conduct of the land forces there: and in case of peace, that the Roman people should determine whether the consul or Scipio should conclude it, and who should lead back the victorious army. Year of ROME 552. B. C. 200. 251st consulship.

After this the senate gave audience to the Carthaginian ambassadors, who were all men of the first rank in their country: Asdrubal (surnamed Hædus) was the chief of them; and as he had always opposed the Barchine faction and the rupture with Rome, he was the more favourably heard. In his speech, he cast the blame of the late war on the family of Hamilcar: some things laid to the charge of the Carthaginians he endeavoured Livy, b. 30. c. 42.

Year of ROME 552. B.C. 200. 251st consulship.

to excuse; others he confessed, lest, by denying what was evident, he should make it more difficult to obtain pardon: and when he had flattered the Romans on their wonted moderation in prosperity, he concluded with exhorting them to preserve this character by their lenity to Carthage. The speeches of his colleagues turned chiefly on the deplorable condition to which their country was reduced. When they had ended, one of the senators asked them, "What gods will you invoke to witness the sincerity of your oaths?" Asdrubal immediately answered, "the same who have so severely punished us for the breach of oaths."

Appian. in Punic. p. 31. 32.

In the debate which followed, it was urged, in favour of the peace, that Scipio, who best knew the state of affairs in Africa, had given his opinion for it; that the Romans would have nothing to fear from Carthage for the future, since it would be easy to keep her low; that she would be left, by the articles of the treaty, unarmed amidst many nations greatly incensed against her, on account of the slavery she had long kept them under; and would be narrowly watched by Masinissa: that to raze the city would bring upon the Romans the hatred of all the world; and to give up the dominions of Carthage to Masinissa would make him too powerful. P. Cornelius Lentulus, a relation of the consul, opposed this opinion, and maintained, that such had been the cruelty and faithlessness of the Carthaginians, that to destroy them, would be to do an act agreeable both to gods and men.

Livy, b. 30. c. 43.

The senate, however, inclined to peace; but the consul Lentulus interposed his authority, and forbade the decree to be passed. Hereupon two tribunes of the commons laid the affair before the people. The *comitia* empowered the senate to grant a peace to Carthage, and appointed Scipio to negociate the treaty, and bring home the troops. The fathers, approving the plan of the peace, sent, in company with the Carthaginian ambassadors, ten deputies to assist Scipio in settling affairs in Africa.

The Carthaginians first delivered up all the deserters and prisoners of war (amounting to 4000 men), and elephants. The Latin deserters were, by Scipio's order, beheaded; the Roman crucified. Some of the elephants he sent to Rome, and gave the rest to Masinissa. Then the Carthaginian galleys and small ships (except ten triremes) to the number of 500 sail, were given up to the proconsul, who burnt them at sea, within sight of Carthage. The only thing which remained, was the first payment of the tribute that was to be annual during fifty years. And now the covetous temper of these trading men remarkably shewed itself. When a tax was proposed for raising the necessary sum, they all burst into tears, except Hannibal, who at their weeping burst into laughter. This gave great offence; and Asdrubal Hædus reproved him for it. "What! does it become you to laugh? You, to insult us on the miseries you have brought upon us?" To which Hannibal made this answer: "Could you look into my heart you would see, that my laughter, far from being the effect of mirth, proceeds from a mind almost distempered with grief: neither is it so unseasonable and absurd as your tears. Then you should have wept, when our arms were taken from us, our ships burnt, and war forbidden us, even in Africa. That was the wound by which we fell. Do not flatter yourselves, that the Romans have consulted your quiet. No great city can be long in tranquillity: if it has not war abroad it will find enemies at home. But it seems we are touched with public calamities only so far as they affect our private fortunes, and the loss of our money is the chief thing we regret. When you saw Carthage disarmed, and, amidst so many armed nations, exposed naked and defenceless, none of you dropped a tear; but when a little money is to be paid, you weep and mourn, as if our country was going to its burial. You may quickly find (I fear it much) that these tears have been shed for the least of your misfortunes."

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Scipio, before his departure from Africa, with the consent of the ten commissioners, settled Masinissa in the possession not only of his hereditary dominions, but of all the places conquered from Syphax: which possession was afterward confirmed by the senate.

On the proconsul's return from Italy, both senate and people unanimously concurred in decreeing him a triumph;[e] and the show was more magnificent than any that had been yet seen at Rome.

Livy, b. 30. c. 45.

He is said to have been the first Roman general, that, for having conquered a country, was called after its name: through the esteem of his soldiers, the favour of the people, or the flattery of his friends (it is uncertain which), he acquired the surname of Africanus.

[e] According to Polybius, Syphax led in chains was one of the ornaments of Scipio's triumph; but Livy tells us, that the king died before Scipio made his triumphal procession.

BOOK V.

FROM THE END OF THE SECOND PUNIC WAR, IN THE YEAR OF ROME 552, TO THE END OF THE THIRD, IN 607, WHEN CARTHAGE WAS DESTROYED.

CHAP. I.

FIRST MACEDONIAN WAR.

Rome having broke the power of Carthage, begins to think of extending her domination to the east, and with this view seeks matter of quarrel against Philip of Macedon. On pretence that he had attacked her allies in Greece and Asia, and assisted her enemies in Africa, she declares war against him, and appoints the consul Sulpicius to conduct it. King Philip, in the mean time, crosses the Hellespont, and besieges Abydos. There he has a conference with some Roman ambassadors, which ends without any prospect of an accommodation. After the reduction of Abydos he returns to Greece, where the Romans had pillaged Chalcis. He makes a fruitless attempt upon Athens, and vainly endeavours to engage the Achæans in his interest. In Italy, the prætor Fulvius defeats an army of Gauls, commanded by Hamilcar, a Carthaginian, whom Mago had left in that country. Masinissa and Carthage make presents to Rome; and Vermina, the son of Syphax, is received into the favour of the republic. 553.

ROME, by her complete victory and triumph over the Carthaginians, was become terrible to all the nations around her; and not one of her neighbours, then in peace with her, appears to have had any disposition to a rupture. Some pretence of justice, however, she must always have for extending her dominion, and must not fail to be injured or menaced, or, at least, affronted by the king or the people of whatever country, in the senate's plan of usurpation, stood next to be invaded. Excellent reasons would doubtless have been found for bending the main strength of Rome against those provinces of Gaul which lay between her Italian territories and Spain, had not the countries of the east presented to the Romans a more alluring prospect. Macedon, Greece, and Asia, would not only be richer prizes of

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victory, but, in all likelihood, of cheaper and easier acquisition. To make any considerable enlargement of empire to the west, many battles must be fought, many nations, brave and warlike, and independent of each other, be successively subdued, and Italy must bear almost the whole expense both of blood and treasure; and, during so tedious a war, the powers of the east might perhaps take the alarm, suspend their mutual jealousies, and form a dangerous confederacy against an encroaching republic, that seemed to set no bounds to her ambition. In attacking Macedon at this time, the senate were sure to be assisted by their clients and allies, the Greeks, who they intended should support the chief burden of the war, and who, they foresaw, would, after the ruin of that monarchy, naturally fall, from being auxiliaries and allies, to be subjects of Rome; and the Macedonian power, that only barrier, being demolished, the wealthy kingdoms of Asia would lie open to her invasions at pleasure. The first step, then, towards compassing these vast designs was to find matter of quarrel with king Philip: and therefore, though it could not be well imagined that he, who, even while Hannibal was in Italy, had gladly come to an accommodation with the republic, would now, after she had totally subdued the only formidable rival of her power, entertain thoughts of invading her dominions; yet this design, as we shall presently see, must be confidently imputed to him; the ambitious views of the Macedonian must be timely prevented: and Rome, for her own security, must be obliged to act offensively against so dangerous an enemy.

Polyb. b. 4. c. 2. et seq.

Philip was the son of Demetrius (great-grandson of Antigonus, one of the captains of Alexander the Great). He succeeded, while under age, to the kingdom of Macedon, after the death of his uncle and tutor, Antigonus Doson. (This Antigonus, who assumed the power and title of king, having been called to the assistance of the

Achæans, in their war with Cleomenes, king of Sparta, had driven him out of Peloponnesus, and made himself the protector of Achaia, and the arbiter of Greece. He died very soon after the defeat of Cleomenes.) Philip had no sooner mounted the throne of Macedon, than the Ætolians, despising his youth, invaded the territories of Messene without any just cause. The Messenians made their complaint to the Achæans, who readily undertook to assist them; and, after finding themselves not strong enough, engaged Philip of Macedon in the same cause. On the other hand, the Ætolians entered into a league with the Lacedemonians. In this war, which was called the Social War, Philip and the Achæans had greatly the advantage; yet the Macedonian granted peace to the Ætolians and their allies, just after Hannibal had defeated the Romans at the lake Thrasymenus. For upon the news of this battle, Demetrius of Pharos,* who, being expelled his dominions by the Romans, had taken refuge in Philip's court, persuaded the king to settle his affairs in Greece, and, seizing the opportunity given him by the weak condition of Rome, invade Italy. In consequence of which advice, the Macedonian soon after made a league with Hannibal ;† but the Romans, by engaging the Ætolians,‡ the Lacedemonians, and Attalus, king of Pergamus, to join in a war against Philip, kept him employed in Greece, and hindered the execution of his designs upon Italy; as has been already related.

Year of ROME 552. B. C. 20. 251st consulship. Polyb. b. 2. c. 69. B. 4. c. 35. B. 5. c. 101. * See vol. 2. p. 579. 582. Livy, b. 26. c. 24. and b. 27. c. 30. † See vol. 3. p. 94. ‡ See vol. 3. p. 142.

After the king had obtained a peace with Rome,§ he turned his thoughts how to enlarge his dominions to the east, and secretly projected with Antiochus the Great, king of Syria, to share between them the kingdom of Egypt, where Ptolemy Epiphanes, a child of five years old, had lately succeeded his father Ptolemy Philopator. Philip also made a league with Prusias, king of Bithynia, gave him his daughter in marriage, and at his desire laid siege to Cyus, a Greek city on the borders

§ See vol. 3. p. 222. Polyb. b 15. c. 20. c. 21.

Year of ROME 552. B. C. 200. 251st consulship. Polyb. b. 16. c. 8. C. 1. of Bithynia, and which was then governed by an Ætolian, whom his countrymen had sent to the Cyanians, to be their general. The Rhodians and Ætolians interceded for the town; and Philip, by his ambassadors, promised the former to spare Cyus for their sake. Nevertheless, while those ambassadors were making these assurances, the Rhodians received advice that Philip had sacked the town, and then given it up to his son-in-law. This affront highly provoked them, and they persuaded Attalus, king of Pergamus, then in fear for his own dominions from the ambition of Philip, to unite his forces with theirs, and begin a war with the Macedonian. The confederates attacked his fleet near the island Chios, and defeated it: but they not pursuing the advantage of their victory, Philip gathered together his scattered ships, and made a descent upon Asia. C. 11. Id. Excerp. b. 16. c. 1406. and 1419. There he took Iassos, Bargyliæ, and several other towns, and, penetrating as far as the territory of Pergamus, laid it waste, not sparing even the temples of the gods, or the sacred groves.

Livy, b. 31. c. 14. The Athenians also had at this time a quarrel subsisting with Philip, which began on the following occasion. Two Acarnanians, happening to be at Athens when the mysteries of Ceres were celebrated, had, through ignorance of the laws, entered the temple of the goddess, without being initiated into those mysteries; and the Athenians, for this crime, had put them to death. The people of Acarnania made their complaint to the king, desiring his leave and assistance to make war upon Athens. Philip granted both, and the Acarnanians, in conjunction with some Macedonian auxiliaries, made an irruption into Attica, and carried off a great deal of booty.

Polyb. Legat. 3. After the sea-fight at Chios, the Athenians sent an embassy to the king of Pergamus, congratulating him upon his victory, and inviting him to their town. Attalus accepted the invitation, and having, together with

some Rhodians, landed at Piræeus* the magistrates of Athens, the priests, and the citizens, with their wives and children, went out to meet him, and paid him extraordinary honours: a new tribe being at this time added to the ten they had before, they called it Attalis, from his name: all the Rhodians they complimented with the freedom of the city; and, at the king's persuasion and theirs, formally declared war against Philip. The confederates then sent deputies to Rome, to complain of the injuries done by the Macedonian, and of the progress he had made in Asia. Philip, on the other hand, dispatched ambassadors to the senate, justifying himself, and accusing Aurelius the Roman ambassador in Greece, of having raised soldiers in that country, and of having, contrary to the treaty of peace, committed hostilities against his lieutenants: he also desired that Sopater and the Macedonians, who had served as mercenaries in the Carthaginian army, and been taken prisoners at the battle of Zama, might be set at liberty. M. Furius, whom Aurelius had dispatched from Greece to answer this charge, asserted, that the ambassador had not gone out of the territories of the Roman allies, and had only endeavoured to hinder them from being pillaged by the Macedonians. Furius also informed the senate, that Sopater was one of the king's courtiers, and had been sent by him into Africa, with money and 4000 men to assist Carthage. The conscript fathers approved of Aurelius's conduct, refused to deliver up Sopater and the Macedonians, and threatened the king with a speedy war, if he proceeded in the course he had begun. Their answer to the deputies from Attalus and the Rhodians was, that the senate would take care of the affairs of Asia.

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* The port of Athens.

Livy, b. 30. c. 42.

In consequence of these several answers, they passed a decree, empowering the consul Ælius to name a general to sail with a fleet of thirty-eight galleys for Macedon; and Lævinus being chosen for the expedition, he

B 31. c. 3.

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sailed thither without delay. On his arrival, Aurelius joined him; and when they had consulted together, they agreed to write to the senate, that Philip had made mighty preparations for war, and that it would be necessary to send a greater force into Greece than was there at present.

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Their letters did not arrive at Rome till new consuls had been chosen, P. Sulpicius Galba and C. Aurelius Cotta, who, on the ides of March, the day they entered upon office, made a report to the senate of the state of affairs in Greece and Macedon. The conscript fathers suspended their determination, till sacrifices should be offered to the gods, and their will consulted. After this, they assembled: the letters from Greece were now arrived, and also a new deputation from the Athenians, demanding succours against the king of Macedon, who threatened them with a siege; the consuls took this opportunity to declare, that the gods accepted the sacrifices, and that, by the report of the aruspices, the entrails of the victims portended to the republic victories and triumphs, and augmentation of dominion. The assembly passed a decree, that thanks be returned to the Athenians for their fidelity; that the consuls immediately draw lots for their provinces; and that he, to whom Macedon falls, shall ask the people's consent to a war with Philip.

Macedon fell to Sulpicius. He assembled the *comitia* by centuries, and proposed the war: but the motion was there rejected by a plurality of voices. For the commons of Rome, already exhausted by the long and grievous war with Hannibal, had no inclination to begin a new one, that must, in all probability, be very burdensome. And Bæbius, one of their tribunes, revived the old complaint, that the nobles, from views of ambition and private interest, were for adding war to war, that the people might never enjoy any repose. The senate, nevertheless, did not desist from their project. Sul-

picius once more convened the people. To engage their consent to the enterprise, he put them in mind of the fatal consequences which had followed upon their delaying to send succours to the Saguntines, when threatened by Hannibal, as the Athenians were now by Philip. That their negligence in the former case had encouraged the Carthaginian to pass the Alps, and invade Italy; that though he had been five months coming from Spain, five days would be sufficient to bring Philip upon their coasts; and, granting that the king and his Macedonians were not so much to be feared as Hannibal and the Carthaginians, yet certainly Philip was a more powerful prince than Pyrrhus, who had led his victorious army almost to the walls of Rome. He farther reminded them, "that their present security was owing to Scipio's being suffered to transport his legions into Africa; and, that it was undoubtedly good policy to keep hostilities at a distance, and make war only in an enemy's country." The arguments of the consul prevailed, and the centuries voted for war. Year of ROME 553. B. C. 199. 252d consulship.

And now the chief concern of the senate was to settle the several armies which were to act this year: no more than six legions were raised in all. Sulpicius had leave to strengthen the two legions assigned him for the Macedonian war, by as many volunteers as he could get from among the soldiers which Scipio had brought from Africa; but he was not to force any of them into the service. The consul Aurelius also raised two legions, to march withersoever the wavering nations of Italy made his presence necessary. And then the prætorian armies were formed for the service in Cisalpine Gaul, Bruttium, Sicily, and Sardinia.

Ambassadors arrived at this time from Ptolemy Epiphanes, king of Egypt, who, having escaped, in his minority, the wicked designs of his guardians, had (according to Justin) put himself under the protection of the Romans, and received from them M. Lepidus, to be his Justin, b. 30. c. 2. Val. Max. b. 6. c. 6. § 1. Livy, b 31. c. 9.

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guardian and defender against the threatened invasions of the kings of Syria and Macedon. Ptolemy inclined to send succours to Athens, which Philip was marching to besiege; but he durst not undertake any thing till he had asked the consent of the Roman republic. The senate returned him thanks for the deference he had shewed them, and gave this answer to his ambassadors, "That Rome was resolved to support her allies; that she would give Ptolemy notice when she wanted his assistance; and that she knew his kingdom to be a faithful and firm support of the republic."

The consul Sulpicius was hindered from setting out for Macedon by ceremonies of religion. In the beginning of a new war, the Romans would have nothing customary of that kind neglected; the least omission of the usual formalities being thought to affect the success of the enterprise. It was judged proper, on this occasion, that Sulpicius should vow games in honour of Jupiter, and make him a present. Nevertheless it met with some opposition: for the republic had not the sum necessary for the expense of games; and the pontifex maximus declared, "that the gods did not care to be at uncertainties; that they were always for ready money; and that the sum vowed must be set apart at the time of the vow." However, this sentence of the pontifex was overruled by the pontifical college, before whom Sulpicius, by order, laid the affair. They decreed, that the senate should be free to determine the expense of the games, and the value of the present; and this was the first time that ever a vow was made of an indeterminate sum; or, that the gods gave credit.

A sudden insurrection of the Gauls detained Sulpicius some time longer at Rome. Hamilcar, whom Mago had left in Italy, was at the head of them. He seized Placentia, burnt the town, put most of the inhabitants to death, and advanced towards Cremona: the Cremonese shut their gates against him, stood a siege, and

gave notice of their danger to Furius Purpureo, the Roman prætor, who, in the neighbourhood of Ariminum, commanded 5000 men of the allies. Furius, not having strength sufficient to contend with the enemy, wrote to the senate, desiring succours, and acquainting them that the Gauls were 40,000 strong. The fathers decreed, that either the consul Aurelius should, at the head of some legions he had ordered to rendezvous in Hetruria, go to the relief of Cremona; or, in case he declined the commission, that those legions should march to Ariminum without him, and be commanded in the expedition against the Gauls by Furius, who should send his 5000 men into Hetruria. Aurelius chose to continue at Rome. Year of ROME 553. B.C. 199. 252d consulship.

The senate appointed also an embassy to Carthage, to complain of Hamilcar; and to require that he should be recalled and given up to the Romans, together with some deserters, who, according to the treaty, ought to have been given up before. The same ambassadors had instructions to go into Numidia, with presents and a compliment to Masinissa, on the recovery and enlargement of his dominions; and they were to signify to him, that as Rome was entering upon a new war with Macedon, it would be very acceptable, if he would send the republic some squadrons of Numidian horse.

Masinissa was now in possession of the capital, together with a great part of the kingdom of Syphax. Vermina, the son of that dethroned king, held the other part. In the low condition to which the victories of Scipio had reduced him, he could have no security against the ambition of Masinissa, but in the protection of Rome. To the senate, therefore, he sent envoys to solicit a reconciliation. They endeavoured to excuse what part he had acted in the war against the Romns; laid the bla me upon the Carthaginians; reminded the senate that Masinissa had been the enemy of Rome, before he became her friend; assured them, that neither Masinissa

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nor any other would do more to deserve the favour of the republic than Vermina; and, in conclusion, begged he might receive from the senate the title of king, and be admitted into their alliance and friendship. The fathers answered, that Syphax had, without any just cause, renounced their friendship, and become their enemy; that Vermina ought to ask a peace of the Roman people, before he aspired to be styled king by them; an honour which they conferred only upon those princes who had deserved it by important services. They added, that Vermina might have recourse to the Roman ambassadors who were going into Africa: that they would be empowered to declare the conditions upon which the republic would enter into a treaty with him; and that if he would have any alteration made in the terms they offered, he might again have recourse to the senate. Such was the haughtiness which the Romans assumed, after the reduction of Carthage.

Livy, b. 31 c. 13.

At this time the public creditors, who had lent their money on the promise of being reimbursed at three several payments, complained loudly for want of the last, which had been delayed beyond the time, on account of the expenses of the Macedonian war. The senate, to do these creditors justice in the best manner they could, assigned over to them certain lands, which belonged to the public, and were within fifty miles of the city, at the rent of one *as* per acre, adding this condition, that when the state was able to pay, it should be in the option of the creditors, to keep the lands or receive their money.

C. 26.

Philip of Macedon began the campaign long before the consul Sulpicius left Rome. The king dispatched Philocles with 2000 foot and 600 horse, to lay waste the lands of the Athenians; and, ordering Heraclides to Maronea with the fleet, he himself with the main of his army marched thither by land. Having easily made himself master of this town, afterward of Ænus and

some other places, he overran the Chersonesus, and from thence crossed the straits, and sat down before Abydos. Attalus and the Rhodians, instead of opposing Philip, wasted their time in negotiations, to bring the Ætolians and others of the Greeks into the new alliance. All the assistance they sent to Abydos was 300 Pergamenians and one Rhodian galley. The inhabitants made a stout defence; and when Philip, after he had beat down a part of the wall, refused them their lives and liberty, they took a solemn oath to massacre their wives and children, set fire to the town, burn their effects, and die themselves in the breach. Animated with this fury, they fought so desperately, on the next assault made by Philip, that he lost almost all hope of reducing them. But now the chiefs of the Abydenians, having time to reflect on their inhuman design, and thinking it a less evil to submit to the king than to imbrue their hands in the blood of so many women and children, sent to him to beg mercy. Just at this time M. Æmilius arrived in Philip's camp. He was the youngest of three ambassadors whom the Romans had sent to Antiochus and Ptolemy, with orders to coast along Greece in their way to Asia, and to come, if possible, to a conference with the king of Macedon. The ambassadors hearing at Rhodes, that Philip was besieging Abydos, it was agreed amongst them, that Æmilius should go and confer with him. The Roman signified to the king, that the senate required of him, not to make war with any nation in Greece, not to meddle in Ptolemy's affairs, and to give satisfaction for the injuries he had done to Attalus and the Rhodians: adding, that, if he complied with these demands, the peace might still continue between Rome and him; if he did not, he must expect war. Philip began to excuse himself, alleging, that the Rhodians had been the aggressors. "But what have the Athenians done? (replied Æmilius, interrupting him.) Wherein have the Cyanians,

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Polyb. b. 16. c. 15.

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or the people of Abydos, offended? Have any of these been the aggressors?" To this the king answered, "There are three reasons of your haughty behaviour, and for which I forgive it: you are a young man without experience, you are very handsome, and you are a Roman. I earnestly wish that Rome may not violate the treaty; but, if she does, I shall, with the assistance of the gods, defend myself." This conference put an end to all thoughts of peace, and Æmilius was dismissed. The chiefs of the Abydenians surrendered the city; but the multitude remembering the oath they had sworn, a fit of rage seized them, and they fell to massacring their wives, their children, and themselves. Philip, surprised at their madness, ordered proclamation to be made through the town, that all those, who had a mind to hang themselves, or cut their own throats, should have three days' time to do it.

Livy, b. 31. c. 22.

Philip repassed the Hellespont. Sulpicius was now wintering near Apollonia; he had come too late in the year to attempt any thing. Upon his arrival he sent Claudius Centho to Athens with twenty galleys and some Roman legionaries, to cover the Athenian territories from the ravages of Philocles. Centho not only put a stop to the hostilities of the Macedonians, but took revenge on the Chalcidian pirates for their robberies: he sailed with the best part of his squadron, surprised Chalcis in the night, pillaged it, beat down the statues of king Philip, burnt all his magazines, arsenals, and engines of war, and then returned with the spoil to Athens. The Macedonian, upon the first news of the taking of Chalcis, hastened to that town, thinking to surprise the Romans there: but they were gone. Thence he marched with great expedition to Athens, in the hope of finding it unprepared for resistance. The Athenians, however, had notice of his coming, and drew out their forces to fight him. Philip, pleased with an opportunity to shew his bravery before a multitude of

people, who crowded on the walls to see the engagement, gave his men this short exhortation, "Fix your eyes on me, and remember, that where the king is, there his troops ought to be." Then falling upon the Athenians with incredible fury, he drove them into the town, and pursued them to the very gates. Next day the besieged, strengthened by a reinforcement of Romans and Pergamenians, appeared, in order of battle, before the walls; Philip thought proper to remove to a greater distance, and posted himself at Eleusis. In that neighbourhood he signally vented his rage, sparing neither tombs nor temples, nor even the images of the gods. After this, understanding that the diet of Achaia was assembled at Argos, to deliberate upon a war with the tyrant Nabis (who, after the death of Machanidas, had usurped the Lacedemonian throne), he hastened thither, and offered his assistance to the Achæns, upon condition that they would furnish garrisons for the cities of Oreus, Chalcis, and Corinth: but they, perceiving that his views were to embroil them with the Romans, declined his offers. Whereupon he returned into Attica, renewed his devastations there, and then marched into Bœotia.

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In Italy, the prætor Furius, at the head of the army, which the consul Aurelius should have commanded (had he not chosen rather to continue at Rome), defeated the Gauls in a pitched battle, near Cremona. Of 40,000 of the enemy, scarce 6000 escaped. Aurelius's jealousy was awakened by this success. Vexed at having missed so favourable an opportunity of acquiring glory, he, to repair his loss in some measure, put himself now at the head of his troops: but Furius had left him little to do. The victorious prætor returned to Rome, and in the absence of the consul obtained a triumph, by a decree of the senate, though contrary to the judgment of the oldest senators; because the army, with which he had conquered, had not fought under his auspices.

Livy, b. 31. c. 21

c. 48.

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The ambassadors who had been sent to Carthage, and into Numidia, were now returned. They had found no reason to be dissatisfied with the Carthaginians, who, with regard to Hamilcar, had answered, that they would punish him the only way they could, which was by banishment and confiscation of his effects. All the Roman deserters they could find, they had delivered up; and had sent to Rome, by way of present, 200,000 modii of wheat, and as much to the Roman army in Macedon. Masinissa offered the republic a reinforcement of 2000 horse: the senate accepted only of 1000; and these the king transported into Macedon at his own expense, sending with them 200,000 modii of wheat and as many of barley. As for Vermina, he had submitted himself to the conditions of peace which the ambassadors proposed; and it is probable that he then assumed the title of king, over that part of Masæsylia which Masinissa had not conquered from Syphax.

CHAP. II.

The Ætolians decline taking part in the war between Rome and Macedon. After some skirmishes, Philip is defeated in battle near Octolophum, by Sulpicius, who then resigns his command to the consul Villius. Philip gains a victory over the Ætolians, who had now declared for the Romans. The king of Syria, at the request of the senate of Rome, desists from the war he was carrying on against the king of Pergamus. Philip, after a fruitless conference with Flamininus (the successor of Villius), is driven from his camp by the Romans; who, after this victory, make themselves masters of several towns in Thessaly. The Achæans enter into an alliance with Rome, on a promise of having Corinth united to their state. It is agreed between Philip, Flamininus, and the chiefs of the Roman allies, to refer all differences to the arbitration of the Roman senate. The fathers, not satisfied with Philip's ambassadors, give full powers to Flamininus to pursue the war, or make peace, as he shall think proper, and the war is continued. Philip, to secure Argos, which the year before had surrendered to Philocles, one of his generals, gives it up to Nabis, tyrant of Lacedemon, upon condition of its being restored to him, in case he should be conqueror in the war. The tyrant, to maintain himself in possession of the town, immediately enters into a treaty with Flamininus. This general, by a fraud, seizes upon Thebes, where the Bœotian diet is assembled; upon which they are obliged to enter into an alliance with Rome. Attalus, king of Pergamus, dies. Philip being defeated at Cynocephalæ, offers to submit to whatever conditions of peace the Roman senate shall please to impose. The republic carries on a war with success in Gaul; but in Spain her army is routed, and the prætor, who commanded it, killed in the action. The senate grant a peace to Philip, on conditions displeasing to the Ætolians. Liberty to Greece is soon after proclaimed, by order of Flamininus, at the Isthmian games.

554. 555. 556. Flamininus. Battle of Cynocephalæ. 557.

THE consular fasces were transferred to L. Cornelius Lentulus and P. Villius Tappulus. Scipio Africanus was chosen at the same time one of the censors; and likewise declared prince (or president) of the senate. The conduct of the war in Italy fell to Lentulus; the war of Macedon to Villius; but these two heads of the republic, after the example of their predecessors, continued long at Rome, and did not go to the provinces till it was very late. Sulpicius, who, from being consul, was now become proconsul in Greece, came out of his winter-quarters, and encamped between Apollonia and Dyrrhachium, on the banks of the Aspus, a river of Illyricum. Apustius, whom he sent out with a detachment to ravage the borders of Macedon, took several places by assault. Upon his return from this expedition, some petty kings in the neighbourhood, who had been formerly in alliance with the Romans, came to offer their services to the proconsul; among these, Pleuratus, king of the Dardini, in Illyricum; Bato, a sovereign (probably) of

Year of ROME 554. B.C. 198. 253d consulship. Livy, b. 32. c. 7. b. 34. c. 44. b. 31. c. 27. c. 28.

Year of ROME 554. B. C. 198. a country near Illyricum; and Amynander, king of the Athamanes, a people of Epirus,

253d consulship. The devastation made by the Romans in Macedon, brought Philip from Bœotia to the defence of his own country. He took all the measures for that purpose which became an able general. As a diet of the Ætolians was now actually assembled at Naupactus, he sent ambassadors to dissuade them from joining his enemies. Furius Purpureo went thither on the part of the Romans; and some envoys from Athens repaired to the same place. Damocritus, prætor of the Ætolians, presided in the diet. The Macedonian ambassadors were first heard. Their speeches were full of invectives against the Romans, whom they treated as barbarians, ambitious, perfidious, and cruel; giving, as proofs of this charge, their proceedings at Rhegium, Capua, and Tarentum, their invasion of Sicily, first under pretence of assisting the people of Messina, afterward of delivering Syracuse from the tyranny of Carthage: "What has been the consequence? Rome holds Messina, Syracuse, and all Sicily in subjection, and sends her annual governors into the island to lord it over the natives: she would now make use of you, Ætolians, to conquer Philip; but should he be ruined, you yourselves would soon become a prey to the barbarians, and, when the Romans are your masters, too late repent of having rejected the friendship of the king of Macedon." The ambassadors concluded with pressing the diet to continue firm to the treaty made with Philip a few years before. The Athenians, who spoke next, expatiated upon the inhumanity, and unparalleled impiety of the Macedonian, who, in his barbarous method of making war, had violated even the sepulchres of the dead, and the sanctuaries of the gods: and they exhorted the assembly "to join in the common cause of the two most formidable powers, that of heaven and that of Rome." After this, Furius Purpureo was heard. His speech turned chiefly on a

justification of the Roman conduct, with regard to the cities mentioned by the Macedonians. He insisted on the moderation and lenity of the republic in her conduct towards Carthage, and returned the reproaches of cruelty upon Philip; and lastly, he advised the assembly to lay hold of the present opportunity of renewing their confederacy with Rome, unless they chose rather to perish with Philip than conquer with the Romans. The diet inclined to favour the Roman cause; but Damocritus suspended their determination, by declaring, that nothing which related to peace or war could legally be determined out of a general diet, which this was not. The artful Greek made a merit afterward with his countrymen of his address in this affair, pretending that his design was only to gain time, till by the progress of the war it should appear which side was the stronger. Year of ROME 554. B.C. 198. 253d consulship.

The king was now at Demetrius in Thessaly. He gave the command of his fleet to Heraclides, with orders to guard the coast; and he marched himself with the land army to meet the proconsul, who was advancing into the very heart of Macedon. Skirmishes soon happened between some flying squadrons. Philip, to encourage his troops, by shewing that his regard for them extended beyond their death, would needs take particular care to have the slain brought to the camp, and funeral rites performed. But this had a quite contrary effect to what the king proposed; the soldiers were terrified when they beheld the large and dreadful wounds made by the Roman sabres in the bodies of their companions; for the swords, which the Greeks used, were chiefly for thrusting, and made but small wounds.

Philip having recalled the detachment he had sent under his son Perses and his governors, to guard the passes of Pelagonia, and hinder Pleuratus and the Dardani from entering Macedon, his army was now considerable, consisting of 20,000 foot, and 4000 horse; and he came and posted himself within 200 paces of the

Year of ROME 554. B. C. 198. 253d consulship. Roman camp. The third day Sulpicius offered him battle; but the Macedonian judged it not proper to venture a decisive action, till he had studied the enemy, and their manner of fighting. To this end, he first detached a small party to skirmish, and these being worsted, the next day he sent out all his cavalry and light-armed infantry, under Anaxagoras, and laid an ambush for the Romans, which they escaped, through the ill management of the Macedonians. In a third action, near Octolophum, whither Sulpicius had removed his camp, the king, pursuing too eagerly some advantage he gained in the beginning of the fight, had like to have lost his life, as he did the battle.

Livy, b. 31. c. 38, 39. This ill success, and the intelligence Philip received, that Pleuratus, king of the Dardani, had entered Macedon, in order to join the Romans, made him leave his post; he decamped in the night, without the proconsul's perceiving it. Sulpicius after a few days pursued him, and forced his way into Eordæa, through some narrow passes, notwithstanding the endeavours of the Macedonian to stop him. Having lived here awhile upon free quarter, he returned to Apollonia, and there delivered up the army to the consul Villius Tappulus, who was arrived from Rome.

B. 32. c. 3. At this time the veteran soldiers, who had served under Scipio, and had entered the present service as volunteers, grew impatient to return to Italy, that they might enjoy some repose; and they demanded, in a very mutinous manner, to be dismissed. The consul could not deny their request to be reasonable; but he reproved them for their manner of asking, bid them return to their colours, and promised to write to the senate to procure their discharge. The season of the year, which was far advanced, would not suffer Villius to undertake any thing of moment this campaign.

B. 31. c. 40. While Philip found that he was no longer pursued by the Romans, and that the consul gave him time to

breathe, he took advantage of the opportunity, and marched against the Ætolians, who at length had taken part with the Romans, and jointly with Amynander, king of the Athamanes, made an irruption into Macedon. He defeated them, and forced them to retire into their own countries. Anaxagoras, whom he had detached against the Dardani, had the like success. Year of ROME 554. B.C. 198. 253d consulship.

As to sea-affairs, Apustius, to whom the proconsul Sulpicius had given the command of the Roman fleet, had early in the year sailed from Corcyra, joined the naval force of king Attalus off the coast of Argolis, and sailed thence to the port Piræeus; which so elevated the Athenians, that they behaved themselves in the most ridiculous manner. To express their resentments against the king of Macedon, they passed a decree to destroy the statues of him and his ancestors, which they had before worshipped, break down their altars, and abolish the festivals instituted to their honour; ordering, that for the future the priest should, as often as they prayed for the Athenians, and their allies, pronounce curses against Philip, his children, his kingdom, his sea and land forces, and all the race and name of the Macedonians; and that the places where any thing had been written, or put up in honour of the king, should be looked upon as impure and detestable. They added, that whatever mark of ignominy any body should propose to lay upon Philip, the people of Athens should consent to it; and that it should be lawful to kill any man who should say or do any thing in honour of the king. "Thus (says Livy) the Athenians made war upon Philip by words and writings, in which their only strength lay." The united fleets having spent the summer in expeditions of no great importance on the coasts of Macedon, Thessaly, and Eubœa, in some of which they were assisted by twenty Rhodian galleys, under the command of Agesimbrotus, returned about the autumnal equinox to Piræeus. Apustius left thirty of his ships there, and Livy, b. 31. c. 44.

Year of ROME 554. B.C 198. with the rest sailed to Corcyra, as Attalus did to Asia, after some stay in Attica, to celebrate the feast of Ceres.

Philip continued to keep the field; but after a fruitless attempt to take Thaumacia in Thessaly, a strong town situated on a rock, he returned to Macedon, to make preparations for the next campaign; and the consul Villius spent the winter in Apollonia.

253d consulship.

Livy, b. 32. c. 4.

The other consul Lentulus, who should have led his army against the Gauls, did not stir from the city, until Bæbius, the prætor of Gaul, who had put himself at the head of the consular army, was defeated by the Insubrians. He had rashly entered their country, where, being surrounded by the enemy, he lost near 7000 of his men. Upon this news the consul hastened to the camp, and dismissed Bæbius with ignominy, but did nothing of moment in his province, being soon recalled to Rome to preside at the *comitia* for the great elections.

It was not customary to raise any person to the consulate, till he had previously passed through the offices of quæstor, curule ædile, and prætor. Great opposition was therefore made by two tribunes of the people to the proceeding of the *comitia* for the grand elections, which were now held by Lentulus. Two of the candidates were T. Quinctius Flamininus, and Sext. Ælius Pætus, surnamed Catus. They had neither of them been in the prætorship; and the former, who was but thirty years of age, had never been so much as ædile. The affair at length devolved upon the senate: as the tribunes had only custom and no law on their side, the fathers decreed, that the centuries should be free to choose the two candidates in question; and they were accordingly elected consuls.

Year of ROME 555. B.C. 197

254th consulship.

The first business of these new magistrates was to introduce into the senate the ambassadors of king Attalus. They came to complain of Antiochus, king of Syria, who had invaded the territories of their master; and they requested that the Romans would either send some

troops to guard his dominions, or allow Attalus to carry back his own fleet to defend them. Antiochus was secretly in league with Philip, and the senate were not ignorant of it, but they thought it advisable, in the present conjuncture, to dissemble their resentment: they answered, therefore, that they were obliged to Attalus, for the assistance of his fleet and his troops; but did not desire to detain them longer than it was convenient for him: that the Roman republic made use of what belonged to others, solely at the pleasure of the owners, whom she always considered as free to withdraw their aid, when they pleased; that she could not send him help against Antiochus her friend and ally; but would dispatch ambassadors to acquaint him, that as she employed Attalus's fleet and his troops against Philip their common enemy, it would be agreeable to her if Antiochus would put an end to the war with the king of Pergamus; and that it was but reasonable, the friends and allies of Rome should be at peace amongst themselves. Ambassadors were accordingly sent; and Antiochus complied. Year of ROME 555. B. C. 197. 254th consulship.

The war of Macedon fell by lot to Flamininus; that with the Gauls to Ælius.

Flamininus did not imitate the dilatory conduct of his predecessors. With 8,000 foot, and 800 horse, most of them chosen out of the troops which had served under Scipio, he hastened to Brundusium, and from thence set sail for Corcyra. Philip was now in great perplexity; in danger from powerful enemies, who attacked him by sea and land, while he had reason to fear the inconstancy of his allies, and the resentment of his subjects. The Macedonians hated his government on account of his minister Heraclides. This man (says Polybius) a Tarentine by birth, of the dregs of the people, and abandoned to all manner of debauchery, was excellently formed by nature for mischief. He had a ready invention, a great memory, and a wonderful talent Polyb. b. 13. c. 2.

Year of ROME 555. B.C. 197. 254th consulship.

for flattering the great. Banished his own country on account of some traitorous practices, he had taken refuge in the Macedonian court, and there, insinuating himself into the king's favour, had grown to such a height of power, and made so bad a use of it, as to be one of the chief causes of the ruin of the kingdom. Philip, at this time, to soothe his people, discarded and imprisoned his minister: what became of him afterward history has not informed us. The Macedonian was obliged to give up some towns to the Achæans, in order to bind them to his interest in this dangerous conjuncture. Having made great preparations for war during the winter, he advanced with his army in the spring, and encamped near Apollonia on the river Aous, where it runs through a very narrow valley between two mountains, the one of which he ordered Athenagoras to take possession of with the light-armed troops, and posted himself on the other with the remainder of his forces. The situation of his camp was so strong, both by art and nature, that Villius, who had brought his legions within five miles of it, going in person to take a view of it, was terrified at the appearance it made. He called a council of war to deliberate, whether it would not be better to march about, and enter Macedon the same way that Sulpicius had gone last year, than to attempt forcing the king's intrenchments. The officers were divided in opinion, and during this indetermination Flamininus arrived, and took upon him the command of the army.

And now a new council of war being held, it was resolved to attack the Macedonian camp, lest the Romans, by taking a long circuit, should happen to want provisions, and be forced to protract the war to a great length. But when the resolution of the council should have been put in execution, forty days were spent in fruitless contrivances how to surmount the difficulties; and this respite gave Philip hopes of procuring a treaty

of peace. By the means of some chiefs of the Epirot nation he obtained an interview with the consul. Flamininus demanded nothing in favour of the Romans: but he required that Philip should restore to the Greeks all the cities he possessed of theirs, and make satisfaction to all those whose territories he had plundered. The king did not refuse to surrender the cities which he himself had taken from the Greeks, but was unwilling to part with those which his ancestors had conquered; and he offered to submit himself to the arbitration of neutral powers, who should judge of the injuries the Greeks had suffered from him. The consul briskly replied, that there was no need of such an arbitration; that as he was the aggressor, he ought to repair all damages. "What cities then (said Philip) would you have me restore?" "All Thessaly," answered the Roman. The king in anger replied, "What more, consul, could you have demanded, if you had conquered me?" This said, he immediately broke off the conference, and went away.

Year of ROME 555. B.C. 197. 254th consulship. Livy, b. 32. c. 10.

The next morning hostilities began, but with little advantage to either side. After some days the consul detached a party of 4000 foot, and 300 horse, under the guidance of a shepherd, whom Charops, one of the chiefs of the Epirots, had sent to him for that purpose. This fellow knew all the paths and by-roads over the mountains; and he undertook to lead the detachment (which was to march only by moonlight) in three nights' time to the top of a mountain which overlooked the Macedonian camp. They had orders to give the signal by fires, when they had gained the post appointed them. The third day, Flamininus caused two-thirds of his army to march up and assail the enemy's intrenchments. In the heat of the action, the detachment falling suddenly down, like a torrent from the mountain, on the Macedonians, put a speedy end to the conflict. Philip was one of the first that fled. About five miles

Plut. Life of Flamininus.

Year of ROME 555. B. C. 197. 554th consulship.

from his camp he stopped upon a little hill, the ways to which being narrow and difficult, he thought he might safely wait there for his troops; which, when he had got together, he retired with them into Thessaly, having lost only 2000 men. This defeat produced other ill consequences to Philip: the Ætolians and Athamanes, encouraged by it, entered Thessaly on different sides, and made great havoc and devastation in that unfortunate country.

Livy, b. 32. c. 13.

Flamininus, with his victorious legions, marched through Epirus in pursuit of the king, entered Thessaly, and took several fortresses garrisoned by Macedonians. But Atrax, a town upon the river Pneus, ten miles from

C. 15.

Larissa, held out against him even after he had made a breach in the wall: the garrison drew themselves up in a phalanx behind the breach, and bravely repulsed the Romans. Flamininus thinking it of consequence not to have his army affronted by a handful of men, and having ordered the place, where the wall had fallen, to be cleared of the rubbish, and a tower of a great height filled with soldiers to be moved thither, advanced, in person, with his legions to the attack: but the breach being narrow, and the Macedonians standing firm, all his efforts to enter proved vain, and he was constrained to raise the siege. Philip had retired to the famous vale of Tempe, from whence he sent succours to the cities in his interest.

Whilst the consul was thus employed in the northern part of Thessaly, his brother L. Quinctius, whom he had made admiral of the fleet, being joined near the island of Andros by Attalus's fleet of twenty-four ships from Asia, and that of the Rhodians, consisting of twenty, laid siege to Eretria and Carystus, maritime cities of Eubœa, and when he had carried these places, entered the Saronic gulf, and appeared before Cenchrea, one of the ports of Corinth.

C. 18.

It was now time for the consul to think in what part

of Greece he should pass the winter. Neither Ætolia nor Acarnania had any maritime city which could furnish quarters for his troops, and had, at the same time, a haven large enough to contain all the store-ships necessary to supply the army with provisions. He chose, therefore, to winter in Phocis, a country not far from Ætolia and Thessaly, and where the city of Anticyra, on the gulf of Corinth, would be commodious both for his soldiers and his ships. Having turned his arms that way, Anticyra surrendered, after a slight defence. He took likewise Ambryses, Hyampolis, and Daulis; and whilst he lay before Elatia, he learned that the Achæans had banished Cycliades, the chief of the Macedonian faction among them, and chosen for their prætor, Aristænus, a man well affected to Rome. The consul, therefore, judged this a favourable opportunity to gain that nation to the interest of the republic; in order to which he sent a deputation to them, which offers to put Corinth under the jurisdiction of Achaia, as it had formerly been. This was a tempting proposal, and the diet assembled to deliberate upon it. Cleomedon appeared there as ambassador from Philip, and pressed them to a neutrality; L. Calpurnius spoke on the part of the Romans; the envoys from king Attalus, the Rhodians and the Athenians, were likewise heard. Next day the assembly met again to debate the matter without admitting the foreign ministers, but could not come to any resolution; they feared both the Romans and Philip, and were under obligations to the latter; they had not even the courage to declare their sentiments, though pressed to it by Aristænus the president: a universal silence reigned in the assembly. After some time Aristænus, in a long harangue, represented to them the situation of their affairs, and urged the necessity of their joining the Romans, who, he said, were in a condition to force them to the compliance they had condescended to request: but this discourse did not bring the Achæans to

Year of ROME 555. B. C. 197. 254th consulship.

Livy, b. 32. c. 21, 22.

Year of ROME 555. B. C. 197. 254th consulship.

any agreement among themselves. The disputes grew warm, even to mutual reproaches, and the ten demiurgi[a] were equally divided. The diet sat but one day longer, and the most part of this they spent in contention. In the end, one of the demiurgi, of Philip's party, was brought over to the Roman interest, by the prayers and threatenings of his father: the deputies from Dymæ, Megalopolis, and some of those from Argos, seeing how the affair was like to be determined, rose up, and left the assembly, for these three cities were under particular obligations to Philip. The rest of Achaia made an alliance with the Athenians, Attalus and the Rhodians, but deferred concluding a treaty with Flamininus, till the return of some ambassadors sent to Rome to get it approved. Nevertheless the Achæans, for their own interest, immediately lent assistance to the Romans to reduce Corinth.

The city was attacked on the side of Cenchrea by Quinctius, at the gate of Sicyon by the Achæans, and on the side of the port Lechæum by Attalus. It was at first hoped by the confederates that a difference would arise between the garrison and the inhabitants, and that they should thereby become masters of the place: but Androstenes, who commanded the garrison for Philip, and gained the affections of the Corinthians, and being powerfully supported by some Roman deserters, who had served in Hannibal's army, and by a reinforcement of 1500 men under Philocles, one of king Philip's generals, he obliged the besiegers to drop their enterprise.

Livy, b. 32. c. 25.

After this, Philocles marched to Argos, where the Achæan diet had placed a commander named Ænesidemus, a man faithful to his trust; but the inhabitants being in the interest of Philip, took arms, and obliged the governor to capitulate. Ænesidemus obtained leave for the garrison, consisting of 500 men, to depart in

[a] The ten demiurgi seem to have been the chief magistrates of ten cities which at this time, composed the Achæan state. Livy, b. 38. c. 30.

safety, but he continued there himself with a few of his friends. Philocles sent to ask him, "why he staid, and what he intended to do?" To which he answered, "To die in the place committed to my care." Hereupon Philocles ordered some Thracians to let fly their arrows at the Achæan and his friends: they were all slain. Year of ROME 555. B.C. 196. 254th consulship.

Flamininus, after he had taken Elatia, retired for the winter to Anticyra.

The time of the elections at Rome now drew near, and Ælius, who had done no great matter in Cisalpine Gaul, was called home to assemble the centuries. They chose C. Cornelius Cethegus and Q. Minucius Rufus, consuls. It was thought fit at this time to increase the number of prætors to six, by creating two new ones for the government of Hither Spain and Farther Spain. The consuls, being both ambitious of conducting the war in Macedon, were in great haste to draw lots for that province: but this motion was opposed by two tribunes of the commons, who represented to the people the ill consequences which might attend the recalling Flamininus from Greece in the midst of his successes. Cornelius and Minucius at length consented to leave the matter to the determination of the senate, if the tribunes would do the same. Accordingly it was referred to the conscript fathers, and they decreed, that Flamininus should continue in his command till the people thought fit to recall him; they granted him also a recruit of 5000 foot, 300 horse, and 3000 seamen and rowers, and left him his brother Quinctius to conduct the fleet under his direction; Sulpicius and Villius were to serve in his army as his lieutenants. As for the two consuls, they were both ordered into Cisalpine Gaul against Hamilcar, who still headed the revolt there. Year of ROME 556. B.C. 196. 255th consulship.

Flamininus, who knew nothing of what was doing at Rome, and had some apprehension of being recalled, was very desirous of having it in his power, in that case, to

Year of ROME 556. B.C. 196. 255th consulship.

conclude an honourable treaty with Philip, before any successor could arrive to rob him of the glory; and, therefore, though he at first pretended an unwillingness to grant an interview which the king demanded, he at length consented to it, and it was agreed that the place of conference should be on the sea-coast, not far from Nicæa, a city on the Maliac Gulf. Philip came to this place by sea, in one of his ships of war, attended by five small vessels; and he had on board with him his two secretaries. With Flamininus, who came on foot to the sea-shore, were Amynander, king of the Athamanes; Dionysodorus, ambassador from Attalus; Agesimbrotus, admiral of the Rhodian fleet; Phæneas, general of the Ætolians; and Aristænus and Xenophon, two deputies from the Achæans. Philip continued in the prow of his ship, which lay at anchor. "Why don't you come ashore? (said the proconsul) we shall hear one another better. Which of us do you fear?" "The gods alone I fear (answered the king); but there are with you some men, whom I cannot trust, and least of all the Ætolians." "The danger is equal on both sides (replied Flamininus), there is always some hazard in conferences with enemies." "No (said Philip), the danger is not equal. Were Phæneas dead, the Ætolians might easily choose another prætor, but were I killed, the Macedonians could not so readily find another king." Then both parties remained silent for some time, the proconsul expecting, that as Philip had asked the conference, he would speak first. The king said, it belonged to him who was to prescribe the terms of peace to speak first, not to him that was to accept them: to which Flamininus answered, "I shall tell you plainly the conditions, without which no peace is to be hoped for. Restore to the Romans all the places you have invaded in Illyricum since the last peace; surrender up our deserters; evacuate the cities you have taken from the Egyptians, since the decease of king Ptolemy Philopa-

Polyb. b. 17. c. 1. Livy b. 32. c. 32.

tor; satisfy all the just pretensions of our allies, and immediately leave Greece." Year of ROME 556. B. C. 196.

Then the ministers of the king of Pargamus, and of the other allies, by the order of the proconsul, made severally their demands. Some required Philip to restore cities, others ships which he had taken; and others demanded of him to rebuild temples which he had demolished. The deputies of Achaia would have Corinth and Argos reunited to the body of their state. Phæneas and Alexander spoke on the part of the Ætolians. The former confidently insisted on the king's restoring all the places he had usurped from them, and his entirely evacuating Greece. But Alexander, who was esteemed a notable speaker, went farther, and, addressing himself to the king, reproached him with carrying on the war in an ungenerous manner, and not like the kings of Macedon, his predecessors, who used to meet their enemies in the open field, and there decide their differences by battle, sparing the towns, that they might possess them as the reward of their victories. Whereas Philip's method was, to avoid fighting, overreach his enemies in conferences, pillage and burn towns, even those of his allies, more of which he had destroyed in Thessaly, the last year, than an enemy would have done. The king, bringing his ship nearer the shore, replied: that Alexander had made a very theatrical harangue, and like an Ætolian; that no man would willingly do an injury to his allies; but that the circumstances of affairs were sometimes such, as obliged those, that had the management of them, to do things very much against their inclinations. He was going on, when Phæneas interrupted him, saying, That he trifled, and must either conquer in war, or submit to the strongest. Philip immediately answered, "That's clear, indeed, even to a blind man." Phæneas had weak eyes, and the king, who loved a jest, alluded to this infirmity. He then ridiculed the Ætolians, for assuming the airs of the Ro- 555th consulship.

Year of ROME 556. B. C. 196. 255th consulship.

mans, and, like them, ordering the king of Macedon to quit Greece. He asked them, what it was they meant by Greece; some of the Ætolian nations, he said, were not Greeks. Would they give up these to him? Next he answered the ambassadors from Pergamus and Rhodes, and offered to restore his ships he had taken from them; yet adding, that it would be more equitable if they were required to restore his ships, since every one knew, that they were the aggressors in the war. He offered likewise to give up the country of Paræa to the Rhodians: and, as Attalus had insisted upon reparation of the damage he had done to the woods of Nicephorium and the grove of the temple of Venus, "Since kings (said he) must treat of such matters, I shall repair those damages, the only way they can be repaired; I shall send thither gardeners and trees, and be at the expense of planting." In the end of the conference he desired the parties would deliver him their several pretensions in writing, and he promised to consider them: "I am alone (said he), I have none to assist me with their counsels." To which the proconsul answered, "You deserve to be alone, for you have deprived yourself of all your friends." The king was stung with this reproach, but put on a forced smile. Mutual promises being given, that the conference should be continued the next day in the same place, Philip retired with his ships, and Flamininus returned to his camp.

Polyb. b. 17. c. 7.

At the next meeting, the king desired, that in order to cut off a thousand frivolous disputes, the conference might be between him and Flamininus only. This was agreed to, and then Philip came ashore with two of his confidants, and went a little apart with the proconsul. The king offered to give up all he possessed in Illyricum to the Romans; Pharsalus and Larissa to the Ætolians, but refused to restore Thebes to them: he offered likewise to restore Paræa to the Rhodians, but reserved Jassos and Bargiliæ; he promised to surrender Argos and

Corinth to the Achaians, and to restore to king Attalus the ships and prisoners he had taken from him. But when Flamininus, upon his return to the deputies, made this report, they all raised a great clamour. Philip, perceiving by the noise what opposition his proposals were like to meet with, desired a third interview the next day, at another place not far from Nicæa. They met accordingly; and then the king exhorted the deputies of the nations not to be averse from a peace, and proposed to refer all differences to the arbitration of the Roman senate: the deputies at first opposed this motion, but it was at length agreed to, and commissioners were sent to Rome from the king, the proconsul, and all the confederates. Year of ROME 556. B.C. 196. 555th consulship.

The commissioners of the allies were first heard in the senate, and they insisted chiefly on the necessity of obliging Philip to give up Demetrias in Thessaly, Corinth in Achaia, and Chalcis in Eubœa: these three places he had called, "The Fetters of Greece." What was urged on this head raised such strong prejudices against Philip, that when one of his ambassadors was beginning a studied harangue, the senators interrupted him, and said: "Tell us, will the king of Macedon give up Corinth, Chalcis, and Demetrias?" The ambassadors, surprised at this question, answered, that their master had given them no instructions as to that matter: whereupon they were dismissed, and a decree passed giving full powers to Flamininus to pursue the war, or make peace, as he should think proper.

Philip, finding his hopes frustrated, turned his thoughts wholly to the war; and as it was of great importance to him to preserve Argos, and yet difficult to do it, because it was in the heart of Achaia, he put Nabis, the tyrant of Lacedemon, into possession of that city, upon condition of its being restored to him in case he came off conqueror in the war. But the tyrant was no sooner master of the place, than he plundered all the inhabitants, Livy, b. 32. c. 38.

Year of ROME 556. B.C. 196. committed the most horrible cruelties, and, in order to preserve his new possession, entered into a treaty with Flamininus (who at his request came from Phocis for that purpose), and furnished the proconsul with 600 Cretans to act against Philip. After this, Nabis, having extorted all the money he could from the men of Argos, brought his wife Apega thither to practise robbery upon the women. When they came to court, she admired their jewels and rich clothes, and by using good words with some, and menaces with others, entirely stripped them of all their finery. Then the tyrant, leaving a garrison in the place, returned to Lacedemon. The proconsul spent the winter at Anticyra.

255th consulship.

Livy, b. 32. c. 40.

Early in the spring, Flamininus, understanding that the general diet of Bœotia was summoned to meet at Thebes, left his quarters, and, under a guard of only one manipulus, advanced towards that city, accompanied by king Attalus. The proconsul had ordered 2000 hastati to follow him at some distance; these were hid by the hills about Thebes. Antiphilus, the prætor of Bœotia, seeing the Roman general approach with so small a guard, came out to meet him; and all the inhabitants, out of curiosity to see what passed, ran either to the ramparts, or out of the gates, mostly without arms. When they saw the 2000 hastati appear, they thought themselves betrayed, but dissembled their uneasiness: Flamininus caressed the Bœotians, and gave them leave to hold the diet which had been appointed to meet the next day. Attalus, who was present at the assembly, spoke first, and with great vehemence urged them to engage in an alliance with the Romans. In the midst of his harangue he was seized with an apoplectic fit, which took away his speech, and he presently after fell down; and though he was brought again to himself, he had lost the use of some of his limbs. [His attendants, a few days after, put him on board a galley, which carried him to Asia, where he died at seventy-one years of age, leaving his

B. 33. c. 1. Plut. Life of Flaminius.

Livy, b. 33. c. 21.

crown to his eldest son Eumenes.] This accident did not break up the assembly; and as there was no room for debate upon Attalus's motion, Flamininus being master of the town, the Thebans and all Bœotia entered into a confederacy with the republic. Year of ROME 556. B. C. 196. 255th consulship.

The proconsul having now no enemies behind him, marched into Thessaly in quest of Philip, who had taken the field. In the neighbourhood of Pheræ, a city of Magnesia, the two armies encamped near each other. But as the country all around was thick set with trees, and full of gardens and ruined walls, neither of the generals thought the ground proper for a pitched battle, and they decamped as it were by consent. Philip bent his march towards Scotussa, where he could have plenty of forage for his army; and Flamininus, suspecting his design, hastened towards the same town, in order to lay waste the fields round it. The roads by which the two armies marched, being divided by a ridge of hills, they advanced as far as Cynocephalæ* without knowing any thing of each other. Here they came to a decisive battle before either party was prepared for it. The day being foggy, some troops of Roman horse, that had been detached to discover the enemy, fell in unawares with a detachment of Macedonians. A skirmish ensued. On both sides, having sent advice to their respective generals of what had happened, they received successive reinforcements. Various was the fortune of the conflict. Once the Romans would have been totally routed, if 500 Ætolian horse had not sustained them, and gallantly opposed themselves to the enemy's impetuosity. Flamininus, the fog being at length dispersed, put his whole army into the best order he could; and, with his left, advanced against the right of the Macedonians, which Philip had, by this time, formed into a deep phalanx, on the ascent of a hill. The phalanx, by its weight, the excellency of its arms, and the advantage of the higher ground, entirely broke the Roman battalions that were before it. Polyb. b. 17. c. 15.

*The Dogs' Heads, hills so called.

Year of ROME 556. B. C. 196. 255th consul-ship.

Flamininus, thinking all lost on this side, joined his right, which had already made an impression on the left of the enemy: for this left was not in the order of a phalanx; the inequality of the ground would not suffer it: nor, indeed, had the troops come up easily enough to be put into any good order for battle: they were, therefore, soon routed. Among those who pursued them was a legionary tribune, who observing that Philip, with his victorious phalanx, was still pressing after the left of the Romans, turned from the flying enemy, and, with twenty companies, fell upon the phalanx in the rear. Such being the order of a phalanx, that it cannot face about, nor the phalangites fight singly, the hindmost ranks were slaughtered without making resistance; others threw down their arms and fled; the foremost was charged in front by the Roman legionaries, whom they had routed; for these, having rallied, returned now to the fight. The king, perceiving the day lost, gathered about him as many of his Macedonians and Thracians as he could, and fled to Tempe. His army, before the battle, consisted of about 21,000 foot and 2000 horse, and that of the Romans was not much more numerous; of the former 8000 men were killed and 5000 taken prisoners; the Romans lost only 700. To add to the king's misfortune, his general Androstenes, whom he had left in Corinth with 6000 men, was defeated just at the same time, in Achaia, by Nicostratus, prætor of that nation.

Livy, b. 33. c. 14.

The Ætolians, by their vanity, gave the proconsul great uneasiness. They had indeed bore a good part in the late battle of Cynocephalæ, but in their songs, which they dispersed over all Greece, they assumed the chief glory of the success to themselves. Flamininus[b] took

[q] Plutarch has transmitted to us some verses made by Alcæus on this occasion. They are in the form of an epitaph upon the Thessalians slain at the battle of Cynocephalæ, and to this effect: "Passenger, on this field lie, unpitied and unburied, 30,000 Thessalians, vanquished in battle by the Ætolians, and the Latins whom Flamininus led from the plains of Italy. A mighty overthrow to the Thessalians! And the bold boastful Philip fled swifter than the swift hinds." Flamininus is said

an opportunity to mortify their pride. Three envoys coming from Philip, under pretence of asking a truce to bury the dead, but in reality to ask a conference in order to a peace, the proconsul gave them an answer without consulting the chiefs of the Ætolians. Provoked at this affront, they spread a report, that he was bribed by the king, and was betraying the common cause; but in truth the Roman had very different motives for hearkening to Philip's proposals. Antiochus, styled the Great, king of Syria, was preparing to come into Europe with an army, and Flamininus desired to conclude a treaty with the Macedonian before the arrival of the Syrian. Calling, therefore, a council of the allies, he asked them upon what terms they thought it might be proper to grant a peace to Philip. Amynander, king of the Athamanes, declared, that he should be pleased with any terms that would secure the liberty and tranquillity of Greece. But the Ætolians spoke with great warmth and haughtiness. They said, that the Roman general was doubtless very much in the right, when a peace was in question, to consult with those who had been his companions in the war; but that he greatly deceived himself, if he imagined the Romans could have durable peace, or the Greeks assured liberty, without either killing Philip, or dethroning him. The proconsul answered, that it was never the intention of the Romans, nor agreeable to their manners, to carry things to such extremity; nor was it for the interest of Greece to ruin Macedon, which stood as a barrier against the irruptions of the Thracians, Illyrians, and other barbarous nations; and concluded with saying, that he would grant a peace to the king, but upon such terms as should not leave him in a condition to renew the war.

Year of ROME 556. B. C. 196. 255th consulship. Polyb. Legat. 6. Livy, b. 33. c. 12.

Philip, the next day, appeared at the congress, and

to have been vexed at this epitaph, because it did not honour him enough; but Philip only laughed at it, and answered the poet in verse, imitating his two first lines: "Passengers, upon this bleak hill stands, leafless and stripped of its bark, a very conspicuous gibbet for the poet Alcæus."

Year of ROME 556. B. C. 196. 255th consulship.

prudently declared: "That he accepted the articles he had hitherto rejected, and referred all other matters to the arbitration of the Roman senate." Upon this a truce was granted him for four months to negotiate a peace at Rome; but Flamininus demanded his son Demetrius, and some other lords of his court, for hostages, and also 200 talents; on condition, nevertheless, that both the money and the hostages should be restored if the peace did not take place. The Macedonian complied, dispatched ambassadors to Rome, and retired into his own dominions.

Livy, b. 32. c. 30.

In Italy, Cethegus, who had marched against the Insubrians and Cœnomani, obtained a complete victory over them on the banks of the Mincius; 35,000 of those Gauls were slain in the action, and 5700 made prisoners; among these, Hamilcar the Carthaginian. Minucius, the other consul, had no opportunity of coming to a pitched battle with the Ligurians and Boii, against whom he commanded, but he overran their country, and laid it waste.

c. 25.

From Spain, the accounts at this time were not so favourable. In the Hither Province the prætor Sempronius Tuditanus had been defeated by the Spaniards, and lost his own life in the action; and in Farther Spain several towns had been seized by two petty kings. There

c. 21.

was almost a general disposition to shake off the Roman yoke.

Year of ROME 557. B. C. 195. 256th consulship.

When the ambassadors, from the king of Macedon arrived at Rome, the republic had just chosen new consuls, L. Furius Purpureo and M. Claudius Marcellus. These magistrates, finding that the senate was going to assign Italy for the province of both, moved that one of them might have Macedon. Marcellus contended that a peace with Philip would not be durable, should the army be withdrawn from Greece; and he made such a stir in the senate, that he would, perhaps, have gained his point, if the tribunes had not carried the affair before the

comitia: the tribes unanimously voted for a peace, and appointed Flamininus to act as general in Macedon till the treaty with the king should be concluded; and for the last purpose ten commissioners were sent thither, accompanied by Philip's ambassadors. Year of ROME 557. B. C. 195. 256th consulship.

The articles of the peace, between the Roman republic and king Philip, as they were drawn up by the senate, were as follow:

"All the cities of the Greeks, both in Europe and in Asia, shall enjoy perfect liberty, and be governed only by their own laws. Livy, b. 32. c. 30.

"Philip shall, before the celebration of the Isthmian games, evacuate all the Greek cities where he has garrisons; particularly Euromus, Padasia, Bargyliæ, Jassos, Thassos, Myrina, Abydos, and Perinthus.

"As to Cius, the proconsul shall notify the intentions of the senate to king Prusias.

"Philip shall restore to the Romans all their deserters;

"Deliver up all his ships that have decks, except five, and one hexaremis;

"Never have above 5000 men in pay; never make use of elephants in his armies; nor wage war out of Macedon, without the consent of the Romans.[c]

"He shall pay the republic 1000 talents, one half immediately, and the other half in ten years, at ten equal payments."

These articles being communicated to all the states of Greece, were approved by all except the Ætolians; who asked the other Greeks, "Why they thought themselves so much obliged to Flamininus for taking the chains off their legs and putting them about their necks?" For observing that, while other towns were particularly specified, no mention was made of Corinth, Chalcis, and Demetrias, they insinuated that Rome had an intention

[c] So says Livy: but we do not find that this article was observed; and Polybius does not mention it.

Year of ROME 557. B. C. 195. 256th consulship.

to appropriate those places to herself, and thereby become mistress of Greece; a suspicion not ill founded: the senate had purposely avoided mentioning them, in order to leave it in the breast of Flamininus and the council of ten, to keep them or set them free. Some of the council were for putting strong garrisons into those cities, to guard them against Antiochus; but Flamininus opposed this motion, remonstrating, that if the Romans would refute the calumnies of the Ætolians, and gain universal esteem, they must restore liberty to all Greece. It was, therefore, finally resolved, that the Romans should have possession of Chalcis, Demetrias, and the citadel of Corinth, only till the apprehensions of Antiochus's coming into Europe were over.

Plut. Life of Flamininus.

Liberty to Greece was soon after proclaimed by a herald in a vast assembly of the Greeks, met together from all parts to celebrate the Isthmian games. Their amazement and joy upon this occasion were inexpressibly great; they could never sufficiently admire the disinterestedness of the Romans, who had proposed to themselves no other fruit from the labours and expenses of the war, than the pleasure of making other nations happy.[d]

Livy, b. 33. c. 34.

The members of the council of ten (now dissolved) took each his district, to put the decree into execution. They reinstated the allies of Rome in the possession of all those places which the Macedonian kings had taken from them; so that Philip was confined within the ancient bounds of Macedon. The Ætolians were the only people, of the allies, dissatisfied; they had been re-

[d] Had Rome seized upon Greece at this time, it is probable she could not have held it long. The Greeks, always jealous of their liberty, would have been easily stirred up to revolt by Philip; and a dangerous combination might soon have been formed against the republic, by Greece and Macedon, in which the king of Syria, and several other Asiatic provinces, would in all likelihood have joined, to put a stop to the encroachments of Rome. Besides, the Romans were now projecting a war with Antiochus, which the Syrian endeavoured to avoid; and the most plausible pretext they could find for it, (as appears by a speech of the Rhodian deputies in the senate. Liv. b. 37. c. 54.) was the freedom of the Greek colonies under his dominion. It was necessary, therefore, for the republic to keep her word with the Greeks in Europe, that she might be believed by those in Asia.

fused some towns which they thought they had a right to. They frequently complained, "That the conduct of the Romans towards them was extremely changed since the victory over Philip, though, without the help of the Ætolians, they could neither have obtained that victory, nor even have come into Greece;" and in the end had recourse to Antiochus the Great, king of Syria. Year of ROME 557. B.C. 195. 256th consulship.

CHAP. III.

Antiochus the Great, king of Syria, enters Thrace with an army, purposing to erect a kingdom there for one of his sons. The Romans take umbrage at the proceedings of the Syrian, and send some ambassadors to order him to quit Europe. The Roman ladies take infinite pains to get a repeal of the Oppian law, which limited the finery of their dress and equipage. Cato strenuously opposes them, yet they carry their point, by the assistance of two tribunes of the people. Cato embarks for Spain, and conducts the war with success in that country. Hannibal having disobliged some of the Carthaginian nobles, by certain new regulations beneficial to the state, is, by those nobles, accused at Rome, of holding correspondence with Antiochus. The Romans send ambassadors to Carthage, to procure the death of the accused; but he escapes the danger by flying his country, and taking refuge in the Syrian court. Preparations are begun at Rome for a war against Antiochus; and, lest Nabis of Lacedemon should join him, Flamininus has permission to turn the Roman arms against Nabis. All the Greek states, except the Ætolians, agree to assist Flamininus in this war; the chief pretence for which is, to restore freedom to Argos. Flamininus marches to Lacedemon, and besieges it. Nabis at length submits to the conditions of peace dictated by the Roman general; and, to the dissatisfaction of the Ætolians and Achæans, is suffered to continue master of Lacedemon. (Argos had recovered its liberty, by an insurrection of its inhabitants.) Flamininus leaves Greece, and returns to Rome, where he is honoured with a triumph. Ambassadors from the king of Syria arrive at Rome, to ask an alliance with the republic. Their negotiation does not succeed; the senate dispatches to Antiochus the same ambassadors who had been with him in Thrace. Hannibal advises him to attack the Romans in Italy, and endeavours to draw the Carthaginians into the war. The latter complain at Rome of the encroachments of Masinissa. The injustice of the Romans with regard to Carthage. Antiochus the Great. 558. Oppian law repealed. Cato, the elder. Hannibal escapes from Carthage to K. Antiochus. 559. 560.

ANTIOCHUS the Great was one of those princes called Seleucidæ; the founder of which family was Seleucus Nicator, an officer in the army of Alexander the Great. Seleucus was succeeded, in the throne of Syria, by his son Antiochus Soter, and he by his son Antiochus the God. This god being poisoned by his wife Laodice, was ded by his son Seleucus Callinicus, who left two ns, Antiochus Ceraunus and the Antiochus who now ngages our attention. Appian in Syriacis. Justin. b. 27. c. 1.

He possessed all the countries of Asia from the eastern borders of Media to Æolis and Ionia; also Cœlo-Syria,

Year of ROME 557. B.C. 195. 256th consulship.

Phœnicia, Judea, and all the coast of the Mediterranean quite to Egypt. His pretence for coming into Europe was to recover possession of Thrace, which Seleucus Nicator had conquered from Lysimachus; and he purposed to rebuild Lysimachia, formerly demolished by the Thracians, and make it the capital of a kingdom, for one of his sons.

Polyb. b. 17. c. 31. Livy, b. 33. c. 39.

Upon the news of the Syrian's arrival, and of the enterprise he had in view, some of the Roman council of ten, who had dispersed themselves in Greece, hastened to Lysimachia, to dissuade him from attempting any conquest in Europe. He received them at first with great politeness; but the Romans soon provoked his pride by those airs which they assumed wherever they came. They told him, that his whole conduct since his leaving Syria displeased the republic; that he ought to restore all the cities he had usurped from Ptolemy; and that it was not sufferable he should possess those he had taken from Philip during his war with Rome, and which the Romans, as conquerors, had the sole right to dispose of. "What! (said they) shall the Romans have been at the expense of the war, and shall Antiochus reap all the advantages of it? But should we connive at your conquests in Asia, shall we, therefore, suffer you to invade Europe? Is not this a declaration of war against the Roman senate and people? You may indeed deny it; but you might as well come into Italy and deny that you have any design against the republic." To this Antiochus answered, "I have long observed, that Rome is very attentive to the conquests I make, but never thinks of setting bounds to her own. Know, that you have as little right to examine what I do in Asia, as I have to concern myself about what you do in Italy." He then asserted the justice of his claim to Thrace, and to the towns he had taken from Ptolemy and Philip, alleging, that they had been all usurped from his ancestors. The conferences were interrupted by a report that Ptolemy

Epiphanes was dead. Antiochus reckoning Egypt to be his own, hastened aboard his fleet to sail to that country, and take possession of it. But putting in at Patara in Lycia, he was there informed that Ptolemy was still alive. After this, having narrowly escaped shipwreck near the mouth of the Sarus in Cilicia, he returned to Antioch, the capital of his dominions, and spent the winter there. He had left his son Seleucus at Lysimachia, with a land army to finish the rebuilding of the city, and defend it. Year of ROME 557. B. C. 195. 256th consulship.

In Italy the two consuls, Marcellus and Furius, had carried on the war with success against the Cisalpine Gauls, and had entirely destroyed two considerable armies of them.[e] Valerius Ant. apud Liv. Livy, c. 33. b. 36. 42.

At the elections for the new year, M. Porcius Cato and L. Valerius Flaccus were raised to the consulship. As the affairs of Spain grew very urgent, the senate resolved to send thither one of the consuls with an army. The conduct of it fell by lot to Cato. Year of ROME 558. B. C. 194. 257th consulship.

While preparations were making for his departure, the Roman ladies took a step, which was a perfect novelty in the republic. About twenty years before, when Hannibal was ravaging Italy, and when the treasury was very low, a tribune of the people, named Oppius, had got a law passed, "That no woman should wear above half an ounce of gold in ornaments; or wear purple; or ride in a chariot, either at Rome, or within a mile of it, unless she were to assist at a public sacrifice." The ladies had conformed themselves to this law in a time of general distress; but they thought it intolerable to be under the restraint of it now, when the republic abounded with Livy, b. 34. c. 1.

[e] The pontifices and augurs, who had paid no taxes during the late war, were now obliged to pay for all the years they had been deficient: but they were at the same time eased of one burdensome part of their functions; for the Romans erected a new sort of sacerdotal college, under the name of *epulones*, whose office was confined wholly to the care of the religious feasts; the number of these priests in the beginning was only three, and all chosen out of plebeian families. Porcius Laeca was one of the first three. This was he who, when tribune two years before, got the famous Porcian law passed, which forbade, under very severe penalties, to whip or put to death a Roman citizen: but this privilege did not extend to the armies, where the generals had an absolute power of life and death.

Year of ROME 558. B. C. 194. — 257th consulship.

riches; and they made a great stir to get it repealed. The consulship of the austere Cato seemed a very improper time for moving this affair; but their passion for finery would brook no delay. They prevailed with Valerius and Fundanius, two of the tribunes, to present their request to the *comitia;* and, contrary to custom, ran thither themselves: neither the orders of their husbands, nor the rules of decency, nor public authority, could keep them at home. They beset the ways which led to the Forum, and solicited the men as they passed, urging the justice of their pretensions: they offered their petitions even to the consuls and prætors. Cato was inexorable; he made a long harangue to the assembly in behalf of the law and against the women. "Romans, had each of us been careful to maintain over his own wife the rightful authority of a husband, we should not have had this trouble with the women in a body: but our prerogatives having, by female tyranny, been overturned at home, are now also contemned and trampled upon in the Forum. I thought it had been a fable, that, in a certain island, all the men were cut off by a conspiracy of the women. But there is no mischief of which that sex is not capable, if you allow them to hold, among themselves, assemblies, private parties, and gossipings.

"I cannot determine with myself, whether the thing they ask, or their manner of asking it, be the more pernicious. To us certainly it would be very shameful, to have laws imposed upon us by a secession of the women, as we had formerly by a secession of the commons. I could not help blushing when I came through such a crowd of women in my way to the Forum; and had it not been for the respect I bear to the individuals, and that it might not be said, they were publicly rebuked by a consul, I would have asked them, 'What manners are these, to run mobbing about the streets, beset the highways, and solicit men that are not your husbands? Could not each of you have asked the very thing in

question of your husband at home? Are you less coy, are you more free of your blandishments in public than in private? and to other women's husband's than to your own? Though even at home, if you desired modestly to confine your cares within your proper sphere, you would not think it decent for you to concern yourselves about what laws are here enacted or repealed.' Our ancestors would not allow women to transact even private affairs without a director; they were under the authority of fathers, brothers, husbands: we are to suffer women (God deliver us!) to assume the government of the state, assemble in the Forum, and vote in the *comitia!* A curb for an untractable nature, an untamed animal: never imagine that women will of themselves set bounds to their liberty, if you do not. The restriction they are under by the Oppian law is the least of their grievances; they want a liberty in all things without control. And what will they not attempt if they gain their present point? Recollect all the laws by which our ancestors have restrained the licentiousness of women, and subjected them to the men. By all these we can hardly keep them within tolerable bounds: what then will be the case, if, by the repeal of one law after another, you put them upon an equality with us? If once equal, they will soon become superior. But let us hear the reason why the matrons thus flock into the streets, and scarcely forbear mounting the rostra to harangue the people. Is it to redeem their fathers, their husbands, their children, or their brothers, from Hannibal's chains? This evil is now far, and may it always be far from the republic! But when it was present, you forbade women's appearing in public,* to offer you even pious petitions. Is it religion that has assembled them? Are they to receive the goddess Cybele from Phrygia? Can the women assign, for this sedition of theirs, any pretence that will bear being mentioned? We would shine, say they, in gold and purple: we would

Year of ROME 558. B. C. 194. 257th consulship.

* See p. 79. of this volume.

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ride through the city in our chariots, triumphing over the conquered law and the suffrages of the citizens: we would have no bounds set to our expenses; no control upon our luxury.

"You have often, Romans, heard me complaining of the profuseness both of the women and the men, not only of private men, but even of the magistrates: and that the city is infected with two very different vices, covetousness and luxury; plagues which have been the ruin of all great empires. The republic becomes daily more flourishing: we have now passed into Greece and Asia, countries full of temptations to ungovernable appetites; and begin to handle the treasures of kings: I am much afraid lest these riches get a more absolute power over us than we have obtained over them.

"In the memory of our fathers, Pyrrhus, by his ambassador Cyneas, attempted to corrupt with bribes not only the men but the women. There was then no Oppian law to restrain the luxury of women: yet none of them yielded to the temptation. And what do you think was the cause? The same which our ancestors had for not making any law relating to this matter: there was no luxury to be restrained. Should some Cyneas now go about the city with his bribes, he would find women enough standing in every street to receive them openly.

"There are some desires which I can by no means account for. A little shame or indignation may perhaps naturally arise at our being restrained from what others are indulged in; but why should it give you uneasiness to be dressed in the same manner as every body else must be dressed? It is, indeed, a very culpable shame to be ashamed of frugality or poverty: and, were it not, the law in the present case has secured you from all reproach. You are not so richly dressed as you could afford to be. Why? The law has forbid it. But says a very fine lady, with a great deal of money at command, 'Truly, I have no notion of a law, that puts all people upon an equality.

Why should not a woman of distinction be distinguished by wearing gold and purple? Must people of nothing have their beggary screened by a law?'—Romans, would you have an emulation of this kind prevail among your wives? Would you see the rich coveting to have what none else can purchase? and the poorer, for fear of being despised, making efforts in expense beyond their ability? She who once begins to blush for doing what she ought, will quickly come to do, without blushing, what she ought not. What she can purchase with her own money she will; what she cannot purchase, she will ask of her husband. Unhappy is the husband if he grants, more unhappy if he refuses; for another will give her what he denies. Year of ROME 558. B.C. 194. 257th consulship.

"When your wives' expenses are no longer limited by law, you yourselves will never be able to set bounds to them. To imagine that things will be upon the same footing as before the law was enacted, is a vain thought. A wicked man should never be accused, or not absolved; and luxury unmolested would have been more tolerable than now, when, after being provoked, as a wild beast by chains, it is let loose again to range at pleasure."

Two of the tribunes, both of the Junian family, and both bearing the name of Brutus, seconded Cato, and spoke against the repeal. Then Valerius, who had undertaken to be the ladies' advocate, rose up. "If, Romans, our petition had been opposed by private persons only, I should have waited in silence for your determination: but when the consul, M. Porcius, a man, the dignity of whose office and character, had he said nothing, would alone be of great weight in the opposition, has in a long and elaborate speech inveighed against our motion, I think it incumbent on me to make some answer. And let me first of all observe, that the consul has spent more time in bitterly reproving the women, than in giving reasons why our petition should not be granted. That the ladies have presumed publicly to so-

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licit you to repeal, in a time of peace and prosperity, a law made against them during the war, and in a time of adverity, he is pleased to call a mobbing, a sedition, and sometimes a secession of the women: hyperbolical words, merely to exaggerate the matter! for we know, that M. Cato, always a weighty speaker, is sometimes a severe one too; though doubtless a very good-natured man. What is there new is this proceeding of the women? Did they never appear in public before? Look, Marcus, into your own book de Originibus; you will there see that they have often appeared, and always for the public good: go back to the days of Romulus, to the bloody conflict between the Roman and Sabine armies in the middle of the Forum: call to mind that critical period, when total destruction hung over Rome from Marcius Coriolanus at the head of the Volscian legions; and many other occasions where the women's appearing in public has proved of public utility. What they have often done for the common interest, shall we wonder if they now do, in an affair which particularly concerns themselves?

"As to the law in question; is it one of the ancient laws of the kings, or of the twelve tables; a law, without which our ancestors thought it impossible to preserve decency among the women? No such thing: it is a law of about twenty years' standing, enacted in the consulship of Q. Fabius and T. Sempronius: and as, before it took place, the women behaved themselves irreproachably for many ages, why must we suppose, that, upon the abrogation of it, they will abandon themselves to luxury? That it was not made with a view to bridle their extravagance, the time when it was enacted is a sufficient proof. Hannibal hadgained a great victory at Cannæ: he was in possession of Tarentum, Arpi, and Capua, and threatened even Rome with a siege: our allies had revolted: we had no soldiers for the levies, no seamen for the fleet, no money in the treasury: we were obliged to

buy slaves to recruit our troops, the price to be paid at the end of the war: the publicans, upon a promise of being reimbursed at the same time, furnished corn and other necessaries for the army: private people, at their own expense, supplied the fleet with sailors and rowers: all orders of men lent their gold and silver to the public; the widows and orphans brought their money into the treasury. Were the ladies at that time so taken up with dress and finery, that the Oppian law was wanted to restrain their luxury? Were not the sacrifices to Ceres long deferred, because the women were all in mourning? And did not the senate, for that reason, confine the term of mourning to thirty days? Who does not see that the want and misery of the city were the occasion of this law, and that it was designed to continue no longer in force than the reason of it should continue? The men of all ranks feel the effects of the happy change of public affairs; and shall the women not participate of the fruits of peace and tranquillity? Shall the men wear purple? Shall the priests, the magistrates, both of Rome and of the colonies, shall even our children wear it? Shall the dead be wrapped in purple? And shall your wives not be permitted to have a purple cloak? You are allowed to have purple in the furniture of your horses, shall your horses be more sumptuously adorned than your wives? And as to gold, why may not their trinkets be considered as a fund to supply the wants of the public on great emergencies? They have formerly so proved.

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"Cato says, there will be no emulation, in point of dress, among the women of Rome, if they are all under the same restrictions. But what a spirit of envy and indignation it will raise in every Roman woman, when she sees those ornaments, which she is forbid to wear, allowed to the Latin women? Sees them shining in gold and purple, and riding in chariots through the streets, while she is obliged to follow on foot, as if the seat of the empire were in the cities of our allies, not in Rome?

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Such a distinction might be felt even by men: how extremely mortifying then must it be to female minds, which very small matters are sufficient to disturb! They can have no magistracies, no sacerdotal dignities, no triumphs, no spoils, nor trophies of war. Neatness, ornaments, elegant dress, these are the triumphs of women; in these they delight, in these they place their glory: our ancestors called these, *mundus muliebris*, the world, the every thing of woman. Are women to be always in mourning? What is a woman's mourning, but her not wearing gold and purple? And by what does she distinguish a day of public devotion and thanksgiving, from other days, but the finery of her dress? We are told, that if you repeal the Oppian law you will not, by your private authority, be able to restrain the women from any thing which that law forbids them to have; and that your daughters, wives, and sisters, will be less under your command. While fathers or husbands are alive, the subjection of women can never cease; and they themselves detest that liberty which is only to be acquired by their becoming widows and orphans. They had rather have their dress regulated by you than by the law. And ought it not to be your choice to hold them under your guardianship and protection, rather than in slavery? To be styled fathers and husbands, rather than masters?

"The consul, as I before observed, made use of some invidious expressions—a sedition, a secession of the women: as if they were just going to seize the sacred Mount, or the Aventine hill, as the commons heretofore did in their anger. No, Romans, their weakness must submit to whatever you are pleased to determine: but the greater your power, the more moderate you ought to be in the use of it."

The debate lasted all the day, so that the putting the question was deferred to the next. Then the women, more impetuous than ever, besieged the houses of the two Brutus's, the only tribunes of the people in the op-

position; and by irresistible importunity forced them to yield. The *comitia*, being thus at full liberty, repealed the Oppian law. Year of ROME 558. B. C. 194.

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And now a nobler career presented itself to the austere Cato than a war with women. He set out for Spain with a consular army, embarked at Luna in Hetruria, and landed at Rhoda (now Roses) in Catalonia. From thence he marched by land to Emporiæ, where he was met by the proconsul Helvius, who had just obtained a victory over the Spaniards.

To the consul came ambassadors from the king of the Ilergetes, a nation well affected to the Romans, praying that 5000 men might be sent to protect his kingdom, that was threatened by the enemy with a general devastation. Cato, perplexed at this demand, because unwilling either to desert his allies, or to divide his army, after a whole night's deliberation, thought of this expedient. He told the ambassadors, he would risk his own safety for the interest of their master; and accordingly gave orders for equipping some galleys to transport the succours desired. The rumour of these preparations being spread far, the enemy were seized with terror, and hastily left the country of the Ilergetes. As for the detachment, it embarked, sailed a little way, and then, under pretence of contrary winds, returned to the port from whence it had set out. Frontin. Strat. b. 4. c. 7.

Cato's troops consisting for the most part of raw soldiers, it was necessary to take some pains to discipline them; and the more, as they had to do with the Spaniards, naturally brave and resolute, and, by their wars with the Carthaginians and Romans, much improved in the military art. The consul was just such a general as his army wanted; a pattern of vigilance, sobriety, and indefatigable constancy in labour; his dress always plain, his provisions the same with those of the common soldiers.

When he had formed his army to his wishes, he took

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the field, and obtained a complete victory over the enemy. And in order to keep the Spaniards in obedience for the future, he made use of the following artifice. He wrote private letters to the commanders of many of the fortified towns, ordering them to demolish their fortifications immediately, and threatening revenge, in case of disobedience. Each of those commanders being ignorant of the orders sent to the rest, and dreading the consul's resentments, they all, without delay, beat down their walls and towers; so that most of the towns in the Hither Province were dismantled in one day. In short, Cato settled Spain in such tranquillity and order, that the senate did not think it necessary to send a new consular army thither.

Livy, b. 33. c. 45. et seq

About the time that Cato left Rome to go into Spain, letters came from Carthage, giving advice that Hannibal was in secret intelligence with the king of Syria, and forming designs against the Romans. These letters were sent by the enemies of the Barchine faction, whom Hannibal, lately prætor or chief magistrate of Carthage, had highly provoked, by some acts, agreeable to the people, and beneficial to the commonwealth. It had been the custom for the judges to hold their offices for life. This gave them the chief sway in the republic; and they were tyrannical in the exercise of their authority. As the quæstors, after the expiration of their office, became judges of course, this prospect of future greatness had so raised the pride of a certain quæstor (of the opposite faction), that he refused to appear on a summons sent him by the prætor. Hannibal, resenting this affront, caused some officers to seize the quæstor; and, bringing him before the assembly of the people, not only complained of his insolence, but of the mischief the state suffered by having perpetual judges; and he obtained a decree that the judges for the future should be chosen annually.

Nor was this the only act for the public good, by which the prætor increased the number of his enemies

among the nobles. Those who had the management of the public money, had embezzled great part of it, so that there was not sufficient to pay the Romans the stipulated tribute; and a new tax was going to be laid for this purpose. Hannibal prevented the oppression: making inquiry after the embezzled money, he found enough to pay the Romans, without the burden of a new imposition. Scipio, knowing these things, is said to have defended the Carthaginian in the senate of Rome, urging that it was below the dignity of the Roman people to list themselves amongst Hannibal's personal enemies, and take part in the factions of Carthage. The conscript fathers, notwithstanding Scipio's remonstrance, sent thither C. Servilius, M. Claudius Marcellus, and Q. Terentius Culleo, to accuse Hannibal, in the senate, of holding correspondence with Antiochus. These ambassadors, by the advice of Hannibal's enemies, gave out, on their arrival, that they were come to adjust some differences between the Carthaginians and Masinissa. Hannibal, nevertheless, had too much penetration not to see into the real designs of the Romans. On the day when he purposed to make his escape, having appeared in public, as was his daily custom, he left Carthage about the dusk of the evening, in his town dress, accompanied by only two persons, both ignorant of his determination. He had appointed horses to be in readiness at a certain place, whence riding all night, he came to a tower of his own by the sea-side. There he had a ship furnished with all things requisite, as having long foreseen the present necessity. Thus Hannibal took his leave of Africa, lamenting, says Livy, the misfortunes of his country more than his own. Passing over to the isle of Cercina, he found there in the haven some merchant ships of Carthage. The masters saluted him respectfully; and the chief among them inquiring whither he was bound, he answered, he was going ambassador to Tyre. He then invited all the merchants

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and masters of ships to a sacrifice; and it being hot weather, he would by all means hold his feast upon the shore: whither, because there wanted shade, he desired them to bring all their sails and yards to be used instead of tents. They did so, and feasted with him till it was late at night, and they fell asleep. He then left them, and, putting to sea, held on his course to Tyre. All the remainder of that night, and the day following, he was sure not to be pursued; for neither would the merchants be in haste to send news of him to Carthage, as thinking he was gone ambassador from the state; neither could they get away from Cercina, without some expense of time, in fitting their tackle. At Carthage, the disappearing of so great a man raised various conjectures. Some guessed rightly, that he was fled; but the greater part believed, that the Romans had made away with him. At length news came, that he had been seen in Cercina. The Roman ambassadors, having now no other business, accused him (with an ill grace) as an enemy to peace. They said, it was well known, that he had heretofore stirred up king Philip to make war upon the Romans, and had lately by letters and emissaries been urging Antiochus to the like measures. They added, that if the Carthaginians would satisfy the people of Rome, they must make it appear, that these things were not done by their authority, or with their approbation. To this it was answered, that Carthage would do whatever the Romans should think equitable. [It is probable, she, at this time, passed sentence of banishment against the most illustrious citizen she could ever boast of.]

Hannibal coming to Tyre, the mother-city of Carthage, was received and entertained in a manner suitable to the dignity of his character. From thence he went to Antioch; but made no stay there, the king being just gone to Ephesus. Thither he followed him, and found him wavering between peace and war.

Upon the report of the plenipotentiaries who had concluded the peace with Macedon, the Roman senate had judged it necessary that Flamininus should continue proconsul in Greece. They now began to make preparations for a war with Antiochus; and as there was reason to suspect, that Nabis, the tyrant of Lacedemon, would side with the king, orders were sent to the proconsul immediately to attack Nabis, if he thought it for the interest of the republic. Flamininus, in execution of these orders, having convened a diet at Corinth, at which deputies from all the Greek nations were present, proposed to them the recovering Argos out of the hands of Nabis. He represented to the assembly, that in the war with Philip, which the Romans and Greeks had jointly carried on, they had each their motives apart; but in the enterprise which he now suggested, the Romans had no other interest than the honour of perfecting the liberty of Greece, which must be deemed incomplete, so long as the noble and ancient city of Argos remained under the domination of a tyrant. "But (said he) it belongs to you to determine in this affair; and if neither a concern for that city, nor the danger of such an example (the contagion of which may spread), has any weight with you, we shall acquiesce." The Athenian deputy hereto made a very eloquent answer, and in terms as pleasing as he could devise. He gave thanks to the Romans for what was past, and highly extolled the generosity of their present proposal, whereby, unrequested, they freely offered to continue that bounty which, at the earnest desire of their associates, they had lately extended to all Greece. To this he added, that great pity it was to hear such noble virtue and high deserts ill-spoken of by some, who took upon them to fortell what harm those their benefactors meant to do hereafter, whereas gratitude would rather have required an acknowledgment of the benefits already received. Every one saw that these last words were

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Livy, b. 33. c. 43. c. 45. b. 34. c. 22.

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directed against the Ætolians. Wherefore Alexander, the prætor of that nation, rising up, reproached the Athenians, that they, whose ancestors used to be the foremost in the defence of the general liberty, were now fallen so low, as to betray the common cause by flattery and base compliances. He then inveighed against the Achæans, who, he said, had been soldiers to Philip till they deserted and ran away from his adversity: that they had got Corinth for themselves, and would now have a war undertaken for their sakes, that they might be lords also of Argos; while the Ætolians, who first engaged in the war with Philip, and had always been friends to the Romans, were defrauded of some places which anciently and of right belonged to them. Neither did Alexander stop here. He accused the Romans of fraud in keeping garrisons in Chalcis, Demetrias, and the citadel of Corinth, though they had always professed, that Greece could never be in liberty while those places were not free. "And what else (said he) do they seek by a war with Nabis, but a pretext to continue their armies in this country? Let them withdraw their legions and evacuate Greece, which cannot indeed be free till their departure; and as to Nabis, the Ætolians will undertake, if he do not voluntarily give up Argos, to compel him by force of arms to submit to the good pleasure of all Greece, now at unity." This boasting of the Ætolians raised the indignation of the other Greeks, especially the Achæans, who called them robbers, a race worse than barbarian, that had nothing Greek but their language, as they had nothing human but their shape. Flamininus said, he would have answered the Ætolians if there had been any occasion for it; but that he was perfectly content with what he saw was the general opinion concerning the Romans and them.

In conclusion, the whole assembly, except the Ætolians, concurred in determining upon a war with Nabis, in case he refused to deliver up Argos to the Achæans.

When all things were ready for marching, ambassadors arrived from Antiochus, to propose a treaty of alliance with Rome. Flamininus answered, that they must address themselves to the Roman senate; for the ten commissioners being absent, he could say nothing to the matter. He then advanced towards Argos, expecting, according to some assurances that had been given him, that, upon his near approach, there would be an insurrection in the town, by which he should easily become master of it. Finding these hopes disappointed, he resolved, instead of besieging that place, to march straight to Lacedemon, and crush the tyrant at once. All preparations were made for this attempt; and his brother Quinctius, the admiral of the Roman fleet, appeared off the Lacedemonian coasts with forty ships of war. Year of ROME 558. B.C. 194. 257th consulship.

Nabis, struck with terror at the approach of these sea and land forces against him, augmented the number of his troops, fortified his capital, and massacred fourscore of the principal men in it, whom he suspected of disaffection to him. Flamininus marched to the banks of the Eurotas, and from thence ravaged the country to the walls of Lacedemon, while his brother Quinctius, after having reduced some towns on the sea-coast, laid siege to Gythium, a strong city which might be called the port of Lacedemon, and the repository of all its riches. Here he met with so vigorous a resistance, that though he was joined by the Rhodians with eighteen galleys, and by king Eumenes with forty, he would have been forced to raise the siege, if the proconsul had not seasonably come to his assistance with 4000 men: upon their appearance the besieged immediately capitulated.

The surrendry of Gythium broke Nabis's measures; he sent to Flamininus, and asked a conference in order to a peace. They met in a plain which lay between Lacedemon and the Roman camp. The king spoke first,

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and desired to know "for what cause the Romans made war upon him; for he was quite ignorant of it. It could not be (he said) on account of the tyranny and cruelty they charged him with, he being the very same man now as when he and they became friends and allies, and joined in the war against Philip: that Flamininus then called him king, not tyrant. Neither could it be because he held Argos: for he was in possession of that city when he made a league with the Romans, and was left in possession of it by the treaty. In a word, he had done nothing since his alliance with Rome contrary to his engagements." All this seems to have been very true: for the proconsul was reduced, in his answer, to deny that he had made any league with Nabis; arguing, that it would have been quite improper and indecent for the Romans, when making war against Philip for the liberty of Greece, to contract a friendship with a tyrant, the most outrageous that ever was [from whence it followed, that no such friendship had been contracted]. Nothing was done the first day towards a peace. The next Nabis offered to give up Argos, and restore all the allies their deserters; adding, that if the Romans had any other pretensions, they should be given him in writing, that he might consult with his friends. To this Flamininus agreed; and going back to his camp, assembled the chiefs of the confederates. The greater part of them were for pursuing Nabis to the last extremities; but the proconsul wanted to finish matters with the tyrant, that he might return to Rome with the glory of having completed the deliverance of all Greece; he was afraid lest a successor should arrive and rob him of some part of that honour. However, finding the chiefs of the allies very obstinate and importunate, he at length pretended to come into their opinion; but told them, that, as the siege would probably be long, great sums of money, great store of provisions, and materials for engines of war, would be needful; and pressed them to send im-

mediately to their respective cities for these necessaries, before the roads grew bad. This cooled their ardour for the siege: knowing the difficulty they should have to raise the sums proposed, without alienating the minds of their people from them by new taxes, they left the proconsul at full liberty to settle the terms of peace. He then sent his demands in writing to Nabis. The tyrant was not only to evacuate Argos, and give up all deserters, but to surrender immediately to the Romans all the places he held in Crete: he was to have no more than two galleys, of sixteen oars each, in his service; build no cities nor castles in the territories of others, nor even in his own; give the proconsul five hostages, such as he should choose, of whom the tyrant's own son should be one; and, lastly, pay down 100 talents, and thereafter fifty talents annually for eight years. Year of ROME 557. B. C. 194. 257th consulship.

When the tyrant had read the conditions to the Lacedemonians assembled in the market-place, and asked them what answer he should give the proconsul, the multitude cried out, "Give him no answer at all: pursue the war." These clamours were very agreeable to Nabis, and he prepared to sustain a siege. Lacedemon was not entirely surrounded by a wall. Lycurgus would have no fortification to the city, but the bodies of the citizens. The Spartan tyrants afterward raised walls, at certain distances, in those places where they were most wanted. The Romans attacked the town with 50,000 men, and forced their way into it at the openings between the walls. Nabis was so terrified, that he thought only of making his escape: but his son-in-law Pythagoras who had more presence of mind, causing the houses to be set on fire in all places where the Romans had entered, this obliged them to retire. Nevertheless, the tyrant sent Pythagoras to the proconsul with an offer to sumbit to those conditions of peace which he had before rejected. Flamininus at first received the ambassador with scorn, and ordered him out of his tent;

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Pythagoras, however, throwing himself at his feet, obtained by many entreaties what the other was very desirous to grant. As for Argos, the cause of the war, it had already recovered its liberty; the Argives had taken arms, and driven the garrison out of the town.

Notwithstanding that Greece was thus entirely quieted, the proconsul continued there all the winter. He was honoured with the office of president at the Nemæan games, where, by his orders, a herald proclaimed liberty to Argos. The Achæans, though pleased to have that city reunited to their state, were yet somewhat dissatisfied to see Lacedemon left in slavery. And as for the Ætolians, they (finding fault with the peace, as they had before found fault with the war) openly and loudly spoke of it in the harshest terms, that the Lacedemonians were suffered to continue under the domination of Nabis, though their lawful king (Agesipolis) was in the Roman camp; and that while the noblest of their citizens, expelled by the tyrant, must live in banishment, the Roman people made themselves his guards to support him in his tyranny.

Year of ROME 559. B. C. 193. 258th consulship. Livy, b. 34. 46.

At Rome, P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus and T. Sempronius Longus were raised to the consulate. Scipio had hoped either to succeed Cato, and finish the Spanish war, or to be sent to the Levant against the king of Syria; but the Spaniards were already quelled, and the senate did not yet think it a proper season to commence a war with Antiochus. Sempronius made a campaign in Gaul against the Boii.

Flamininus, proposing to return this summer to Italy, assembled at Corinth the chiefs of the Greek cities, and there recounted to them all that the generals, his predecessors, and he himself, had done in Greece, from the time that the Romans first entered that country. Every thing he said was highly applauded, till he came to mention the affair of Nabis. And though he alleged, in justification of his conduct, that he could not destroy

the tyrant without ruining Lacedemon, this did not satisfy the assembly. In conclusion, he declared to them, that he was going to leave Greece, and would, before his departure, withdraw his garrisons from Corinth, Chalcis, and Demetrias; by which it would be evident to all the world, that the Ætolians lied, when they said "the Greeks had only changed masters, and that the Romans had driven Philip out of the country, that they themselves might tyrannize there." He exhorted the several states to judge of their friends only by their actions; use their liberty with moderation; and preserve concord among themselves, as the best security against kings and tyrants. "When a state (said he) is divided, the weaker party, rather than submit to their own countrymen, will call in the assistance of foreigners. Be careful to maintain that liberty which strangers have procured you, and let not the Romans have cause to think that they have misplaced their benefits and their friendship." This discourse (says Livy), which seemed to flow from a father-like affection, drew tears from the eyes of many of the assembly; and they exhorted one another to remember and regard Flamininus's advice as the dictates of an oracle. In testimony of their gratitude, they sought for all the Romans who were reduced to slavery in Greece, and delivered them up to him, to the number of 1200: the greatest part of these had been prisoners of war whom Hannibal had sold. After this Flamininus returned to Rome, and was honoured with a triumph, which lasted three days.

Year of ROME 559. B. C. 193. 558th consulship

In the beginning of the next year, when L. Cornelius Merula and Q. Minucius Thermus had the consular fasces, ambassadors came to Rome from Antiochus, and several kings and states of Asia and Greece. They were all favourably heard by the senate, except those from the king of Syria. Upon a pretence, that the affair with him was intricate, his ministers were referred to Flamininus and the ten commissioners, who, together with him, had

Year of ROME 560. B. C. 192. 559th consulship.

Year of ROME 560. A. C. 192. 259th consul-ship.

settled the affairs of Greece. They came to a conference. Menippus, one of the two chiefs of the Syrian embassy, said, he wondered what intricacy there could be in their proposals, since all they asked was a treaty of amity and alliance with Rome. He added, that there were three kinds of leagues: one between the victorious and the vanquished; another between states that had made war upon each other with equal advantage; and a third between such as had never been enemies. That as a league with Antiochus must belong to this last kind, he was surprised the Romans would think of treating his master like a vanquished prince; and prescribe to him what cities of Asia he should set at liberty, and from what cities he might exact tribute. To this Flamininus answered, that since Menippus went so distinctly to work, he would as distinctly tell him the conditions, without which the Romans would have no treaty with the king of Syria. "Antiochus must either keep out of Europe, or be content that the Romans interest themselves in protecting the cities of Asia." Hegesianax, the other chief of the embassy, replied, with indignation, that it was monstrous to think of expelling Antiochus from the cities of Thrace and the Chersonesus, which his ancestor Seleucus had with great glory conquered from Lysimachus, and which the king himself had with no less glory recovered from the Thracians; that there was a wide difference, in point of justice, between the Romans dispoiling him of his lawful possessions, and his requiring the Romans not to concern themselves with Asia, which had never been theirs: that Antiochus indeed desired an alliance with Rome, but upon honourable, not disgraceful conditions. To this Flamininus: "Since in the present affair we are to consider what is glorious (as indeed it ought to be the first, if not the sole consideration with a people the most renowned of any in the world, and with so great a king),[f] tell me, which is more glorious, to

[f] All the provinces of Asia, from the eastern borders of Media to Æolis and Ionia, were subject to Antiochus. He had lately made himself master of Cœlo-Syria, Phœ-

desire the liberty of all the Greek cities, wheresoever they are; or to desire to keep them under tribute and in slavery? If Antiochus judges it for his glory, once more to enslave the towns which his ancestor conquered in war, but which neither his father nor his grandfather ever possessed; the Roman people think it becoming their honour and steadiness, not to desert the Greeks, whose patronage they have undertaken: and as they have already delivered the Greek cities that were under the domination of Philip, so they now intend to set at liberty those that are in subjection to Antiochus. Colonies were not sent into Æolis and Ionia to be held in slavery by kings, but to propagate the race of the Greeks and spread that ancient nation over the world." The Syrian ambassadors answered, that they neither would nor could agree to any thing that tended to a diminution of their master's dominions. Year of ROME 560. B. C. 192. 259th consulship.

Next day, Flamininus having made a report of the affair to the senate, in presence of the ambassadors from Greece and Asia, the conscript fathers desired the Asiatics to tell their respective cities, that unless Antiochus quitted Europe, Rome would assert their liberty against him, with the same courage and the same fidelity, with which she had defended the European Greeks against Philip. Menippus begged the senate would not be hasty to pass a decree which must set the whole world in arms; that they would take time themselves, and allow the king time to consider; that perhaps Antiochus might obtain some mitigation of the conditions, or yield some points for the sake of peace. The fathers agreed to defer the matter; and sent to the king of Syria the same ambassadors who had been with him at Lysimachia, P. Sulpicius, P. Villius, and P. Ælius.

Scarce had these set out from Rome, when deputies

nicia, Judea, and Samaria, and, in short, of all the country quite to Egypt. In Europe he held Thrace and the Chersonesus. He had three sons old enough to succeed him in the throne, and four daughters marriageable, by whom he might procure formidable alliances.

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arrived from Carthage, with accounts, that the Syrian was certainly preparing for war, and that Hannibal excited him to it. The Carthaginian had, indeed, been very favourably received by Antiochus, who looked upon him as the ablest counsellor he could have in a war against the Romans.

Justin. b. 32. c. 3. 5. Livy, b. 34. c. 60. App. in Syr. c. 90.

As to the method of carrying on this enterprise, Hannibal was always of one and the same opinion. He asserted that the Romans were invincible every where but in Italy. To attack them in that country was, he said, like stopping a river at the fountain-head. The arms of the Italians would then be turned against themselves, and they overcome by their own strength; which were they left at liberty to employ abroad, no king or nation would be a match for them. He added, that his own example furnished a proof of this; who, so long as he continued in Italy, was never vanquished by the Romans, but that his fortune changed with the scene of action He therefore advised Antiochus to trust him with the command of 100 galleys, 10,000 foot, and 1000 horse. With this fleet he proposed to sail first to Africa, in hopes the Carthaginians might be prevailed on to enter into a confederacy with the king. If they refused, he would nevertheless make a descent in some part of Italy, and there rekindle a war against the Romans. Antiochus approving this advice, Hannibal, to sound his countrymen, sent one Aristo, a Tyrian, to Carthage; giving him private tokens to his friends, but no letters, lest his business should be discovered. The Tyrian, however, was suspected, on account of his frequent visits to those of the Barchine faction; and was cited to appear before the senate of Carthage. Some were for imprisoning him as a spy, but others represented the ill consequences of such a proceeding, when they had no evidence against the accused; it would be a discouragement to traders, the Tyrians might make reprisals, and all foreigners would take umbrage. These considerations suspended their

resolution, and in the mean time Aristo made his escape. Before he went off, he used a policy to extricate Hannibal's friends. In the dusk of the evening he stole into the hall, where public audiences were given, and over the president's seat affixed a writing which contained these words: "Aristo had no orders to treat with private persons, but with the senate of Carthage." The stratagem succeeded, for it prevented an inquiry after any particular men as corresponding with Hannibal. However, the African republic thought it proper to send an embassy to Rome, to inform the consuls and senate of what had happened, and at the same time to complain of some usurpations of Masinissa on the lands of Carthage. The king, taking advantage of Hannibal's absence, and of the new heats arisen on his account, had invaded the fine maritime country called Emporia, in which the city of Leptis yielded the Carthaginians the tribute of a talent* a day; and knowing that they had sent complaints of him to Rome, he dispatched ambassadors thither to vindicate himself. The senate were prejudiced against the Carthaginians, because they had neither put Aristo nor his ship under arrest, and had thereby afforded him means to escape. When their ambassadors came to be heard, they urged that Emporia was within the bounds set them by Scipio Africanus, and that Masinissa himself had lately acknowledged their title to that country, by asking their leave to pass through it in pursuit of a rebel, who had fled out of his kingdom to Cyrene. The Numidian ambassadors confidently answered, that the Carthaginians lied, as to the bounds marked out by Scipio. "If rights (said they) are narrowly inquired into, what title have the Carthaginians to any land in Africa? They are strangers in that country, who [about 700 years ago] had leave given them to build upon as much ground as they should compass with an ox's hide. Whatever they hold beyond those bounds has been acquired by force and injustice. As to the territory in question, they cannot

Year of ROME 562. B. C. 192. 259th consulship.

Livy, b. 43. c. 62.

*193*l.* 15*s.* Arbuth.

Year of ROME 560 B. C. 192. 259th consulship. prove that they have continued possessed of it from the time that they first conquered it, or even for any considerable time together. It was held sometimes by the kings of Numidia; sometimes by the Carthaginians, just as the fortune of the frequent wars between them happened to decide." The ambassadors concluded with desiring, that Emporia might be left on the same footing as it was before the Carthaginians were enemies to Rome, or the king of Numidia her friend; and that the Romans would not interfere in the dispute. The senate answered, that they would send commissioners into Africa to determine the affair on the spot. Scipio Africanus, Cornelius Cethegus, and Minucius Rufus, being accordingly dispatched thither, heard the matter discussed, but made no decree in favour of either party. Whether they acted thus of their own head, or by order of the senate, is not so certain, says Livy, as it is, that they suited their conduct to the state of affairs at home; otherwise Scipio alone could have ended the dispute by a word. But Polybius tells us, that the Romans always gave sentence against the Carthaginians, not because these were always in the wrong, but because it was the interest of the judges to give such sentence. As to the present dispute, he says, Masinissa had seized upon the lands of Emporia, but could not take the fortified towns; and that after many embassies to Rome from both parties, the Carthaginians were not only deprived of the lands and towns in question, but obliged to pay 500 talents* for the profits they had received from thence, since the time that Masinissa made his claim.

Legat. 116

*96,875*l.* Arbuthnot.

The Roman arms prospered this year in Spain, under the prætor Scipio Nasica; and in Gaul the consul Merula obtained a complete victory over the Boii near Mutina.

There never was a stronger competition for the consulship than now. Three patricians and four plebeians, all men of great note, professed themselves candidates. Of the former, Scipio Nasica, so famous for his virtue,

and who had lately signalized himself in Spain, was supported by his cousin-german, the great Scipio; and Quinctius, the late successful admiral in Greece, recommended by his brother Flamininus: the plebeians were, Lælius, the friend of Scipio Africanus, Cn. Domitius Ænobarbus, C. Livius, Salinator, and Man. Acilius Glabrio. It was natural to suppose, that the greatest man in the republic would gain the majority of suffrages in favour of those he espoused: yet, strange as it may appear, Flamininus had a better interest than Scipio. Scipio's glory was the greater, but it was therefore exposed to greater envy. And as he had long resided at Rome, the people, familiarized to the sight of him, had lost much of their first admiration. Besides, they had already rewarded him with the consulship and censorship, since his return from Africa. Flamininus, on the other hand, had of late been little seen at Rome; his victories and his triumph were recent; he solicited in behalf of a brother, his partner in the war, and had neither asked nor obtained any favour since his return from Greece. L. Quinctius was declared consul with Cn. Domitius Ænobarbus, and the great Scipio had the double mortification of not succeeding either for his cousin or his friend.

Year of ROME 560. B. C. 192.

259th consulship.

CHAP. IV.

The Ætolians and Nabis raise commotions in Greece. Antiochus, after some fruitless conferences with the Roman ambassadors, calls a council, in order to deliberate about a war with Rome. Hannibal, on account of his familiar intercourse with the Roman ambassadors, being suspected of favouring their cause, is not consulted. He endeavours to clear himself in a speech to the king. The council determine for war. In Greece, Philopœmen, at the head of the Achæans, makes war with success against the tyrant Nabis. The Ætolians pass a decree, inviting Antiochus to come into Europe. They seize upon Demetrias, and assassinate Nabis. Antiochus lands in Greece with a small army; and endeavours, without success, to bring over Chalcis and the Achæans to his party. He reduces Eubœa, and the Bœotians submit to him. Hannibal's advice with regard to the method of carrying on the war. Philip of Macedon declares for the Romans. Antiochus marries the daughter of his host, and passes the winter at Chalcis in feasting and diversions.

561.

Philopœmen.

EVER since the departure of Flamininus from Greece, the Ætolians had been endeavouring to raise up new

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enemies against Rome; though true policy would have made them cautious of giving the Romans any pretence of returning into that country. Having chosen one Thoas, a factious man, for their chief, they resolved, in a general diet of the nation, to shake off their alliance with the republic, and form a confederacy against her. To this end they dispatched deputies to Philip, Nabis, and Antiochus. The Macedonian and Syrian were not hasty in coming to a determination; but Nabis immediately took arms, and besieged Gythium.

Joseph. b. 12 c. 3. App. in Syriac. &c.

The king of Syria about this time celebrated the nuptials of his daughter Cleopatra with Ptolemy Epiphanes; he married his second daughter to Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia; and offered his third to Eumenes,[s] king of Pergamus, in hopes to draw him thereby from the interest of Rome: but Eumenes rejected the proposal, and chose rather to adhere to the Romans, believing that, sooner or later, they would be the conquerors, and well knowing that he must become a vassal to the Syrian, if the latter should prevail.

Early in the spring Antiochus marched from Ephesus,

[s] The founder of the kingdom of Pergamus was one Philetærus, a eunoch, who belonged to Docimus, a Macedonian officer in the army of Antigonus the First. After the death of Antigonus, Philetærus accompanied his master, who went over to Lysimachus, king of Thrace. Lysimachus gave him the charge of his treasures, which he had laid up in the castle of Pergamus. Philetærus was for some time faithful to his trust, but dreading the intrigues of Arsinoe (the wife of Lysimachus), who hated him, he offered the castle and the treasures to Seleucus Nicator, then at war with Lysimachus. The latter being slain in battle, and Seleucus dying soon after, Philetærus retained Pergamus, with the country round about it, and reigned there as king (though without the title) twenty years. He had two brothers, the eldest of whom had a son named Eumenes, and to him Philetærus left Pergamus. This Eumenes, by some victories he gained over the kings of Syria, not only secured to himself the possession of what his uncle had left him, but also made several new acquisitions. When he had governed two-and-twenty years, he died of a debauch; leaving his dominions to Attalus, the son of Attalus, the youngest brother of Philetærus.

Strabo, b. 13. p. 626.

Polyb. b. 4. c. 48.

Attalus was greatly harassed by Achæus, who, setting himself up as king against Antiochus the Great, reigned in Lesser Asia. Achæus invaded Pergamus, made himself master of the country, and besieged Attalus in his capital. But he was delivered by the Tectosagæ, a nation of the Gauls, whom he called out of Thrace, and recovered all he had lost. When these Gauls had once got footing in Asia, they laid the neighbouring countries under contribution, and at last would have forced Attalus to pay them tribute. Hereupon he took the field against them, defeated them in battle, and obliged them to confine themselves within that province, which from them took the name of Galatia. After his victory, Attalus assumed the title of king, and joined with the Romans and other allies in the war against Philip of Macedon, as has been before related. He was succeeded in the throne by his son, the present Eumenes.

to make war upon the Pisidians, and while he was engaged in this enterprise, Villius, the Roman ambassador, arrived at Ephesus. His colleague, Sulpicius, had fallen sick by the way, and was left at Pergamus. Scipio Africanus accompanied Villius, and, according to some authors, was in the embassy. Hannibal being then at Ephesus, the civilities that passed between him and the Romans, and the frequent conversations[h] he had with them, rendered him suspected by Antiochus. Villius went to Apamea, and there had an audience of the king. The Roman insisted upon the same terms which Flamininus had prescribed to the Syrian ambassadors. The conference was warm, but not long; for the sudden news which the king received, at this time, of his son Antiochus's death, put an end to it. A suspicion prevailed, that the father, jealous of the young prince's rising merit, had caused him to be poisoned; and though this suspicion had no good foundation, it was necessary for the king to destroy it by the appearance of an extraordinary grief. He, therefore, without concluding any thing, dismissed Villius, who returned to Pergamus.

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Claudius et Acilius Ap. Livy, b. 35. c. 14. App. in Syr. c. 90.

Livy, b. 35. c. 15.

[h] It is reported, that Scipio one day asked the Carthaginian, "Whom he thought the greatest general?" Hannibal immediately declared for Alexander, because with a small body of men he had defeated very numerous armies, and had overrun a great part of the world. "And who do you think deserves the second place?" continued the Roman. "Pyrrhus (replied the other), he first taught the method of forming a camp to the best advantage. Nobody knew better how to choose ground, or post guards more properly. Besides, he had the art of conciliating to him the affections of men, insomuch, that the Italian nations choose rather to be subject to him, though a foreigner and a king, than to the Roman people, who had so long held the principality in that country." Thus Scipio was twice mortified, but still he went on, "And whom do you place next to those?" Hannibal named himself, at which Scipio smiled, and said, "Where then would you have placed yourself if you had conquered me?" To which the Carthaginian readily replied, "Above Alexander." C. Acilius Ap. Livy, b. 35. c. 14.

Plutarch, in his life of Pyrrhus, makes Hannibal give Pyrrhus the first place, Scipio the second, and himself the third, without mentioning Alexander; but in his Life of Flamininus, Hannibal gives Alexander the first place, Pyrrhus the second, and himself the third.

It is also related, that while Hannibal was at Ephesus, he went, upon the invitation of some of his acquaintance, to hear the lectures of a celebrated peripatetic philosopher, named Phormio. The philosopher, who was a most copious speaker, entertained him for several hours (knowing his profession and character) with a discourse on the duties of a general, and the whole extent of the military art. All the rest of the audience were beyond measure delighted; and some of them asked Hannibal, "What he thought of their philosopher? The Carthaginian frankly answered, "that he had met with many a silly old fellow, but so very a dotard as this he had never seen before." Cicer. de Orat. b 2. c. 18.

Year of ROME 561. B.C. 191. 260th consul. ship.

Antiochus gave over all thoughts of the Pisidian war, and went to Ephesus; where under pretence of desiring solitude in his affliction, he shut himself up in his palace with his favourite, Minio. This courtier, who knew little of foreign affairs, but had great confidence in his own abilities, pressed the king to send for the Roman ambassadors to Ephesus, and undertook so to manage the argument as to leave them nothing to say. Antiochus, wearied with fruitless conferences, and thinking that his mourning would be a good excuse for treating with the Romans by his minister, approved the motion, and sent for Villius and his colleagues. The amount of Minio's logic was this: That his master had as good a title to the obedience of the Eastern Greeks, whom he or his ancestors had conquered, as the Romans had to that of the Western Greeks in Italy and Sicily. Sulpicius answered: That if the king had nothing better to offer for his cause, it was indeed but what modesty required, that he should choose to have his cause pleaded by any body rather than himself. "What similitude (said he) is there between the two cases? Ever since our conquest of the Neapolitans, Tarentines, and other Italic Greeks, our tenure has been perpetual and uninterrupted; but can you say the same of Antiochus's dominion over the Asiatic Greeks? Why, at your rate of reasoning, we have been doing nothing in Greece: Philip's posterity may one day reclaim the possession of Corinth, Chalcis, and Demetrias. But what business have I to plead the cause of the Greek cities of Asia? their ambassadors are here; let us call them in." These ministers had been beforehand prepared and instructed by Eumenes, who was not without secret hopes, that he should get whatever was taken from Antiochus. There was great plenty of ambassadors; who, being admitted, fell to making their complaints and demands, some right, some wrong; it was nothing but a scene of altercation and wrangling between them and Minio, neither

party yielding any thing. The conference broke off; and the Romans returned home in all points as uncertain as they came. So writes Livy: but Appian reports, that the Syrian offered, as the price of an alliance with Rome, to restore all the Asiatic Greeks to their freedom, except the Ætolians and Ionians: a fruitless concession, because the Romans had not come with views of peace and amity, but only to inform themselves of the true state of affairs in Asia. Year of ROME 561. B. C. 191. 260th consulship. In Syr. §. 92.

Soon after the ambassadors were gone, Antiochus called a council of the chief officers of his army, as well foreigners as Syrians, to give their opinions concerning a war with the Romans. Hannibal only was not consulted: his familiarity with Scipio and Villius had made the king jealous of him. In council every one declared vehemently for a war: nay, Alexander of Acarnania, who had formerly served Philip, and was now in great favour with Antiochus, confidently promised the king victory, if he would pass into Greece, and make that country the seat of the war. Nabis and the Ætolians, he said, were already in arms; and Philip would take the field on the first sounding of the Syrian trumpets. He added, that much depended upon expedition; and therefore begged the king would hasten his departure; and in the mean time send Hannibal to Africa, to cause a diversion.

The little regard shewed to Hannibal, since his familiar intercourse with the Roman ambassadors, convinced him that the king had taken umbrage at that part of his conduct. At first the Carthaginian bore his disgrace in silence; but now, thinking it advisable to clear himself, he begged an audience of Antiochus. Being called into the council, he directly asked the king the reason of his displeasure; and, when he had heard it, expressed himself in the following manner: "I was scarce nine years old, when Amilcar, my father, at the time of a solemn sacrifice, led me to the altar, and made me swear, that, to my last breath, I would be an irrecon- Livy, b. 35. c. 19. Polyb. b. 3 c. 11.

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cileable enemy to the Roman nation. Under this oath I carried arms for six-and-thirty years; it was this which made me leave my country, when my country was in peace with Rome; it was this which brought me like a banished man into your dominions; and, under the conduct of the same oath (if you disappoint my hopes), in whatever part of the earth I can hear of strength, wherever I can hear of arms, thither will I fly, in search of enemies to the Romans. If, therefore, any of your courtiers would raise their credit with you, by defaming me, they should invent some other crime, than my friendship to Rome. No; I hate the Romans, and am hated by them; and that I speak truth, I call the gods to witness, and the manes of Amilcar my father. Whensoever you are in earnest for a Roman war, reckon Hannibal among your surest friends; but if any thing constrain you to peace, in that affair you must seek some other cousellor." This discourse reconciled the king to Hannibal, at least for a time. The council unanimously determined for war.

Livy, b. 35. c. 20.

Rome, upon the return of her ambassadors, sent a body of troops under the prætor Bæbius, to guard the eastern coast of Italy, and to be in readiness to embark for the Levant, if there should be occasion. She ordered two fleets to be fitted out, one for Sicily, the other for Greece; whither she also dispatched Flamininus and three other senators, in quality of Ambassadors. When they arrived in that country, Nabis was yet engaged in the siege of Gythium. He frequently detached parties to make incursions on the lands of the Achæans. These, fearing to begin a war without the approbation of Rome, wrote to Flamininus for his consent. He counselled them to wait for the arrival of the Roman fleet, before they took arms. Nevertheless, they held a general diet at Sicyon upon the affair; and the assembly, being divided in their sentiments, desired to know the opinion of Philopœmen, their president. He an-

swered, "It is a wise institution among us, that our prætors should not declare their opinions when the assemblies are deliberating about war. It is your province to determine what shall be done; mine to execute your orders. And I will take all possible care, that you shall not repent of your choice, whether it be peace or war." These words more powerfully inclined the diet to war, than if the president had openly declared for it. War they decreed, and gave the conduct of it to Philopœmen. Year of ROME 561. B.C. 191. 260th consulship.

The first enterprise of this brave man was to relieve Gythium: he set sail for that port with what galleys he could get together; but being (as Livy says) a land officer, and not used to sea affairs, he failed in his attempt. He was defeated within sight of the place by the Lacedemonian fleet. However, he soon retrieved his honour by two victories, which his able conduct gave him over the tyrant at land. Livy, b. 35 c. 27.

Whilst the Achæans carried on the war against the Lacedemonians, the ambassadors from the Roman republic were busy in visiting the chief cities of Greece. The inhabitants of Demetrias had been informed, that Rome intended to restore to Philip his son Demetrius, and to put the king again into possession of their city, in order to prevent his joining with Antiochus; a rumour not altogether groundless. It was with some difficulty, therefore, that Flamininus could pacify them. He went thence to the diet of Ætolia, where Menippus, ambassador from Antiochus, had been introduced by Thoas, one of the chief authors of the Ætolian defection. The Roman in vain endeavoured to dissuade the assembly from calling the Syrians into Europe: they passed a decree in his presence, for inviting Antiochus to come and restore the liberty of Greece. Flamininus demanding a copy of the decree, was answered by Damocritus the prætor, "We have affairs of greater moment to dispatch; we shall tell you the purport of it on the banks of the Tiber." c. 31.

Year of ROME 561. B.C. 191. — 260th consulship. Livy, b. 35. c. 34.

After this the Ætolians took measures to seize three important cities; Demetrias in Thessaly, Lacedemon[1] in Peloponnesus, and Chalcis in Eubœa. Diocles, Alexamenus, and Thoas, were the persons appointed for these expeditions. The first got possession of Demetrias, through the treachery of one of the principal citizens. To surprise Lacedemon, Alexamenus, with 1000 foot, and some young horsemen, went thither as carrying succours to Nabis. The tyrant received them without suspicion: and their leader having insinuated to him, that it would be for his honour to have his troops well disciplined, and make a good appearance when Antiochus should arrive, he every day drew them out, and exercised them in a plain near the city. At one of these reviews Alexamenus assassinated him. Had the murderer harangued the Lacedemonian soldiers during their first astonishment, it is probable they would have approved of the action; because the tyrant was hated: but the Ætolians hastened to plunder the royal palace, and this giving the Lacedemonians time to recover themselves, they entered the city, massacred all the pillagers they met, and, among the rest, the infamous Alexamenus. Philopœmen took advantage of this event, appeared with a body of troops before the town, and persuaded the inhabitants to resume their liberty. Accordingly, Lacedemon from being a monarchy became a republic, and a part of the Achaian body.

Plut. Life of Philopœmen Livy. b 35. c. 37.

As for Thoas, he failed in his attempt upon Chalcis; the Eubœans were upon their guard, and adhered steadily to Rome. He went, therefore, straight to Antiochus; and as by the false reports he had spread in Greece, magnifying the king's strength, he had drawn over many to his party; so now he deceived the king

[1] The Ætolians, in this enterprise upon Lacedemon, seem to have been actuated by the apprehension of its falling into the hands of the Achæans, rather than enmity to Nabis, who was at this time engaged in the same cause with them. And Livy tells us, the tyrant was so hated by the Lacedemonians, that there was reason to think they would attach themselves to whoever should destroy him.

by what he told him of the disposition of the Greeks. He assured him, that all Greece was in motion; that the people universally desired and entreated his coming among them; and that his fleet would no sooner appear on the coast, but the shore would be crowded with soldiers to offer him their service. He added, that Demetrias, a town of great consequence, being at present in the Ætolian interest, he might there commodiously land his troops. At the same time he endeavoured to dissuade the Syrian from dividing his naval force; "but if a part of his fleet must be sent to Italy, the conduct of it, he said, ought to be given to any body, rather than to Hannibal. That he was an exile, and a Carthaginian, to whom fortune and his own restless disposition would be daily suggesting new projects. The very glory he had acquired in war, and for which he was courted, was too great for a lieutenant in the king's army; the king ought to be looked upon as the only general, the spring and director of all. Should Hannibal lose a fleet or an army, the loss would be the same as if any other had lost it: but if success attended his arms, Hannibal, not Antiochus, would have all the glory. The king might have the Carthaginian to attend him, and might hear his opinion; a cautious use of his talents would be safe and profitable; but to trust him with the supreme direction of affairs, would be dangerous both to Antiochus and to Hannibal."

Year of ROME 561. B. C. 191. 2d consulship. Livy, b. 35. c. 43.

None are so prone to envy, says Livy, as those of high rank and fortune, with low, little minds. The king immediately dropped all thoughts of sending Hannibal into Italy, the only wise measure that had been proposed in relation to this war. It being concluded that Antiochus should pass into Greece, he, before he set sail, went with a frivolous pomp of ceremony to Ilium, and there sacrificed to Minerva. This done, he took shipping, and landed at Demetrias with 10,000 foot, 500 horse, and six elephants; an army hardly considerable

Year of ROME 561. B.C. 191. enough to take possession of Greece, had it been wholly unprovided of troops; much less to oppose the power of Rome.

260th consulship. As soon as the Ætolians heard of the king's landing, they assembled a diet at Lamia, in order to invite him, in form, to come to their assistance. The Syrian, knowing their design, was already on his way, when he received their invitation; and being, amidst the acclamations of the multitude, introduced in the assembly, he began to excuse his coming into Greece with an army so much inferior to what they had expected. "It was (he said) a strong evidence of his good will to them, that upon the call of their ambassadors, he had hasted to their aid, without waiting till any thing was ready, or even till the weather was fit for sailing. He assured them, he would in a short time satisfy their utmost expectations; that as soon as the season would permit, they should see Greece full of men, arms, and horses, and all the coast covered with his ships. Neither would he spare any expense or labour, or decline any danger, to remove the Roman yoke from their necks, give Greece real liberty, and make the Ætolians the most considerable of all her states. When his forces should arrive, all sorts of provisions (he said) would arrive with them. In the mean time, he hoped the Ætolians would furnish him with corn and other necessaries for the troops he had brought."

This discourse was heard with applause; and the diet passed a decree constituting Antiochus general of the Ætolians, and appointing him a council of thirty persons, to whom he might have recourse on all occasions. The first attempt he made, by their advice, was to gain over Chalcis in Eubœa; and as they imagined that much depended upon expedition, he hasted away with 1000 Syrians and some Ætolians, crossed the Euripus, and appeared before the gates of Chalcis. The Ætolians, in an amicable conference with the Chalcidians, endea-

voured to persuade them to enter into a treaty of friendship with Antiochus (without renouncing their alliance with Rome), and assured them, that the king was not come to make war upon Greece, but to deliver her from slavery. Mictio, one of the chiefs of the Chalcidians, answered, "That he wondered what cities of Greece they were, to set which at liberty Antiochus had left his kingdom, and come into Europe. For his part, he knew of none that had either a Roman garrison, or paid tribute to Rome, or was obliged to do any thing contrary to its own laws. The Chalcidians, therefore, neither wanted a protector nor a garrison; since by the favour of the Romans they enjoyed both peace and liberty. They were indeed far from despising the friendship of the king, or even of the Ætolians; but desired, the first instance of that friendship might be their leaving the island immediately; for the Chalcidians were determined not only not to receive them within their walls, but to enter into no alliance with them, without consent of the Romans." The king, hereupon, thought proper to return to Demetrias, for he had not with him a sufficient number of troops to take Chalcis by force. Year of ROME 561. B. C. 191. 260th consulship.

Nor did he succeed better in his endeavours to bring the diet of Achaia, held at Ægium, to a neutrality. His minister there extravagantly magnified the Syrian power, and boasted much of an innumerable multitude of horsemen, that were coming over the Hellespont into Europe, some in complete armour, others so excellent archers, that nothing was safe from their arrows, and who were surest of hitting an enemy when they turned their backs upon him. And though these horsemen were sufficient to trample down all the armies of Europe joined together in a body, yet the king would also bring into the field a numerous and terrible infantry; Dahæ Medes, Elimæans, Cadusians, names scarce heard of before in Greece. He represented the fleet of Antiochus as so prodigiously great, that all the ports of Greece

Year of ROME 561. B.C. 191. 560th consulship.

could not contain it: "The squadrons of the right composed of Sidonians and Tyrians: those on the left, of Aradians and Sidetæ from Pamphilia; nations whose bravery in naval engagements, and skill in maritime affairs, had never been equalled." He added, that "it would be superfluous to reckon up the warlike stores or the sum of money Antiochus had amassed; they knew the kingdoms of Asia had always abounded with gold. The Romans, therefore, would not have to do with Hannibal or Philip, the former only one of the chiefs of a single city, and the latter confined within the narrow limits of Macedon; but with the great king of all Asia and a part of Europe. And that this king, though he came from the extremity of the east to deliver Greece from slavery, yet asked nothing of the Achæans that was contrary to their treaty with the Romans. He only desired they would stand neuter, and be quiet spectators of the war between him and Rome."

Archidamus, the Ætolian minister, exhorted the assembly to comply with this motion; nor did he stop here, but proceeded to inveigh against the Romans in general, and Flamininus in particular. He boasted that the victory over Philip was entirely owing to the courage of the Ætolians, who alone were exposed to danger, while the noble commander of the Romans employed himself wholly in making vows and sacrifices. To this Flamininus, who was present, answered, "Archidamus considers before whom, rather than to whom, he speaks. The bravery of the Ætolians is well known, in Greece, to shew itself more in councils and assemblies than in the field. They little value, therefore, what the Achæans think, whom they cannot hope to impose upon; it is to the king's ambassador, and by him to the absent king, that Archidamus makes his boasts. And now, if any one was ignorant before of what has made Antochus and the Ætolians friends, he may learn it from the speeches of their ministers; by lying to each other, and bragging

of that strength they never had, they have puffed up one another with vain hopes. While the Ætolians talk loudly, that Philip was overcome by them, and the Romans protected by their valour, and that you and the other states of Greece will undoubtedly join them; the king, on the other hand, boasts of his clouds of horse and foot, his Dahæ, Cadusians, Aradians, and the rest; and covers the seas with his prodigious fleets. This puts me in mind of an entertainment we once had at Chalcis at a friend's house, an honest man, and who understood good eating: it was in the beginning of June; and we, therefore, much admired how, in that season of the year, he had procured such variety of venison as we saw at his table: upon which my friend (not so vain as these orators) bade me not deceive myself; for that what I saw was nothing more than common pork: 'My cook (said he) has indeed disguised it, and given it different tastes and different names; but all this variety of dishes is made of one tame swine.' It is just so with regard to this pompous enumeration of the king's forces: they are all Syrians, by whatever strange names they may be called; all one sort of men; and for their servile dispositions much fitter to be slaves than soldiers. And I wish, Achæans, I could but picture to you the great king, in all his mightiness and bustle. You would see something like two petty legions, incomplete, in his camp. You would behold him one while almost begging corn of the Ætolians to be measured out scantily to his soldiers; then borrowing money at use to pay them. You would see him hurrying from Demetrias to Lamia; from Lamia to Chalcis in Eubœa: now standing at the gates of Chalcis; and by and by, when denied entrance, and having only seen Aulis and the Euripus, returning to Demetrias. Indeed Antiochus did ill to believe the Ætolians; and the Ætolians were as much in the wrong to hearken to his vanity. Be not you therefore deceived, but rely on the faith of the Romans, which you have so

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often experienced. And as for the neutrality so much recommended to you, nothing can be more contrary to your interests: for without gaining any honour, or even thanks from either side, you would undoubtedly be the prize of the conqueror." The Achæans without hesitation declared for the Romans.

Antiochus and the Ætolians had sent an embassy to the Bœotians, to court their alliance. These returned answer, That when the king came into their country, they would consider of what was proper to be done.

Livy, b. 35. c. 47. 50.

The Athamanes were brought over to Antiochus by means of Philip the brother of Apamea, Amynander's wife. Philip deduced his pedigree from Alexander the Great, and pretended to be the true heir of Macedon: and the Syrian, encouraging his vanity, made him hope that he should one day possess that throne.

After this, the king, hearing that Eumenes and the Achæans were sending a garrison into Chalcis, made what haste he could to prevent them. He instantly sent away Menippus with 3000 men; and followed in person with the rest of his army. Menippus intercepted and cut off a party of 500 Romans that were marching to the defence of Chalcis; and though the Pergamenians and Achæans had entered the place, the inhabitants opened the gates to Antiochus: after which he soon reduced the whole island of Eubœa. Thence he passed into Bœotia; and this country also renounced her confederacy with Rome, and submitted to him.

B. 36. c. 6.

Upon his return to Chalcis (which he made his chief place of residence), he, by letters, invited his friends and allies to meet him in council at Demetrias, in order to determine, whether it were proper to make any attempt upon Thessaly. Some were for an expedition into that country immediately; some for deferring it till the spring; others advised only the sending ambassadors thither. When Hannibal's opinion came to be asked, addressing himself to the king, he spoke to this effect:

"Had I ever been consulted since our arrival in Greece; had my opinion been asked, when you were considering how to act with regard to the Eubœans, Achæans, and Bœotians, I should have said what I am now going to say, when the debate is concerning Thessaly. Our first, our principal object should be to gain over the king of Macedon. The Eubœans, the Bœotians, the Thessalians, who have no strength of their own, will always follow the dictates of their fears. Through fear they will now be on your side; and, as soon as the Romans come into Greece, turn again to them, pleading weakness as an excuse for having submitted to you. Of how much greater importance would it be to engage Philip in your cause, who, if he once espouses it, must of necessity be steady; and whose friendship will bring us an accession of real strength—a strength that, not long ago, was of itself sufficient to withstand the whole power of the Romans? If I am asked what reason I have to hope that Philip will join in the alliance, I answer: in the first place, his interest requires him so to do: and in the next, you Ætolians have always asserted he would. Your ambassador here, this same Thoas, when he was pressing the king to sail into Greece, employed, as one of his strongest arguments, the raging anger of Philip, to find himself, under the colour of a peace, reduced to slavery. I remember, he compared the king's fury to that of a wild beast chained or shut up, and struggling to get loose. If this be true, let us break his chains and set him free, that he may turn against the common enemy all that wrath which has been so long restrained. But, if he will not be brought over to our cause, let us at least take care that he do not join our enemies. Your son Seleucus is at Lysimachia with an army: if he attacks Macedon on the side of Thrace, this, by keeping Philip employed in the defence of his own dominions, will hinder him from assisting the Romans. Thus far with regard to Philip. What my opinion is, in relation

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to the general plan of the war, you have known from the beginning. Had I then been hearkened to, the news at Rome would not now be that Chalcis in Eubœa is taken, and a castle upon the Euripus demolished; but that Hetruria, Liguria, and Cisalpine Gaul, are in a flame; and, what perhaps would strike more terror, that Hannibal is in Italy. Be that as it will, our present situation, I think, requires that you send immediately for all your sea and land forces, and provisions necessary to maintain them; for they cannot be supplied by this country. When your fleet arrives, it should be divided; one part of it stationed at Corcyra to prevent the Romans landing in Greece, and the other sent to that coast of Italy which looks towards Sardinia and Africa. It will also be expedient that you in person march your land forces to the coast of Illyricum, near Epirus. There you may preside over all Greece, and keep the Romans in awe by the fear of an invasion: nay, from thence may actually pass into Italy, if you should think it proper. This is my opinion; and if I should not be thought the most skilful in managing other wars, yet surely it will be granted, that I have learnt, both by good and bad fortune, how to manage a war against the Romans. In the execution of the advice I have given, I am ready to assist with faithfulness and alacrity. But whatever resolution you take, may the gods grant you success." Such was the substance of Hannibal's discourse. His counsel was applauded, and not followed. Of all he had proposed, the king did nothing, except sending to Asia for his fleet and land forces.

As to Thessaly, it was determined to dispatch ambassadors to the Thessalian diet held at Larissa: and the Syrian marched with his army to Pheræ, in the same country. While he was there waiting to be joined by the Athamanes and the Ætolians, he sent Philip, the brother-in-law of Amynander, with 2000 men, to Cynocephalæ, where the bones of the Macedonians slain in

the battle when the king of Macedon was vanquished by the Romans still lay unburied. Antiochus thought, that if this pretender procured them burial, he would thereby gain the affection of a people over whom he claimed the government. But this step served only to irritate the true king of Macedon. And he, who perhaps was hitherto undetermined, not only sent advice to the Roman prætor, M. Bæbius, of the irruption of the Syrians into Thessaly, but offered him the assistance of his forces. Year of ROME 561. B.C. 191. 260th consulship.

The Syrian's embassy to the Thessalians having proved fruitless, he, with the help of the Ætolians and Amynander, reduced, by force of arms, Pheræ, Scotussa, Cypra, and the greatest part of Thessaly; and then laid siege to Larissa. Bæbius, now joined by Philip, sent Ap. Claudius with a detachment to reinforce the garrison. When Claudius came near the town, he posted himself upon a hill within view of the Syrians, made his camp larger than his forces required, and lighted up more fires than were necessary. Antiochus, thinking the whole Roman army and king Philip were coming to the relief of Larissa, immediately raised the siege, under pretence that winter was at hand, retired to Demetrias, and from thence to Chalcis. Here he became enamoured, though past fifty years old, of the daughter of a Chalcidian named Cleoptolemus, in whose house he lodged. This disproportion of her age and condition to those of the king made the father very averse to the marriage, fearing she would soon repent her advancement to so glittering a station: but Antiochus at length obtained his consent; and the nuptials were celebrated with royal magnificence. The king spent the rest of the winter in feasting and diversions: his officers and soldiers, infected by his example, abandoned themselves to idleness and debauchery.

CHAP. V.

WAR WITH ANTIOCHUS THE GREAT.

562. Rome declares war against Antiochus. The consul Acilius routs the Syrians at Thermopylæ, drives their king into Asia, and reduces the Ætolians to great extremities. Flamininus takes the island Zacynthus from the Achæans. Philip recovers many places he had lost in his war with the Romans. The Ætolians obtain leave of the consul to send deputies to Rome to treat of peace. Livius, the Roman admiral, obtains a victory over the Syrian fleet. The Ætolians refuse to
563. submit to the conditions proposed by the conscript fathers. Lucius Scipio, the consul, assisted by his brother Africanus, is appointed to act against Antiochus in Asia.

Year of ROME 562. B. C. 190. 561st consulship. Livy, b. 36 c. 4.

WHILST Antiochus lay asleep in pleasures, the Romans were very watchful of their affairs in the Levant. Some late successes of their arms had made all things quiet in Spain and Italy, which put them in a better condition to provide for a war in the east. They fitted out 100 quinquiremes to scour the eastern seas; and after the election of magistrates, and a regulation of the troops appointed to serve this year, formally declared war against Antiochus. The new consuls, P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica, and M. Acilius Glabrio, drew lots for their provinces. Greece fell to the latter. When every thing was ready for his departure, ambassadors arrived from the kings of Egypt and Macedon with offers of money, provisions, and troops. Masinissa likewise would have contributed to the expenses of the war which the Romans were going to undertake. And as for the Carthaginians, they not only proposed to make the republic a present of wheat and barley, and to equip a fleet at their own expense for her service, but offered, in ready money, the whole remainder of the tribute, which they were not obliged to pay but in the space of nine years. Of all the offers made to the Romans at this time, they accepted only 500 Numidian horse and some elephants from Masinissa: they would not receive any corn either from him or Carthage, without paying for it. Acilius set out for Greece in the month of May, accompanied by L. Quinctius (the brother of Flamininus), whom the republic had appointed to be his lieutenant; and by the famous

Cato, who now served in no higher a station than that of legionary tribune. Year of ROME 562. B. C. 190.

The consul landed his troops in Greece, to the number of 10000* foot, 2000 horse, and fifteen elephants. He immediately sent his infantry to Larissa; and with his cavalry marched to Limnæa, another city of Thessaly, which the king of Macedon was besieging. This place surrendered to the consul at discretion. Thence he proceeded to Pellinæum, which Bæbius had invested; and this town also submitted to him. Here was taken Philip the pretender, whom the king of Macedon meeting, jestingly called him brother, and ordered him to be saluted king. Acilius sent him in chains to Rome. Then the Romans and Macedonians separated, to spread the terror of their arms in different parts. The king made himself master of all Athamania; Amynander retiring thence with his wife and children into Epirus. And as for the consul, he soon subdued all Thessaly. 261st consulship. Livy, b. 36. c. 14. * Appian says 20,000.

When Antiochus the Great considered, that, instead of all the mighty things which had been promised him, he had got nothing, in Greece, but an agreeable winter lodging, and his landlord's daughter to wife, he began to accuse Thoas and the Ætolians of having deceived him; and to look upon Hannibal as a wise man and a prophet. He was now sensible of the rashness of his enterprise; however, that its failure of success might not be imputed to any farther negligence on his part, he sent to the Ætolians to collect their whole strength, and marched all his forces into their country in order to join them. The Ætolian chiefs had not been able to raise above 4000 men: and these were mostly their clients and vassals. Disappointed of his expected aids from his allies, Antiochus seized the straits of Thermopylæ, to hinder the Romans from entering Ætolia by the way of Locris. At this pass, 300 Lacedemonians, under the command of Leonidas, had, for three whole days, stopped 1,000,000 of men in the time of Xerxes. It was not above sixty

Year of ROME 562. B.C. 190. 261st consulship.

paces broad, and bounded on one side by the sea, and a morass of deep mud, and on the other by Mount Oeta, the extremity of a chain of hills that divides Greece in two parts, almost in the same manner as the Apennines divide Italy. And as the king was not ignorant that, when Xerxes made his passage, it was by means of some troops that climbed the mountains, and fell down from thence upon the enemy, he, to prevent the Romans, detached 2000 Ætolians to seize the summit of Oeta, called Callidromos, which overlooked his camp. Acilius nevertheless forced the king in his intrenchments: for Cato being sent with a detachment up the mountain in the night, dislodged the Ætolians; and then pouring down upon the Syrians, while the consul attacked them below, put a speedy end to the dispute: an exploit of which he was extravagantly vain, and the last military exploit of his life. He was sent to Rome with the news of the victory.

Antiochus, in the action of Thermopylæ, and in his flight, lost his whole army, except 500 horse, which escaped with him to Elatia, from whence they passed to Chalcis. The conqueror, to make the best use of his advantage, marched into Bœotia. The inhabitants of several revolted cities came to meet him; and as he every where gave proofs of his clemency and moderation, the greatest part of this country submitted; and, presently after, all Eubœa; for Antiochus, upon the approach of the Roman army, left Chalcis, embarked for Asia with his new queen, and retired to Ephesus. Acilius laid siege to Heraclea, at the foot of Mount Oeta. The city being taken, after a stout resistance of the Ætolian garrison, the soldiers retired into the citadel. It was commanded by that Damocritus, who, when Flamininus asked a copy of the decree whereby the Ætolians called Antiochus into Greece, had answered, he would give it him upon the banks of the Tiber. He surrendered at discretion.

Philip, in pursuance of an agreement between him and the Roman general, was at this time besieging Lamia, a strong town about seven miles from Heraclea. The place was on the point of surrendering, when the consul, having reduced Heraclea, sent to the king to quit his enterprise: alleging, that it was but just the Roman soldiers, who had conquered the Ætolians in battle, should have the rewards of the victory. Philip with reluctance complied, and marched away. The city presently after opened her gates to Acilius. Year of ROME 562. B.C. 190. 561st consulship.

A few days before Heraclea was taken, the Ætolians, assembled in council at Hypata, had sent Thoas into Asia, to press the Syrian to return with an army into Europe: but now they bent their thoughts wholly to a peace, and for that purpose dispatched deputies; who presented themselves in a suppliant manner before the consul. Phæneas, their speaker, having, in a long harangue, endeavoured to move the compassion of the conqueror, at length concluded with saying, that "the Ætolians yielded themselves and their all to the faith[k] of the people of Rome."—"Do you so? (said Acilius) then deliver up to us Amynander and the chiefs of the Athamanes, Dicæarchus the Ætolian, and Manetus the Epirot, who made the city of Naupactus revolt from us." The consul had scarce finished, when Phæneas answered, "We did not give ourselves up to servitude, but to your faith; and I am persuaded, it is because you are unacquainted with the customs of the Greeks, that you enjoin us things so contrary to them." Acilius haughtily replied, "You little Greeks! Do you talk to me of your customs? of what is fit and decent for me to do? You, who have surrendered yourselves at discretion, and whom I may lay in irons, if I please? Here, lictors, bring chains for the necks of these men." Phæneas and his colleagues, quite astonished, represented to the con- Polyb. Leg. 1.

[k] (Polyb. Legat. 13.) says they were deceived by the words Εἰς τὴν πίστιν αὐτοὺς ἐγχειρίσαι, *fidei se permittere*, not knowing that they signified among the Romans, to surrender at discretion.

Year of ROME 562. B.C. 190. 261st consulship.

sul, that, though they were very willing to obey his orders, yet they could not execute them without the consent of the Ætolian diet. He was prevailed upon to grant them ten days' truce, to bring him a positive answer from thence. The preliminaries on which the Roman general insisted, highly provoked the council. While they were in great perplexity and doubt what measures to take, one Nicander, an active man, who had gone from Ætolia to Ephesus, and returned in twelve days, brought considerable sums of money from Antiochus; and also certain advice, that the king was making mighty preparations for war. This determined the assembly to lay aside the thoughts of peace. They drew all their forces to Naupactus, and resolved to sustain a siege there to the last extremity. Acilius, considering that by the reduction of this place he should give the finishing stroke to the conquest of Ætolia, and quell for ever the most restless of the Greek nations, marched thither and invested it.

Plut. Life of Flamininus Livy, b 36. c. 31.

In the mean time Flamininus, who had resided a good while at Chalcis, which he had saved from being sacked (when taken by Acilius), and where he was honoured even to adoration, went thence to settle a peace between the Achæans and the city of Messene; and he subjected the latter to the states of Achaia. There was at this time a dispute between the Romans and Achæans about Zacynthus, an island in the Ionian sea. This island Philip of Macedon had given to Amynander, who made one Hierocles, of Agrigentum, governor of it. Hierocles, after the defeat of Antiochus at Thermopylæ, seeing that Amynander was driven out of Athamania by Philip, sold Zacynthus to the Achæans; but Flamininus remonstrated, in the diet of Achaia, that an island, which only the success of the Roman arms had made to change its masters, belonged of right to the Romans. The assembly having referred the matter to his own honour, he thus answered: "If I thought that your possessing

the island in question could be of any benefit to you, I would counsel the senate and people of Rome to let you hold it. But as a tortoise when collected within its shell is safe from all harm, and when it thrusts out any part of itself, exposes that part to be trod upon and wounded: in like manner, you Achæans, who are encompassed with the sea, may safely unite, and united preserve all within the limits of Peloponnesus; but if you transgress those bounds, and make acquisitions beyond them, these members of your state will be exposed to insults by which the whole body must be affected." The issue was, that the Achæans relinquished their pretensions to the island. Year of ROME 562. B. C. 190. 261st consulship.

While the Romans were besieging Naupactus, king Philip (who had obtained permission from the consul to reduce the towns which had fallen off from their alliance with Rome) made himself master of Demetrias, extended his conquests in Dolopia, Aperantia, and Perrœbia (territories of Thessaly, or bordering upon it), and was gradually recovering the many places which had been formerly taken from him by the Romans. Flamininus, not pleased with this progress of the Macedonian, whom he looked upon as a more dangerous enemy than the Etolians, went to the camp before Naupactus to reprove Acilius for having consented to the enterprises of Philip. As the besieged, who were now reduced to great extremity, had formerly experienced Flamininus's clemency, they, upon the news of his arrival, sent deputies to him, imploring his protection. He became their intercessor with the consul, and obtained for them a suspension of arms, till they could dispatch ambassadors to Rome, to negotiate a peace there. The Epirots at the same time sent thither, to excuse some advances they had formerly made to Antiochus; and as it did not appear that they had committed any act of hostility against the republic, she chose rather to admit their apology, than draw new enemies upon herself. But the ambassadors of Philip were yet more favourably received than Livy, b. 36. c. 34.

Year of ROME 562. B.C. 190. 261st consul. ship.

those of Epirus. He begged leave to hang up, in the Capitol, a crown of gold of 100 pounds' weight, in memory of the first advantage the Romans had gained over Antiochus. The fathers readily accepted the king's present; and, in return, restored to him his son Demetrius, then a hostage at Rome; promising at the same time, that, if he continued steady to the republic in the prosecution of the war, she would remit the tribute he was engaged to pay her.

Polyb. Legat 15.

Livy, b. 36. c. 41.

During these transactions, Livius, the Roman admiral, was pursuing the war against Antiochus at sea. The king, for some time after his return to Ephesus, had imagined himself secure from any farther hostilities on the part of Rome. He never dreamt that the Romans would follow him into Asia; and was kept in this delusion by the ignorance or flattery of his courtiers. Hannibal roused him out of his lethargy: he said there was more cause to wonder that the Romans were not already in Asia, than to doubt of their coming: that the king might be well assured, he would very soon have a war with them in Asia, and for Asia; and that, as Rome aspired to universal empire, she would infallibly ruin him, if he did not ruin her. Antiochus, thus awakened, went in person, with what ships he had ready, to Chersonesus, to garrison the places in that country, and thereby make it difficult for the Romans to pass into Asia that way. At the same time he ordered Polyxenidas to equip the rest of his fleet with all diligence. Upon the news of these naval preparations, Livius sailed to the coast of Asia, with a fleet of 105 decked ships, including the squadron of Eumenes, king of Pergamus. Polyxenidas having got together 100, some say 200 ships, came to an engagement with the enemy in the Ionian gulf. The Romans obtained the victory with the loss of only one vessel; the Syrians lost twenty-three.

About the time of this success of the Roman arms in

the Levant, the reduction of the Boian Gauls is said to have been completed by the consul Scipio Nasica, and one half of their lands given to new colonies sent thither from Rome.

To L. Cornelius Scipio, the brother, and C. Lælius, the friend of the great Scipio, were transferred the consular fasces for the new year. They began the exercise of their office with introducing to the senate the ambassadors from Naupactus. The fathers required of the Ætolians, that they should either submit implicitly to the will of the senate: or pay the republic 1000 talents, and engage themselves to be enemies to all the enemies of Rome. The ambassadors, knowing that the Ætolians had not 1000 talents to give, and that they dreaded the severity of the Romans too much to yield to them at discretion, could consent to neither of these demands: whereupon they were ordered to leave Rome that very day, and Italy in a fortnight. Year of ROME 563. B. C. 189. 252d consulship. Livy, b. 37. c. 1. Polyb. Leg. 16.

The senate had not yet assigned to the consuls their provinces. Lælius, who had a great interest in the assembly, and was perhaps the abler general, artfully proposed to his colleague, that instead of drawing lots, they should leave the matter to the determination of the conscript fathers. L. Scipio knew not how to decline this offer; yet took time to consider of it; and consulted his brother. Africanus, without any hesitation, advised him to accept the proposal; and when the senate came to deliberate upon the affair, he, to their great surprise, offered to serve under his brother in quality of his lieutenant. There needed no farther argument to make the fathers immediately assign Greece to L. Scipio. Livy, b. 37. c. 1.

The two brothers embarked at Brundusium, with 13,000 foot and 500 horse, including auxiliaries and volunteers, and landed at Apollonia: from thence they marched through Epirus and Thessaly, and at length arrived before Amphissa, the citadel of which Acilius was besieging, having already taken the town. Hither

Year of ROME 563. B.C.189. 262d consulship. Polyb. Leg. 17 Livy, b. 37. c 7.

came some deputies from the Athenians, to intercede with the consul for the Ætolians, now shut up in Naupactus by a blockade. Lucius Scipio was at first inexorable, notwithstanding that his brother joined his mediation to that of the Athenians; yet in the end consented to grant them a truce, that they might have an opportunity to try once more a negotiation with the senate of Rome. Acilius having resigned the command of his army to the consul, returned home.

CHAP. VI.

Antiochus invades Pergamus, but on the news of Scipio's approach, asks a peace of the Roman admiral. His petition is rejected. Hannibal, with a squadron of ships under his command, is blocked up in a port of Pamphylia by the Rhodians. Antiochus, after a vain attempt to engage Prusias, king of Bithynia, in his quarrel, orders Polyxenidas, the Syrian admiral, to attack the Roman fleet. The Syrians are totally defeated, and the king, in a fright, withdraws his garrisons from Lysimachia, in Thrace, and from Abydos, which commanded the Hellespont. The consular army having passed into Asia without opposition, Antiochus immediately sends to Scipio proposals of peace. Not succeeding in this negotiation, he ventures a battle with the enemy, is vanquished, and submits to the conditions imposed by the consul.

All Greece being now quiet, the two Scipios were at full liberty to pass into Asia. In order to this, they judged that the safest way was to conduct their forces by land to the Hellespont, and consequently through Macedon and Thrace. However, before they set out, they had the precaution to dispatch a young Roman to Pella, where Philip resided at this time, to learn his real dispositions, and whether the steps he had taken were like those of a friend, or of an enemy. The king had prepared every thing to facilitate the march of the Romans through his dominions. He came in person to meet the Scipios on his frontiers, was extremely obliging in all his behaviour, and accompanied them as far as the Hellespont.

In the mean time, Livius, in conjunction with the Pergamenian fleet, took Sestos, and afterward invested Abydos; but raised the siege upon the news that Polyxenidas had destroyed a Rhodian squadron. The

Roman admiral soon after resigned his command to the prætor Æmilius, sent from Rome to succeed him. Year of ROME 563. B. C. 189.

Antiochus was now full of business; and, turning his care from one thing to another, with a great deal of pain and assiduity brought almost nothing to pass. He and his son Seleucus entered the territories of Pergamus on different sides. Seleucus laid siege to the capital. This brought Eumenes to the defence of his own country; and he was quickly followed by Æmilius, and also by the Rhodians, who, since their last defeat, had equipped a new squadron. Upon the junction of these fleets, and the news of Scipio's approach, Antiochus, fearing to be hard pressed both by land and sea, dispatched an agent to Æmilius to propose a peace. The Roman, ambitious of the honour of finishing the war, readily hearkened to the motion; and the Rhodians were not averse to it: but Eumenes, who had different views, prevailed to have this answer sent to the king, that nothing could be concluded, with regard to a peace, before the arrival of the consul. 262d consulship. Polyb. Leg. 21.

The Syrian, after laying waste the country of Pergamus, invaded Troas, took Peræa and some other towns, and then retired to Sardis. His son Seleucus was soon forced to quit the dominions of Eumenes, chiefly by the able conduct of Diophanes, a Megalopolitan whom the Achæans had sent with 1000 men to the relief of Pergamus.

After this the confederate fleets separated: Æmilius stationed himself at Samos, to watch the fleet under Polyxenidas; and Eumenes sailed to the Hellespont, to prepare every thing for Scipio's passage into Asia. Eudamus, the Rhodian admiral, went to oppose Hannibal, who was bringing a reinforcement of ships from Syria. The two squadrons met off Syda in Pamphylia. In the engagement, the Carthaginian had the advantage on the left, where he in person commanded; but his right being vanquished and forced to sheer off, all the Rho- Corn. Nep. Life of Hannibal. Livy, b. 37.

Year of ROME 563. B. C. 189. dian ships jointly attacked him, put him to flight, and chased him into a port of Pamphylia. Eudamus left Chariclitus with twenty ships to block him up there, and with the rest joined the Roman fleet.

262d consulship

On the advice of this ill success, Antiochus employed his endeavours to engage the assistance of Prusias, king of Bithynia: he represented to him by letters, that the views of the Romans were to destroy all monarchies, being determined to suffer, throughout the whole world, no empire but their own. "First Philip was subdued; then Nabis; I am attacked the third: and, since Eumenes has yielded himself to voluntary servitude, the fury of Roman ambition, when it has overturned my kingdom, will fall next upon yours; nor will it ever cease its destructive progress, till it has borne down all kingly power."

Polyb. Leg. 22. Livy, b. 37. c. 25.

To efface the impressions made by these letters, Scipio Africanus wrote to Prusias, assuring him, "That Rome, so far from being an enemy to kings, had made it her constant practice, with regard to the monarchs in friendship with her, by every kind of honour to augment their majesty. The petty kings in Spain, who had put themselves under her protection, she had made great kings. Masinissa she had not only placed in his father's throne, but had given him the kingdom of Syphax; so that he was now the most potent of all the African kings; nay, equal in majesty and power to any monarch in the world. Philip and Nabis, though conquered in war, had yet been left in possession of their dominions. Rome had restored to Philip his son (the pledge of his fidelity), remitted to him the tribute he owed the republic, and suffered him to possess himself of some towns not belonging to Macedon. He added, that Nabis would have been held in the same consideration by the senate, if his own madness first, and then the fraudulent artifice of the Ætolians, had not undone him." This letter gave a check to the king's inclination to assist

Antiochus. But Æmilius, the Roman admiral and ambassador to him from the republic, absolutely fixed him in a neutrality, by convincing him, not only that the Romans were more likely to be victorious than Antiochus, but that their friendship was more to be depended upon than his. Year of ROME 563. B. C. 189. 262d consulship.

Antiochus, disappointed of his hopes of aid from Prusias, and having little confidence in his own land forces, ordered Polyxenidas to bring to a battle, if possible, the Roman fleet, then lying at Samos. For though the king had no encouragement from past trials to expect victory; yet, as the Pergamenian squadron and a part of the Rhodian were at this time separated from the Roman, he had now a better chance to succeed than before; and he considered, that could he get the mastery at sea, he should then be able to hinder the Scipios from invading his Asiatic dominions. Polyxenidas encountered the Roman fleet, consisting of eighty ships, off Myonnesus in Ionia. He was totally vanquished. Of eighty-nine ships, his whole strength, he lost forty-two; the rest escaped to Ephesus. The king, when he heard of this misfortune, impatiently exclaimed, "That some god disconcerted his measures; every thing fell out contrary to his expectation; his enemies were masters of the sea; Hannibal was shut up in a port of Pamphylia; and Philip assisted the Romans to pass into Asia." In his fright, believing it impossible for him to defend places at a distance, he very unadvisedly withdrew the garrison from Lysimachia, which might have held out a great while against the consul's army, and retarded his approach. He also evacuated Abydos, which commanded the Hellespont, gathered all his forces about him at Sardis, and sent into Cappadocia for assistance from his son-in-law king Ariarathes. App. in Syr. p. 105.

The consular army, attended by Eumenes and the Rhodians, passed the Hellespont without opposition. Upon the first advice of their landing in Asia, Antiochus,

Year of ROME 563. B.C. 189. 262d consul. ship.

struck with terror, immediately sent proposals of peace to Scipio, offering to quit his pretensions in Europe, and likewise all the cities in Asia, that were then in alliance with Rome: and to bear half the expense which the Romans had been at the war. The consul insisted on the king's paying the whole expense of the war, his confining himself within Mount Taurus (a chain of mountains which begins towards the west of Lycia, and separates Cilicia from northern Asia), and his compensating Eumenes for the injuries he had suffered. The ambassador thinking these conditions intolerable, applied himself privately to Scipio Africanus, to whom he had particular instructions to make his court, offering him the restitution of his son (who by some accident had fallen into the hands of the Syrians), and even a partnership with Antiochus in the empire, if he would be content without the title of king. Africanus gave this answer to the ambassador: "I am the less surprised, that you are unacquainted with the character of the Romans, and of me, to whom you are sent; since I find you are ignorant of the fortune and situation of him who sends you. If your master imagined, that an anxiety about the event of the war would engage us to make peace with him, he should, by guarding Lysimachia, have kept us out of the Chersonesus; or he should have stopped us at the Hellespont. But now, after he has suffered us to pass into Asia, and thereby has received our yoke, he ought to submit to it patiently, and not pretend to treat with us upon a foot of equality. For my own part, I shall esteem the king's restoring me my son, as the noblest present his munificence can make me: his other offers my mind certainly will never need—I pray the gods, my fortune never may. If Antiochus will be contented with my private acknowledgments for a personal favour, he shall ever find me grateful: in my public capacity, I can neither give him any thing, nor receive any thing from him. All I can at present do for his advantage is, to

Polyb. Legat. 23.

Livy, b. 37. c. 36.

send him this honest advice: Let him desist from the war, and refuse no conditions of peace." Year of ROME 563. B.C. 189. 262d consulship.

Antiochus, believing that should he be vanquished, nothing worse would be imposed than what the consul had required, turned his thoughts wholly to war. He assembled all his troops, and encamped them not far from Thyatira in Lydia. Soon after, hearing that Scipio Africanus was fallen sick near Elæa, he generously sent him his son without ransom. The joy of the Roman, on this occasion, was so great, that it gave a turn to his distemper, and helped to cure him. To the Syrian messengers he spoke thus: "Tell the king I thank him; I can at present make him no other return, except advising him not to hazard a battle till he hears that I am gone to the Roman camp." Antiochus, in pursuance of this advice (the meaning of which it is hard to guess), declined fighting, and retired to Magnesia. But the consul, ambitious perhaps of gaining a victory in the absence of his brother, followed the Syrian so close, and pressed him so hard, that he could not, without discouraging his troops, avoid an engagement. The king's army consisted of 70,000 foot, and 12,000 horse; the consul's of not above 30,000 men. They came to a battle near Magnesia; Antiochus lost 55,000 men, including the prisoners; the Romans not more than 300 foot and twenty-five horse. Though this victory was chiefly owing to the bravery and conduct of the king of Pergamus and his brother Attalus, yet Lucius Scipio had so entirely the honour of it, that he acquired the surname of Asiaticus.

And now the king of Syria, eager to procure a peace upon any terms, sent ambassadors to the Roman camp at Sardis, to make his submissions. It was by P. Scipio they made their application to the general. A council, at their request, being called to hear what they had to offer, the chief of them spoke to this effect: "Our commission is not to make proposals, but to know of you,

Year of ROME 563. B.C. 189. 262d consulship.

Romans, by what means the king may expiate his fault, and obtain of his conquerors forgiveness and peace. It has always been your practice, with a peculiar greatness of mind, to pardon the kings and nations you have vanquished; your present victory, which has made you lords of the world, certainly demands a more illustrious display than ever of that magnanimity. Your only care now, having no longer any contention with mortals, should be to imitate the gods, in tendering the preservation of human kind."

It had been previously determined by the council, what answer should be given to these ambassadors, and that Africanus should give it. He is reported to have expressed himself in the following manner: "Of things in the power of the gods to give, they have bestowed upon us what they think proper: our courage and steadiness, which depend upon our own minds, have been the same in all fortunes. Hannibal could tell you this, if you yourselves did not know it by your own experience. As soon as we crossed the Hellespont, before we saw the king's camp, and when the event of the war was yet doubtful, we insisted upon the same conditions of peace, with which we shall now content ourselves, after victory has declared for us. Antiochus shall give up all his pretensions in Europe; and in Asia, confine himself within Mount Taurus: he shall pay us 15,000 talents of Eubœa,* for the expenses of the war, 500 down, 2,500 when the senate and the people of Rome shall have confirmed the treaty, and 1000 annually for twelve years; 400 talents he shall pay to Eumenes, and also the corn that was due to his father. And as the Romans can have no peace where Hannibal is, we, above all, insist upon his being delivered up to us, together with Thoas the Ætolian, Mnasilochus the Acarnanian, Philo and Eubulidas, Chalcidians. For security of the peace we demand twenty hostages, whom we shall name. If Antiochus hesitates to accept of these terms,

2,906,250*l.* Arbuthnot.

let him reflect, that it is more difficult to reduce a king from the height of power to a middle fortune, than from this to cast him down to the lowest." The ambassadors had orders to refuse no conditions; all were accepted, and the affair concluded: but Hannibal could not be delivered up; for, hearing of the king's defeat at Magnesia, he had escaped out of the Syrian dominions.

Year of ROME 563. B. C. 189. 262d consulship.

CHAP. VII.

The Ætolians raise new troubles in Greece. Eumenes, of Pergamus, asks of the conscript fathers all the countries they had taken from Antiochus. The Rhodians oppose his request. It is resolved that the conquered countries shall be divided between him and them. A peace is at length granted to the Ætolians. The consul Manlius reduces the Gallo-Greeks in Asia. Philopœmen forces the Lacedemonians to renounce the laws of Lycurgus, and subject themselves to those of Achaia. Ten commissioners from Rome, in conjunction with the proconsul Manlius, finish the treaty with Antiochus, and settle affairs in Asia. Manlius, in his return home, is attacked by a body of Thracians, and loses great part of the booty he had taken from the Gallo-Greeks. 564. 565.

WHILST the Scipios were thus settling peace in Asia, the Ætolians dispossessed Philip of the greatest part of Athamania, restored it to its rightful king, Amynander, and made some other conquests on the Macedonian. Rome, upon an embassy from Amynander, confirmed him in the possession of his dominions.

Year of ROME 564. B.C. 188. 263d consulship. Polyb. Leg. 26. Livy, b. 38. c. 1, et seq.

After the election of M. Fulvius Nobilior, and Cn. Manlius Fulso, to the consulship, ambassadors came from Ætolia to negotiate a peace; but these, instead of addressing the senate in the manner of suppliants, enumerated their services to the republic, and talked of their own courage in such a strain as seemed to reproach the Romans with the want of courage. The senate hereupon directly asked them, whether they would surrender at discretion; to which they not answering any thing, the fathers ordered them out of the temple, and passed a decree, that they should leave the city that very day, and Italy in a fortnight; adding, that if any ambassadors from Ætolia came to Rome for the future, without the

Year of ROME 564. B.C. 188.

consent of the Roman commander in that country, they should be treated as enemies.

263d consulship. Livy, b. 37. c. 52, et seq. Polyb. Leg. 25.

Presently after, Aurelius Cotta, a messenger, sent by Scipio with the news of his success, arrived at Rome; and with him came Eumenes, king of Pergamus, the ambassadors from Antiochus, and some from Rhodes. When Cotta had imparted the news to the senate, and, by their order, to the people assembled; and when, in consequence of it, supplications and thanksgivings, as usual, had been decreed, the fathers gave audience to Eumenes. The king having in few words made his compliment of thanks for the succour he had received from them against Antiochus, and congratulated them on their complete victory over the Syrian, added, with a seeming modesty (no uncommon mask of impudence), "As to my services to the republic, I had rather you should hear them from your own generals than from me." Hereupon the senate entreated him not to be so over modest, but to prevail upon himself to say what he thought it reasonable the people of Rome should do for him: assuring him, that the fathers were disposed to recompense his merit to the utmost of their power. To this Eumenes: "Had the option of a reward been given me from any other quarter, I should gladly have seized the present opportunity of consulting this most august assembly: that thereby I might avoid the danger of seeming to transgress the bounds of modesty and moderation in my desires. Certainly, then, since it is you who are to bestow the reward, it becomes me to leave it wholly to your generosity." Upon this a most extraordinary contest of civility arose; the senate still urging him to declare his wishes, and he as steadily persisting in his silence on that head. At length, to put an end to the dispute, he withdrew. The fathers, nevertheless, directed that he should be called in again, saying, "that it was absurd to suppose the king ignorant of what he hoped, or what he came to ask; that he knew

Asia much better than the senate, and must know what countries lay convenient for his own kingdom." Eumenes then said; "I should have still persisted in my silence, conscript fathers, if I did not know that the Rhodian ambassadors are to be presently called in, and that, after they have been heard, I shall be under the necessity of speaking. My present task is the more difficult; because what they intend to request will seem not only to have no view to my prejudice, but to have none to their own proper interest: for they will plead the cause of the Greek cities, and the justice of setting them at liberty. But if they obtain this, is it not evident, that they will alienate from us the affections, not only of the cities which shall be freed, but even of those that are in our dependance, and have long paid us tribute? The Rhodians, on the other hand, having obliged the Greeks by so great a benefit, will, under the name of allies, hold them in subjection. Such is the advantage they propose to themselves, and yet they will disdain their having any views of interest. They will allege, that what they sue for is becoming your dignity to grant, and agreeable to your constant practice. But you, fathers, are not to be imposed upon by all this. You will not only avoid the injustice of depressing too much some of your allies, and beyond measure exalting others, but of putting those who have borne arms against you into a better condition than your friends and associates." Then, after a pompous enumeration of all the services done by him or any of his family to the Roman name, services which he set forth as unequalled by any thing which any ally of the republic had ever performed, he thus proceeded: "But you ask me, what it is I request? Since in obedience to you, conscript fathers, I must speak, I shall say, that if you have confined Antiochus within Mount Taurus, in the intention to keep for yourselves all the country between that and the sea, there is no nation whose neighbourhood I should more covet,

Year of ROME 564. B. C. 188. 263d consulship.

Year of ROME 564. B. C. 188. 263d consulship.

or think a greater security to my kingdom. But should it be your resolution to withdraw your armies out of that country, and relinquish it, I will venture to affirm, that none of your allies is more worthy to possess it than myself. But it is a glorious thing to free cities from slavery! I think so indeed, if they have committed no hostilities against you: but if they took part with Antiochus, how much more becoming your prudence and equity is it, to consult the advantage of your well-deserving allies, than of your enemies?"

It was visible in the countenances of the senators, that they were much pleased with the king, and would reward him amply. When the Rhodian ambassadors came to be heard, the chief of them began by mentioning the long friendship of their state with the republic, and the services it had done her in her wars with Philip and Antiochus. He then expressed a concern, that he was obliged to oppose the pretensions and demands of Eumenes, a prince who not only was a friend of Rhodes, but had deserved so well of the Romans in the late war. "Our respect for the king is, indeed, the only thing which embarrasses us; for, that consideration apart, our cause is in no degree difficult for us to maintain, or for you to determine. Were the case such, that you must either subject free cities to the domination of Eumenes, or suffer him to go without a sufficient reward of his merit, the matter might perhaps admit of doubt and deliberation. But fortune has well provided that you should not be reduced to that necessity. Your victory, by the bounty of the gods, is as rich as it is glorious. Besides the Greek colonies, you are thereby become masters of Lycaonia, the two Phrygias, all Pisidia, the Chersonesus, and the bordering countries; any one of which is vastly larger than the whole of Eumenes's kingdom. And should you give all these to him, you would make him equal to the greatest monarchs. It is easy to enrich your allies by the spoils of the war, without departing from

your own institution. The cause you assigned for your wars with Philip and Antiochus was the liberty of the Greeks. Let barbarians, let those to whom a master's will has always been a law, have kings; since they delight in kings: but let the Asiatic Greeks, who have the same spirit as the Romans, experience that regard for universal liberty which made you the deliverers of Greece. It may, indeed, be said, that these Greek cities declared for Antiochus: and did not many of the Greek nations in Europe enter into a league with Philip? Yet you restored to these their laws and liberties: this is all we ask for Asiatic Greeks. Can you not refuse to Eumenes's covetous ambition, what you denied to your own just revenge? In this and all the wars you have had in Greece and Asia, with what courage and fidelity we have assisted, we leave you to judge: in peace, we offer you an advice, which, if you pursue, the whole world will think the use you make of your victory more glorious than the victory itself." Year of ROME 564. B.C. 188. 263d consulship.

This discourse seemed Roman, and did not fail to have its effect on the senate. They determined to send ten commissioners into the Levant to settle all matters there; but at the same time pronounced in general, that Lycaonia, the two Phrygias, and the two Mysias, should for the future be subject to Eumenes. Lycia, that part of Caria which was next to Rhodes, and the country lying towards Pisidia, they adjudged to the Rhodians. In both these dispositions were excepted the Greek cities which had paid tribute to Antiochus, and taken part with the Romans in the war. These were to be free. As for the Syrian ambassadors, they had no business at Rome, but to get the peace approved; and this was done.

After dispatching these affairs, Fulvius and Manlius left the city. The first sailed for Greece, to reduce the Ætolians; the second to Asia; whence Scipio, having delivered up the command of the army to him, returned to Rome, and was there honoured with a triumph.

Year of ROME 564. B.C.188. 263d consulship. Livy, b. 38. c. 3.

Fulvius landed at Apollonia, and began his campaign by laying siege to Ambracia, a considerable city on the borders of Epirus. It was in the hands of the Ætolians, and vigorously defended by them; but they at length capitulated: and then the Ætolian nation, with Fulvius's leave, sent to Rome to solicit a peace. The senate at first would hardly hear the entreaties of their ambassadors. Some Athenian deputies, who appeared in their behalf, were more favourably received. These had an eloquent man, named Damis, at their head. He confessed, that the Romans had reason to be angry with the Ætolians, who, for great benefits received, had not made a suitable return; but to charge this ingratitude upon the body of the nation, this, he said, was contrary to reason and truth. "In all states the multitude are like the sea. In its natural situation the sea is always smooth and calm, and perfectly safe to those who embark upon it; but when it comes to be ruffled and agitated by impetuous winds and storms, nothing is more raging and terrible. Thus the Ætolians, while in their natural state and uninfluenced from abroad, were of all the Greeks the most tractable and best inclined to the Roman people; but when a boisterous Thoas and a Dicæarchas from Asia, a Menestas and a Democritus in Europe, began to blow, then were the multitude put into a commotion; they were hurried on to speak and to act in a manner unlike themselves. To the authors then of these mischiefs and disturbances, be inexorable, conscript fathers; but spare the multitude, and receive them again into favour. Let them now owe their preservation to your clemency. This, added to all your former benefits, will fix them for ever in affection and fidelity to Rome." The senate granted the Ætolians a peace, but upon terms that put them in a worse condition than any of the states of Greece, though they had been the first that brought the Romans into that country.

During these transactions, the consul Manlius in

Asia marched against the Gallo-Greeks (or Galatians) to take revenge for the assistance they had given Antiochus in the late war. They were originally Gauls, who, in the time of Brennus, after various adventures, passing through Thrace, had entered Asia, and settled in an inland country beyond Caria and Phrygia. The consul was assisted in his long march by Seleucus the king of Syria's son, and by Attalus the brother of Eumenes; and he drew considerable contributions from the petty kings through whose countries he passed, and who came to pay him homage. The Galatians upon his approach forsook their towns and cities, and retired to the tops of high mountains with their effects and provisions. He vanquished the several nations of them (the Tolistoboii, Tectosagi, and Trocmi) successively, and reduced them to sue for peace. He would not treat with them upon the spot, but made them send their deputies to Ephesus, whither he retired with his army, and thither likewise repaired the ambassadors of all the princes of Asia with presents and submissions.

Year of ROME 564. B. C. 188. 263d consulship. Livy, b. 38. c. 12. c. 19.

In Italy M. Valerius Messala, one of the consuls chosen for the new year, was ordered to Pisa, to watch the motions of the Ligurians, who had committed some recent hostilities against the Romans: and C. Livius Salinator, the other consul, had Gaul decreed him for his province. Fulvius and Manlius were continued in their respective commands as proconsuls. Q. Fabius Labeo, the Roman admiral, had at this time a triumph granted him for only recovering from the Cretans 4000 Roman slaves; though he had fought no battle to rescue them, and they had been delivered up to him, as soon as he appeared off the island with his fleet, and demanded them. By a census taken this year, the number of Roman citizens fit to bear arms amounted to 258,308.

Year of ROME 565. B. C. 187. 264th consulship. Livy, b. 38. c. 35

To return to the affairs of Greece: Fulvius had in his consulship taken possession of the island of Cephalenia, which the Romans had reserved to themselves in their

Year of ROME 565. B. C. 187. 264th consulship.

treaty with Ætolia, and which was a very convenient acquisition, as opening a way, for their legions, into Peloponnesus; from which it was but about twenty-four miles distant. Some differences now happening between the Achæans and Lacedemonians, Fulvius, judging the matter to be of great importance, thought proper to refer it to the senate. The conscript fathers passed an ambiguous decree, which each party might interpret in its own favour; and this occasioned the two republics to begin hostilities. Philopœmen, who commanded the Achæans, led his army to Lacedemon, and by some acts of severity so terrified the Lacedemonians, that they became servilely submissive. At his command they demolished their walls, renounced the laws of Lycurgus, which they had observed 700 years, and subjected themselves to those of Achaia.

Livy, b. 38. c. 30.

Polyb. Leg. 35. Livy, b. 38. c. 38.

The ten commissioners appointed by the republic to settle the affairs of Asia landed at Ephesus with king Eumenes. From thence they went to Apamea, where the proconsul Manlius met them; and they all together put the last hand to the treaty with Antiochus. Besides the articles formerly mentioned, it contained, that the king should deliver up all his long ships; that for the future he should have no more than ten armed galleys; that he should not sail beyond the promontory of Calycadnus, unless to carry to Rome ambassadors, hostages, or tribute; that he should deliver up all his elephants, and never train any more of those animals. Among the hostages demanded, the king's son, Antiochus, was one. Then they settled the bounds of the dominions of Eumenes and the Rhodians. Lycia and Caria to the river Mæander, except the town of Telmissus, were given to the latter; Lysimachia with the Chersonesus in Europe, the two Phrygias, both the Mysias, Lycaonia, with Ephesus, Telmissus, and other towns in Asia, to the former: the Romans reserved no part of the conquered countries for themselves. They were satisfied, for the

present, with having extended the glory of their name, and the terror of their arms, and with the immense spoils in gold, silver, and rich moveables, which they carried from Asia. Year of ROME 565. B. C. 187. 264th consulship.

When Manlius and his army had crossed the Hellespont in their way home, they were attacked by a body of 10,000 Thracians, in a narrow pass, in a wood, where the Romans could not form themselves in order of battle. This danger escaped, yet with the loss of great part of the spoil, they continued their march through Thessaly and Epirus, and at length arrived at Apollonia, where they were to embark; but the season being now far advanced, the proconsul passed the winter there.

In the mean time M. Æmilius Lepidus and C. Flaminius, having succeeded to the consulate, would fain have passed into Greece and Asia; but as these countries were now quiet (and had lately been pretty well plundered), the senate insisted upon their going to those places where the republic had yet enemies to subdue; and obliged them both to march against the Ligurians. The consuls obeyed, and, by the success they met with, pacified all between Etruria and the Alps. Year of ROME 566. B. C. 186. 265th consulship. Livy, b. 38 c. 42

At length Manlius arrived from Apollonia, and demanded a triumph of the senate assembled in the temple of Bellona. His request met with opposition from some of the ten commissioners, who had been sent into Asia. They objected, that he had not only undertaken his expedition against the Galatians without the orders of the republic, but had carried on the war more like a robber than a Roman consul; and that his victories were too easy to merit any reward. They taxed him also with want of conduct, for suffering the Thracians to rob him in his return home.[1] Manlius pleaded, that the Gauls Livy, b. 38 c. 45

[1] Livy makes one of the accusations against Manlius to have been his having formed a design to lead his army over Mount Taurus, the fatal boundary of the Roman empire, as it was then called, on account of some verses in the Sybilline oracles, threatening slaughter and destruction to those Roman armies which should pass that limit.

Year of ROME 566. B.C. 186. 565th consul. ship.

in Asia, having assisted Antiochus, were proper objects of the resentment of the Romans; mentioned the battles he had won; and excused as well as he could his disaster in Thrace. After a long debate, the assembly decreed him a triumph.

CHAP. VIII.

566. Scipio retires from Rome in disgust. 567.

Scipio Africanus, and his brother Lucius, are successively accused, before the Roman people, of taking bribes from Antiochus, and embezzling the public money. Africanus refuses to answer, and at length retires to Liternum, where he dies. Lucius is condemned, and, on his refusing to pay the fine imposed, all his effects are confiscated. A society of debauchees formed at Rome, and calling themselves Bacchanalians, is suppressed and punished.

THE present year was made very remarkable by the public prosecution of two men, whose eminent services to their country, it might naturally be thought, would have preserved them from any open attacks upon their fame or fortune. Scipio Africanus and his brother Asiaticus were successively accused before the people of taking bribes from Antiochus, and embezzling the public money.

Aul. Gell. b. 4. c. 18.

At the instigation of Cato, as some authors report, two tribunes, both of the name of Petilius, moved in the senate, that Africanus might be obliged to give an account of all the money received from the king of Syria, and of the spoil taken in that war. Scipio rising up, and drawing a book out of his bosom, "In this (said he) is contained an exact account of all you want to know; of all the money, and all the spoil."—"Read it aloud then (said the tribunes), and let it afterward be deposited in the treasury." "No (replied Scipio), that I will not do. I shall not put such an affront upon myself:" and instantly he tore the book to pieces before their eyes.

Livy, b. 38. c. 50, et seq.

After this, a tribune, named M. Nævius, cited him to answer before the people to the accusations above mentioned. The prosecution of this great man was vari-

ously judged of. Some thought it an instance of the most shameful ingratitude, and more detestable than that of the Carthaginians in banishing Hannibal. Others said, that no citizen, how eminent soever, ought to be considered as above the laws, or too worthy to be accountable. "What man can safely be trusted with any thing, not to say with the public administration, if he is not to be answerable for his conduct? Force can be no injustice against him who will not endure a fair trial." Year of ROME 566. B. C. 186. 565th consulship.

Nævius had no direct proof of his charge. He supported it only by surmises and presumptions. He took notice, that Scipio's son had been restored to him by Antiochus without ransom; adding, that the Syrian had paid court to him, as if peace or war with Rome depended upon him alone: that Scipio had acted more like a dictator than a lieutenant to his brother the consul; and had gone into Asia with no other view, but to persuade the Greeks and all the eastern nations (as he had formerly done the Gauls, Spaniards, Sicilians, and Africans) that one man was the pillar and support of the Roman empire; that Rome, the mistress of the world, lay in shelter under the shadow of Scipio, and that his nods had succeeded to the decrees of the senate and the commands of the people. The tribune also revived the old accusations relating to his luxury at Syracuse, and the affair of Pleminius. Scipio disdained to answer. It happened to be the anniversary of the battle of Zama. After saying something in general of his merit and services, he thus continued; "On this day, Romans, I conquered Hannibal and the Carthaginians. Ill would it become us to spend it in wranglings and contention. Let us not be ungrateful to the gods. Let us leave this rascal here, and go to the Capitol; there to return thanks to the great Jupiter, for that victory and peace, which, beyond all expectation, I procured for the republic." Instantly the tribes began to move; and the whole

Aul. Gell. b. 4. c. 18. says, that all agree that Scipio spoke these words.

Year of ROME 566. B.C. 186.

assembly followed him, except the tribune himself and the public crier.

265th consulship.

Scipio, notwithstanding this memorable triumph over his accuser Nævius, was again cited by the two Petiliuses, to answer to the same accusations. It is not improbable that the tearing his accounts furnished his enemies with the chief advantage they had against him, He now gave way to the storm, and retired to Liternum, not far from Naples. L. Scipio appeared for him, and said that he was sick; an excuse which did not satisfy his accusers; they were going on to get him condemned by default, when some of the tribunes, at the entreaty of L. Scipio, interposed, and obtained to have a new day named for the trial. Tib. Sempronius Gracchus, one of the tribunes, who had been always an avowed enemy of the Scipios, but was a man of great probity, would not suffer his name to be added to those of his colleagues in the decree. He declared, that he not only thought Scipio's excuse sufficient, but, if he came to Rome, and asked his assistance, would put an end to the process. He added, "P. Scipio, by his exploits, the honours conferred on him by the republic, the consent of gods and men, is raised to such a height, that to make him stand as a criminal before the rostra, and bear the reproaches and insults of young men, is a greater dishonour to the Roman people than to him. Will no merit, no dignities ever procure a sanctuary for great men, where their old age, if not revered, may at least be inviolate?" This unexpected declaration from an old enemy of the Scipios had a great effect on the multitude, and even on the accusers themselves; who said they would take time to consider what was fit for them to do. The senate presently after assembled and ordered thanks to be returned to Tib. Gracchus for having made his private resentment give way to the public good. The prosecution was dropped. Africanus, without any desire of returning to Rome, spent the remainder of his days at Liternum;

and there, at his death, he ordered his body to be buried.[m] Year of ROME 566. B.C. 186. 256th consulship.

Scipio Asiaticus stood his trial, and was condemned, together with one of his lieutenants and his quæstor, as guilty all three of having defrauded the treasury of great sums of money received by them in Asia for the public account. The lieutenant and the quæstor gave security to pay what was judged to be due from them; Scipio refused to give bail, still insisting, that he had accounted for all he had received. They were going to lead him to prison, when Tib. Gracchus interposed. He said, he would not indeed hinder the proper officer from raising the money[n] out of Scipio's effects, but would never suffer a Roman general to be thrown into the same prison in which the generals of the enemy, taken by him in battle, had been confined. His effects being seized and appraised, were not found to be of value sufficient to pay the sum in question, nor was there any thing amongst them which could be deemed to have been brought from Asia. The friends and relations of Asiaticus would, by presents, have more than made up his loss, but he refused to accept of any thing beyond bare necessaries. In return for the generous part Gracchus had acted, the Scipios gave him in marriage Cornelia, the daughter of Africanus. Aul. Gel. b. 7. c. 19. Livy, b. 39. c. 8, et. seq.

The consulship of Sp. Posthumus Albinus and Q. Marcius Philippus was chiefly spent in suppressing and punishing a monstrous society of debauchees, which had been formed at Rome under the name of Bacchanalians. In the end of the year Marcius was defeated by the Ligurians, and lost 4000 of his men. Year of ROME 567 B.C. 185. 260th consulship.

[m] It is not certainly known when he died, and Livy, who tells the story of the trial, more amply than it is related above, says that authors so differ about the circumstances of the prosecution, that he knows not what to believe. In these particulars, however, most of them agree; that Scipio was publicly prosecuted, that he tore his book of account, that he disdained to answer at his trial, that he carried away people to the Capitol, that he was afterward cited again, and that he then retired. It is also uncertain which of the brothers was first prosecuted.

[n] Livy think it amounted to 4,000,000 of the smaller sesterces, which, according to Arbuthnot, makes, of our money, 32,291*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* and says, that Val. Antias must be mistaken when he makes it amount to fifty times that sum.

CHAP. IX.

568. The Romans, jealous of the growing power of Philip of Macedon, send ambassadors into Greece, to take cognizance of his proceedings. They strip him of all the towns he had recovered from the Greeks, in the war with Antiochus, and order him to evacuate Ænus and Maronæa, which Eumenes claimed as appendages of
569 Chersonesus and Lysimachia, granted to him by the senate. Philip, to revenge himself on the people of Maronæa, who had complained of his tyranny, contrives to have a body of Thracians admitted into the town, where they exercise all the cruelties of war. The Romans expressing much dissatisfaction with the king's conduct, he resolves to employ his son Demetrius to sooth the conscript fathers, with whom the young prince had acquired much favour when a hostage at Rome. Appius Claudius, the Roman ambassador, treats the Achæans with great haughtiness, in relation to some complaints made against them by the Lacedemonians.

Year of ROME 568 B.C 184. 567th consulship. Livy, b. 39. c. 24.

IN the beginning of the consulship of Appius Claudius Pulcher and M. Sempronius Tuditanus, three commissioners, the chief of whom was Q. Cæcilius Metellus, were sent into Greece to terminate certain disputes of the king of Macedon with the king of Pergamus and some states of Greece.

Philip, since his peace with Rome, had neglected nothing to strengthen himself against a new war, whenever it should be unavoidable. He had increased his revenues by promoting trade, and by the profits of his mines, in which he employed a great number of men. To recruit his people, exhausted by the late wars, he not only encouraged marriages and the bringing up of children, but transplanted into Macedon a great multitude of Thracians. These being strangers to the Romans, and therefore not intimidated by them, he settled them in some towns on the sea-coast, obliging the former inhabitants to remove into Emathia, anciently called Pæonia. After the victory over Antiochus in Greece, the consul Acilius had permitted the Macedonian to make war upon Amynander and the Athamanes, and to lay siege to those towns in Thessaly and Perrhæbia which belonged to the Ætolians. Philip easily expelled Amynander, and took several towns in Thessaly and Perrhæbia, and among the rest Demetrias. He also seized upon some places in Thrace. The Romans, always jealous of his power, had constantly watched his motions,

Polyb. de Virt. et Vit. p. 1436. Livy, b. 40. c. 3.

and had given him several mortifications. By the treaty of peace concluded between him and T. Flamininus, it had been referred to the determination of the senate, whether certain towns of Macedon, which had revolted from the king during the time of a truce with the Romans, should be restored to him; and the fathers had given sentence against him. They had also confirmed Amynander in the possession of great part of his dominions which the Ætolians had recovered from the Macedonian. And now Amynander claimed the rest of his towns. The Thessalians and Perrhæbians likewise demanded back theirs; alleging, that though Philip had taken them from the Ætolians, yet these had only usurped them. Some of the complainants broke out into harsh invectives against the king; which he answered with heat and haughtiness. The Roman commissioners finished the whole affair by a short decree, that Philip should withdraw his garrisons from all the places in question, and confine himself, on that side, within the ancient bounds of the kingdom of Macedon.

Year of ROME 568. B. C. 184. 267th consulship. Livy, b 39. c. 23.

B. 39. c. 25, et seq.

Then they removed to Thessalonica, to hear the complaints of the ambassadors from Eumenes, king of Pergamus, who pretended that the cities of Maronea and Ænus, now possessed by Philip, of right belonged to their master; because by their nearness they seemed appendages of Chersonesus and Lysimachia, which he had received, by grant, from the senate of Rome. The Maronites also complained, that their town had been seized by the Macedonian, and that his soldiers tyrannized in the place. Philip answered in a manner that was not expected: "It is not with the Maronites and Eumenes only that I have a controversy, but with you also, Romans, from whom I have long observed that I can obtain no justice. Some cities of Macedon had revolted from me during a truce; I thought it but just that these should be restored to me; not that they would have made any great addition to my kingdom (for they are

Year of ROME 568. B. C. 184. 267th consulship

but small towns, and situated on the extremities of it), but such an example might have had very ill consequences with regard to my other subjects. Yet this you denied me. In the Ætolian war I was desired by the consul Acilius to besiege Lamia. After many fatigues and encounters, when I was upon the point of scaling the wall, and taking the town, Acilius forced me to withdraw my troops. As some compensation for this injury, I was permitted to recover a few castles (as they should be called, rather than towns) of Thessaly, Perrhæbia, and Athamania. These you took from me a few days ago.

"Eumenes's ambassadors just now mentioned it as a truth beyond all dispute, that it is more equitable to give what Antiochus formerly held, to their master, than to me. I am quite of another opinion. Eumenes could not have held his kingdom, not only if you had not been victorious, but if you had not made war upon Antiochus. Eumenes, therefore, is obliged to you, not you to him. But so little was any part of my kingdom in danger from the Syrian, that he voluntarily offered me, as the price of an alliance, 3000 talents, fifty ships of war, and all the Greek cities which I had formely held. These offers I rejected; nor did I dissemble my being an enemy to him, even before Acilius led your army into Greece. After the consul's arrival, I conducted whatever part of the war he committed to me; and when Scipio marched his forces by land to the Hellespont, I not only gave him a safe passage through my dominions, but made good roads for him, built bridges, and supplied him with provisions. Not contented with this, I took the same care of his passage through Thrace, where, besides other things, I had to guard against his being attacked by the Barbarians. For this my zeal, not to call it merit, ought you not rather to have added something to my kingdom, and amplified it by your munificence, than (as you now do) to take from me what I already possess, either in my own right, or by your favour? The cities of Macedon,

which you own to have been justly mine, are not restored. Eumenes comes to spoil me, as he did Antiochus; and to cover a most impudent falsehood, cites the decree of the ten commissioners, than which decree nothing can be a clearer confutation of his pretensions. It is there, indeed, plainly and expressly said, that the Chersonesus and Lysimachia are given to Eumenes. But where is there any mention made of Ænos, Maronea, and the cities of Thrace? What he did not dare so much as to ask of the commissioners, shall he obtain from you, as in consequence of a grant from them? Upon what footing am I to be for the future? If you propose to pursue me as an enemy, go on as you have begun: but if you have any regard for me as a king in friendship and alliance with you, I beg you would not offer me so great an indignity."

Year of ROME 568. B. C. 184. 267th consulship.

The ambassadors are said to have been moved with the king's discourse; to which they made this perplexed answer: "If the cities in question have been given to Eumenes by the decree of the ten commissioners, we will change nothing in that disposition. If Philip has taken them in war, he shall hold them as the reward of victory. If neither of these be true, the cognizance of the affair shall be referred to the senate of Rome; and in the mean time Philip shall withdraw his garrisons, that things may be upon an equal footing between the two

To this harsh treatment of Philip by the Romans, Livy imputes that war, which his son Perses afterward made against them, and which he received as it were by legacy from his father.

The Roman commissioners from Macedon went into Achaia, from whence, much dissatisfied with the Achæans, they returned to Rome (where P. Claudius Pulcher and L. Porcius Licinus had been chosen consuls for the new year). They gave an account of their negotiation to the senate, and, at the same time, introduced the am-

Year of ROME 569. B. C. 183. 268th consulship.

Year of ROME 569. B. C. 183. 168th consulship.

bassadors of Philip and Eumenes, and also those from the Thessalians, Lacedemonians, and Achæans. It was nothing but a repetition of the same complaints and same answers that had been made in Greece. The senate appointed a new commission, at the head of which was Appius Claudius, to go into Macedon and Greece, and examine whether the Thessalians and Perrhæbians were put into possession of those towns which Philip had promised to deliver up to them; and to order him to evacuate Ænos, Maronea, and all the places he held on the sea-coast of Thrace. They were also directed to go into Peloponnesus, where the former commissioners had not done any thing, because it had been refused to convene a council to give them audience. Of this refusal Q. Cæcilius, the head of that commission, complained heavily. The ambassadors from Lacedemon also made complaints of the Achæans; of which more hereafter. As to Cæcilius's charge, the Achæan ministers excused themselves by citing a law which forbade summoning a diet, unless on occasion of peace or war, or when ambassadors came from the senate with letters or written orders. That they might never more make this excuse, the senate gave them to understand, that as they, whenever they would, might have an audience of the fathers at Rome, it was fitting that Roman ambassadors should meet with the like respect in Achaia.

Livy, b. 39. c. 3.

Polyb. Legat. 41, 42.

When Philip, on the return of his ambassadors, had learnt from them, that he must absolutely evacuate Ænos and Maronea, he took council of his passions, and remembering that the Maronites had behaved themselves insolently, when they pleaded against him for their liberty, he gave orders to Onomastus, his lieutenant for the guard of the sea-coast, to take such measures as might make them repent of their desire of freedom. Onomastus employed Cassander, one of the king's officers, who had long dwelt at Maronea, to let in a body of Thracians by night, that they might sack the town, and exercise in

Legat 44. Livy, b. 39. c. 34.

it all cruelties of war. This was done, but so resented by the Roman ambassadors, who had better intelligence of these proceedings than could have been imagined, that they directly charged the king with the crime; which, they said was no less an insult on the Roman people, who had undertaken the protection of the Maronites, than a cruelty to the innocent sufferers. Philip denied his having had any share in the bloody act, and laid it upon the Maronites themselves; affirming that they, in the heat of their factions and quarrels (some being inclinable to him, others to Eumenes), had cut one another's throats. Nay, he made no scruple to propose to the ambassadors to examine the Maronites themselves; as well knowing, that they, terrified by the late execution of his vengeance, durst not accuse him; because he would still be in their neighbourhood, and the Romans not near enough to protect them. Appius Claudius answered, that it was needless to make inquiries about a thing already known; that he was well informed of what had been done, and by whom; and if the king would clear himself, he must send Onomastus and Cassander to Rome, there to be examined by the senate. Philip at this changed colour, and was confounded; yet recovering himself, he said, that Cassander should be at their disposition: but as to Onomastus, who had not been at Maronea, nor near it at the time of the slaughter, he refused to give him up. His true reason was, that he feared lest a man, who had been much in his confidence, and whom he had employed in many such execrable commissions, might reveal other secrets to the senate besides what regarded the Maronites: and that Cassander might tell no tales, he took care to have him poisoned in his way to Italy. The Roman ambassadors at their departure let the king plainly see that they were dissatisfied with his conduct: he began to fear that he should have a war to sustain before he was sufficiently prepared for it. To gain time, he resolved to employ his

Year of ROME 569. B.C. 183. 268th consulship.

Year of ROME 569. B. C. 183. younger son Demetrius as his ambassador to the senate; with whom the young prince had acquired much favour when he was a hostage in Rome.

268th consulship. The same ambassadors who had been with Philip, made their progress through the rest of Greece, and took cognizance of the complaints of some banished Lacedemonians against the Achæans, for having beat down the walls of Lacedemon, slaughtered many of the citizens, and abolished the laws of Lycurgus. To these accusations Lycortas (the father of Polybius the historian), prætor of Achaia, answered, "That the complainants were notoriously the very men who had committed the murders they complained of: that as to throwing down the walls of Lacedemon, it was perfectly agreeable to Lycurgus's institution, who had forbade his citizens all kinds of fortification: that the tyrants of Lacedemon, who built those walls, had in effect abolished the ordinances of Lycurgus, governing the city by their own lawless will; and that the Achæans, not knowing any better laws than their own, had communicated them to the Lacedemonians, whom they found in reality without laws, or any tolerable polity, and had associated to the other states of Peloponnesus.

Livy, b. 39. c. 36.

He concluded with words to this effect; "The Achæans, being friends and faithful allies of Rome, think it strange to see themselves thus compelled to give an account of their actions, as vassals and slaves to the Roman people. If the voice of Flamininus's herald was not an empty sound, why might not we as well inquire about your proceedings at Capua, as you take cognizance of what we have done at Lacedemon. You will say, perhaps, that, by the league between us, we are only in appearance free; in reality subject to Rome. I am sensible of it, Appius; and, if I must not, I will not be angry. But I beseech you, whatever distance there be between the Romans and Achæans, let not us, your allies, be upon the same, not to say a worse foot with you than

See p. 304.

enemies; your enemies and ours. That the Lacedemonians might be upon an equality with us, we gave them our own laws, and made them a part of the Achæan body. The vanquished, not content with the laws and privileges which satisfy the victors, would have us violate compacts that have been confirmed by the most solemn oaths. No, Romans, we honour you, and, if you will, we fear you too, but we reverence more, we dread more, the immortal gods." Appius had little to reply, and was therefore very brief. Thinking it no time for gentle management, he only advised the diet, "By a ready compliance to merit favour, while they might, and not to wait till they were compelled to obedience." The assembly heard this imperious language with inward rage; yet, fear prevailing, they only desired that the Romans would themselves make what change they pleased with regard to the Lacedemonians, and not force the Achæans, by any act of their own, sacrilegiously to break their oaths.

Year of ROME 569. B. C. 183. 568th consulship.

CHAP. X.

Cato, after great opposition by the nobles, is chosen censor. His conduct in that office.

Cato chosen censor.

THERE happened, this year, a remarkable struggle amongst the great men of Rome, for the office of censor. Cato being one of the candidates, the nobles, who not only envied him as a new man, but dreaded his severity, set up against him seven powerful competitors. Valerius Flaccus, who had introduced him into public life, and had been his colleague in the consulship, was a ninth candidate; and these two united their interests. On this occasion Cato, far from employing soft words to the people, or giving hopes of gentleness and complaisance in the execution of the office, loudly declared from the rostra, with a threatening look and voice; "That the times required firm and vigorous magistrates

Livy, b. 39. et. seq. Plut. Life of Cato.

Year of ROME 569. B.C. 183. 268th consulship.

to put a stop to that growing luxury which menaced the republic with ruin; censors, who would cut up the evil by the roots, and restore the rigour of ancient discipline." It is to the honour of the people of Rome, that, notwithstanding these terrible intimations, they preferred him to all his competitors, who courted them by promises of a mild and easy administration. The *comitia* also appointed his friend Valerius to be his colleague, without whom he had declared, that he could not hope to compass the reformations he had in view.

Cato's merit, upon the whole, was superior to that of any of the great men who stood against him. He was temperate, brave, and indefatigable, frugal of the public money, and not to be corrupted. There is scarce any talent requisite for public or private life which he had not received from nature, or by industry acquired. He was a great soldier, an able statesman, an eloquent orator, a learned historian, and very knowing in rural affairs. Yet with all these accomplishments, he had great faults. His ambition being poisoned with envy, disturbed both his own peace and that of the whole city as long as he lived. Though he would not take bribes, he was unmerciful and unconscionable in amassing wealth, by all such methods as the law did not punish. It was one of his sayings, according to Plutarch, that "The man the most to be admired, the most glorious, the most divine, was he, at whose death it appeared by his accounts, that he had added more to his patrimony than the whole value of it."

The first act of Cato in his new office, was naming his colleague to be prince of the senate; after which, the censors struck out of the list of the senators the names of seven persons; among whom was Lucius, the brother of T. Flamininus. Lucius, when consul, and commanding in Gaul, had with his own hand murdered a Boian of distinction, a deserter to the Romans; and he had committed this murder purely to gratify the curiosity of

his pathic, a young Carthaginian, who, longing to see somebody die a violent death, had reproached the general for bringing him away from Rome just when there was going to be a fight of gladiators. Year of ROME 569. B. C. 183. 268th consulship.

Titus Flamininus, full of indignation at the dishonour done to his brother, brought the affair before the people; and insisted upon Cato's giving the reason of his proceeding. The censor related the story; and, when Lucius denied the fact, put him to his oath: the accused refusing to swear, was deemed guilty, and Cato's censure approved. Yet he greatly hurt his own character when, at the review of the knights, he took away the horse of Scipio Asiaticus; this act being by every body ascribed to a malicious desire of insulting the memory of Africanus.

But no part of the censor's conduct seemed so cruel to the nobles and their wives, as the taxes he laid upon luxury in all its branches; dress, household furniture, women's toilets, chariots, slaves, and equipage.[o] The people, however, in general, were pleased with his regulations, insomuch that they ordered a statue to be erected[p] to his honour in the temple of Health, with an inscription that mentioned nothing of his victories or triumph, but imported only, that by his wise ordinances in his censorship he had reformed the manners of the republic.

[o] These articles were all taxed at three per cent. of the real value.

[p] Plutarch relates, that before this, upon some of Cato's friends expressing to him their surprise, that while many persons without merit or reputation had statues, he had none; he answered, "I had much rather it should be asked, why the people have not erected a statue to Cato, than why they have."

CHAP. XI.

570. Many complaints are brought to Rome against Philip of Macedon. His son Demetrius pleads for him in the senate; and, out of regard to the young prince, the fathers send an ambassador into Macedon, to settle affairs with the king in an amicable manner. The Messenians break off from the Achæan association, and take up arms. Philopœmen, in a skirmish with them, is made prisoner, and afterward put to death. Flamininus, the Roman ambassador to Prusias of Bithynia, demands of the king to give up Hannibal, who had taken refuge in his court. The Carthaginian, to avoid falling into the hands of the Romans, puts an end to his own life by poison.

Hannibal kills himself.

Year of ROME 570. B.C. 182.

269th consulship. Q. Fabius Labeo and M. Claudius Marcellus, consuls. Polybius Legat. 46. Livy, b. 39. c. 46.

WHEN it was universally known that the conscript fathers would receive accusations against the king of Macedon, from whatever quarter they should come, the city, in a short time, swarmed with ambassadors from the numerous states of Greece. King Eumenes, who never wanted matter of invective against Philip, sent ministers to Rome without delay. And even some private men went thither with complaints of personal injuries. After the several complainants had delivered themselves in the senate, it lay upon Demetrius, now ambassador from his father, to answer all. The senators, considering his youth, and how unequal he was to the task of disputing with so many artful wranglers; and observing also how much he was embarrassed (as indeed were they themselves) by the abundance and variety of the matters objected, asked him, Whether his father had not furnished him with some notes to help his memory? and he owning that he had a little book for that purpose, they desired him to read aloud what it contained in relation to the points in question. The truth was, they had no desire to hear the son declaim, but to find out with certainty what the father thought and intended; and thus much the memorial discovered, that the king was excessively piqued; for up and down in it were scattered such expressions as these: "Although Cæcilius and the other ambassadors did not deal fairly by me in this business—although this was unjustly given against me—

notwithstanding the ill treatment and the insults I have undeservedly met with on all hands.—" Year of ROME 570. B. C. 182.

Demetrius excused, as well as he could, whatever facts had given an offence, and were not to be denied; promising an exact conformity, for the future, to the good pleasure of the senate. The fathers answered: "That Philip could not have done any thing more prudent, or more agreeable to them, than sending his son Demetrius to make his apology: that they could overlook, forget, bear with many past provocations; and believed they might confide in Demetrius's promises: that though he was returning into Macedon, his heart, they knew, would remain with them as a hostage; and that, as far as was consistent with filial piety, he would always be a friend to the Roman people: that out of regard to him they would send ambassadors into Macedon to set to rights, in an easy and amicable manner, whatever had been done amiss; and for their so doing, they would have Philip sensible that he was indebted to his son Demetrius. 269th consulship.

The dispute between the Lacedemonians and the Achæans was the next affair that came under the deliberation of the senate; and they pronounced a decree to the following effect: that those of the Lacedemonians, who had been sentenced to death by the Achæans, had been unjustly condemned; and that the banished should be restored; but that Lacedemon should remain a member of the Achæan body.

Q. Marcius, appointed ambassador to the court of Macedon, had orders to go also into Peloponnesus, not only to put into execution what was now decreed, but to take cognizance of some new commotions there: occasioned by the Messenians breaking off from the Achæan association, and setting up for an independent state. One Dinocrates was come to Rome to solicit their cause. This man having learnt that T. Flamininus, named ambassador to Bithynia, would in his way thither pass through Greece, applied himself to him; who being an Polyb. Leg. 47. et Excerp. ap. Vales.

Year of ROME 570. B.C.182 — inveterate enemy of Philopœmen, was easily engaged in the interest of the Messenians. Dinocrates imagined he had now gained his point, and he accompanied the Roman to Naupactus: whence as soon as he landed, Flamininus wrote to the prætor Philopœmen, and other principal magistrates of Achaia, to convoke a diet. The magistrates, knowing that Flamininus had no commission from the senate in relation to the affairs of Greece, returned answer, "That they would do as he desired, if by letter he would signify what the business was which he had to lay before the assembly; an intimation of it to the people, previous to their meeting, being by the laws absolutely necessary." The Roman not thinking it advisable to put his business in writing, all the high expectations of Dinocrates and the Messenians fell to the ground.

269th consulship.

Livy, b. 39. c. 49. Soon after, Philopœmen, having levied such forces as in haste he could, marched against the Messenians, who, under the conduct of Dinocrates, had begun hostilities. In a skirmish which ensued, and while the Achæan general gallantly exposed his person, to secure the retreat of his men, overpowered by numbers, he was, by the falling of his horse, thrown to the ground, and taken prisoner. The enemy carried him bound to Messene,[q] and there shortly after put him to death.

C. 49, 50. Plut. Life of Philopœmen.

[q] When Philopœmen was brought prisoner to Messene, the multitude, pitying the misfortune of so great a man, and remembering with gratitude some good offices he had formerly done their city, and also thinking that by his means an end might be put to the present war, universally inclined to spare him. But Dinocrates and his party, the authors of the revolt, and who had the government in their hands, hurried him out of sight of the people, under pretence of asking him some questions relating to the present state of things. And not daring to trust him in the custody of any one man, even for a night, they put him down, fast bound, into a kind of vault or cavern, where they used to keep their treasure in time of war, and the mouth of which they covered with a great stone moved by an engine. Philopœmen, now seventy years of age, just recovered from a long illness, and grievously wounded in the head by a fall when taken prisoner, lay in this place, without light and without air, while his enemies were debating what to do with him. The fear they had of his resentment, should he be set at liberty, made them determine to put him to death without delay; for which purpose they let down the executioner into the vault. Philopœmen was lying stretched upon his cloak, when seeing a man standing by him with a lamp in one hand, and a cup of poison in the other, he with difficulty raised himself, and taking the cup, asked him, "Whether he knew any thing of Lycortas, and the Megalopolitan horsemen." The executioner answering, "That they had

This year is said by some authors to have been remarkable for the death of three most illustrious generals, Scipio, Philopœmen, and Hannibal. But Livy contends, that Scipio must have been dead at the time[r] when Cato entered on his censorship; because this censor named his colleague Vallerius to be president of the senate, a dignity which Scipio Africanus had held for the three preceding lustra, and of which he would not have been deprived during his life, without being expelled the senate, and of such expulsion there is not the least hint in any author. Year of ROME 570. B.C. 182. 269th consulship.

As to Hannibal, it has been before observed, that Antiochus covenanted with the Romans to deliver him up, but was prevented by his flight into Crete; whence he afterwards went into Bithynia, to king Prusias, and did him eminent service in his wars. It has been also mentioned, that the senate employed Flamininus on an embassy to Prusias. The pretence for it was, to make him desist from hostilities against the king of Pergamus; but it seems probable, that the chief business of Flamininus was to terrify the Bithynian into a base betraying of his Carthaginian guest.[s] Prusias, if we may believe Plutarch, earnestly entreated the Roman ambassador not to press him to so dishonourable an action: but Livy tells us, that the cowardly king complied upon the first demand. Hannibal, well acquainted with Prusias's character, had in the castle of Libyssa, where he resided, formed certain subterraneous passages, whereby to make his escape in case of danger. Word being brought him, that the castle was surrounded by soldiers, he had recourse to his passages. When he found that the issues Justin. b. 32. c. 4. Plut. Life of Flamininus.

almost all escaped." "It is well (replied Philopœmen), we are not every way unfortunate;" then, without the least mark of discomposure, he drank off the poison, and laying himself down upon his cloak, soon after expired.

Divine honours were afterward paid to him by his countrymen; and he was styled as Plutarch tells us, the last of the Greeks.

[r] Cicero (de Senect.) makes Cato say the same thing.

[s] Valerius Antias (ap. Liv. b. 39. c. 56.) says expressly, that Flamininus, L. Scipio Asiaticus, and P. Scipio Nasica, were sent ambassadors to Prusias to procure the death of Hannibal.

Year of ROME 570. B.C. 182.

of these were also beset, he did not hesitate a moment in preferring death to captivity. Taking into his hand a poison[t] which he had long kept ready against such an exigence, he said: "Let us deliver Rome from her perpetual fears and disquiet, since she has not the patience to wait for the death of an old man."[u] Flamininus's victory over an enemy unarmed and betrayed, will not do him much honour with posterity." Then having invoked the gods to take vengeance upon Prusias for his violation of hospitality, he swallowed the poison and died.[x]

269th consulship. Livy, b. 39. c. 51.

Rollin. Hist. Rom. tom. 7. l. 24. §. 5.

[t] According to Juvenal, Hannibal kept this poison in a ring. Juven. Sat. 10.

[u] He was about sixty five.

[x] A late pious and learned author of a Roman history, after relating the death of Hannibal and Scipio, draws the characters of those two celebrated captains; compares them, and then leaves it to his reader to give the preference as he shall see cause. He enumerates the talents and qualities that make a complete general:— 1. Extensive genius to form and execute great designs. 2. Profound secrecy. 3. A thorough acquaintance with the characters of the generals with whom he is to fight. 4 Attention to keep his troops under strict discipline 5. A plain, sober, frugal, laborious manner of living. 6. Skill in an equal degree to employ force and stratagem. 7. Prudence to avoid hazarding his person without necessity. 8. Art and ability for conducting a battle. 9 The talents of speaking well, and dexterously managing the minds of men.

Our author gives a summary of what the historians have said to the praise of both commanders, in these respects, and from the whole, is inclined to think that Hannibal has the advantage. "There are, however, two difficulties which hinder him from deciding: one drawn from the characters of the generals whom Hannibal vanquished; the other, from the errors he committed. May it not be said (continues our author), that those victories which have made Hannibal so famous, were as much owing to the imprudence and temerity of the Roman generals, as to his bravery and skill? When a Fabius, and afterward a Scipio, was sent against him, the first stopped his progress at once, the other conquered him."

I do not see why these difficulties should check our author's inclination to declare in favour of the Carthaginian. That Fabius was not beaten by Hannibal, we cannot much wonder, when we remember how steadily the old man kept his resolution never to fight with him. But from Fabius's taking this method to put a stop to the victories of the enemy, may we not conclude that he knew no other, and thought Hannibal an overmatch for him? And why does our author forget Publius Scipio (Africanus's father), a prudent and able general, whom Hannibal vanquished at the Ticin? Livy relates some victories of Hannibal over the celebrated Marcellus; but neither Marcellus, nor any other general, ever vanquished Hannibal before the battle of Zama, if we believe Polybius (b. 15. c. 16.) Terentius Varro indeed is represented as a headstrong, rash man; but the battle of Cannæ was not lost by his imprudence. The order in which he drew up his army is no where condemned; and chevalier Folard thinks it excellent. And as to the conduct of the battle, Æmilius Paullus, a renowned captain, a disciple of Fabius, had a greater share in it than his colleague. The imprudence with which Varro is taxed, was his venturing, against his colleague's advice, with above 90,000 men, to encounter, in a plain field, an enemy who had only 50,000, but was superior in horse. And does not the very advice of Æmilius, and the charge of temerity on Varro for not following it, imply a confession of Hannibal's superiority, in military skill, over Æmilius, as well as Varro? It ought likewise to be observed, that Hannibal's infantry had gained the victory over the Roman infantry, before this latter suffered any thing from the Carthaginian cavalry. It was otherwise when Scipio gained the victory at Zama. His infantry would probably have been vanquished but for his cavalry. Hannibal, with only his third line of foot (his Italian army), maintained a long fight against Scipio's

CHAP. XII.

571.

The Achæan ambassadors having demanded of the Roman senate assistance against the Messenians, receive a rough answer; but are civilly treated, on the news that Lycortas, the successor of Philopœmen, has reduced the Messenians to surrender at discretion. While Philip of Macedon is busy in forming projects for strengthening his kingdom, there breaks out, between his two sons Perses and Demetrius, a quarrel, which at length proves fatal to the latter.

Q. MARCIUS, the Roman ambassador, who had been sent into Macedon and Greece, returned to Rome in Y. R. 571. Polyb. Legat. 51.

three lines of foot, and seems to have had the advantage over them, when Masinissa and Lælius, with the horse, came to their assistance. Polybius, indeed, says, that Hannibal's Italian forces were equal in number to all Scipio's infantry; but this is contradicted by Livy, and is not very credible. The authority of Polybius, who was an intimate friend of Scipio Æmilianus, is, I imagine, of but little weight, in matters where the glory of the Scipios is particularly concerned. His partiality and flattery to them are in many instances but too visible.

The errors of which Hannibal is accused, are his not marching to Rome immediately after his victory at Cannæ, and his suffering his troops to ruin themselves by debauchery at Capua.

Our author himself seems to believe, that the first was not really an error. (See what has been said upon this head, p. 7 . note 1)

As to the second charge, it is a manifest slander. The behaviour of Hannibal and of his troops, after they came out of their winter-quarters at Capua, is a sufficient proof that they had lost nothing of their martial spirit. (See p. 89. and 90. note x.) If Hannibal's soldiers were so unmanned as Livy would have us believe, why did not the Romans drive them out of Italy? How came the Carthaginian to be conqueror in every action, great and small, as Polybius says (b. 15. c. 11. 16.) he was?

After speaking of the errors imputed to the Carthaginian, our author adds, "As for Scipio, I do not know that any thing like these was ever objected to him." He forgets that neglect of discipline was frequently objected to Scipio by Fabius and Cato, unjustly, perhaps, but not more unjustly than it is objected to Hannibal by Livy.

Our author, having considered both generals with respect to their military qualities, adds to his discourse a section with the title of Moral and civil Virtues. And, "Here it is (says he) that Scipio triumphs.—The reader will not be much at a loss in whose favour to declare, especially if he looks upon the shocking portrait which Livy has left us of Hannibal." But our author himself, after looking upon this portrait, judges that it does not resemble the original; there being no mention, in Polybius or Plutarch, of that cruelty, perfidiousness, and irreligion, with which Livy charges the Carthaginian. The reader may, therefore, be at a loss in whose favour to decide, notwithstanding any thing that Livy has said, or any thing that our author has said, or is going to say, for he declines making a parallel of these two generals with regard to moral and civil virtues (the virtues of a good citizen). "He will content himself (he says) with mentioning some of those which in Scipio shined the most." Whether these brightnesses are such as give our author cause to say, "C'est ici le triomphe de Scipion," we shall presently see.

He ranges the virtues in the following order:

I. *Generosity, Liberality.*

He tells us, that Scipio freely parted with his money, and mentions his wonderful generosity in restoring the Spanish hostages without ransom.

Now we find that Hannibal had the very same virtues, or, to speak more properly, made use of the same policy. He parted with his money to purchase the friendship of the Gauls; and when, by his victories in Italy, he had taken great numbers of Italians prisoners; he set free, without ransom, all that were not Romans.

II. *Gentleness, Benignity.*

We are told that Scipio treated his officers politely, that he praised and rewarded those who had performed well.

Year of ROME 571. B.C. 181.

the consulship of L. Æmilius Paullus and Cn. Bæbius Tamphilus. With regard to the Achæans, he reported,

270th consulship.

From the words which Livy puts into Hannibal's mouth, (see p. 24.) just before the battle of the Ticin, there is reason to conclude that he acted in the like manner. Whether Hannibal would have been so gentle to mutineers as Scipio was at the Sucro (and for which our author extols him), it is not easy to say; his temper having never been tried by a mutiny among his soldiers. Nor do I well conceive how Scipio, consistently with common prudence, could, in his situation, have been more severe. He put to death all the ringleaders of the sedition, thirty-five in number.

But certainly our author is very unlucky in the instance he chooses to give of Scipio's gentleness in reproof. "His reprehensions were softened by such an air of affectionate kindness as made them amiable. The reproof he was obliged to give Masinissa, who, blinded by his passion, had married Sophonisba, a declared enemy of the Roman people, is a perfect pattern for imitation in the like delicate circumstances." (See p. 243.) Now the reader may remember, that this gentle, amiable reproof, was accompanied with a broad hint, that Masinissa must give up the woman he had married, and was passionately in love with, to be a slave to the Romans, and led in triumph before Scipio's chariot.

III. *Justice.*

"It was by this virtue (says our author) that Scipio rendered the Roman domination so gentle and agreeable to the allies and the conquered nations, and made himself so tenderly beloved by them, that they considered him as their protector and father."

One would think that a writer so well acquainted with the history of those times, meant this remark as raillery instead of panegyric. For could he really believe that either the Spaniards or the Africans found any pleasure in wearing the Roman yoke? Or that the Spaniards had a high opinion of the justice of Scipio, who came among them under pretence of delivering them from subjection to Carthage, and then reduced them under the domination of Rome? The truth is, notwithstanding all that is said by the historians of his justice, clemency, and benignity, he carried on the war in Spain not only with great injustice, but with great cruelty. The facts contradict the panegyric. (See p. 202.)

As to Scipio's shining justice in not violating the Carthaginian ambassadors, who, in their return to Rome, accidentally fell into his hands, it is not worth taking notice of. But (not to mention the affair of Plemnius) there is a glaring instance of his injustice recorded by Livy, (b. 41. c. 62.) and which the reader may find in p. 330, of this volume.

IV. *Greatness of Soul.*

In what did Scipio display this virtue? Why truly in refusing the title of king, which the Spaniards offered him; a refusal which made them wonder. But the Spaniards did not know that every senator of Rome thought himself much above any of the petty kings in Spain. Besides, can it be reckoned a proof of singular magnanimity, that a man, honoured in an extraordinary manner by his country, should not, for any temptation, turn a rebel to it?

The other instance of Scipio's greatness of soul, many will perhaps think to be the greatest blemish in his character: "his disdaining to give an account of his conduct when legally summoned to do it."

I cannot but think, that Hannibal, when he freed Carthage from the tyranny of the perpetual judges; and when, by obliging the nobles to account for the public money they had embezzled, he prevented an unnecessary and oppressive tax from being imposed on the people, made a better figure as a citizen and a common wealth's-man than Scipio, when he tore his book of accounts; or when he triumphed over the tribune Nævius, by carrying away the multitude to the Capitol, that they might beg of Jupiter (as Livy says) to grant them always leaders like Scipio. And when Hannibal goes into banishment, (Liv. b. 33. c. 48.) "lamenting the misfortunes of his country more than his own;" he certainly shews greater magnanimity than the Roman, when flying from Rome to avoid a trial; or when ordering, at his death, that his body should not be buried in his ungrateful country: (Liv. b. 38. c. 53.) so ungrateful as to ask him what he had done with the public money.

that he found them bent to keep the direction of affairs wholly in their own hands, and to refer nothing to the arbitration of the senate; but added, that if their ambassadors, then at Rome, met with a cold reception, and if the least intimation were given them, that their proceedings displeased the conscript fathers, the Lacedemonians would certainly follow the example of the Messe- Year of ROME 571. B.C. 181. 270th consulship.

V. *Chastity.*

In proof of Scipio's excelling in this virtue, we have the sermon he preached to Masinissa, (see p. 243.) and the story of the Celtiberian beauty. (See p. 186.) As to the latter, I would not wish the reader to believe Valerius Antias, (Ap. A. Gell. l. 6. c. 8.) who reports, that Scipio acted a quite contrary part to what is given him by Livy and Polybius. But if Scipio was chaste, this gives him no right to triumph over Hannibal; for Justin tells us, (b. 32. c. 4.) that the Carthaginian was so continent, with regard to women, that nobody would have believed him to be an African.

VI. *Religion.*

Our author himself has had the charity to take Hannibal's part, and to answer Livy's indictment against him for irreligion. He cites Hannibal's pilgrimage to Gades; a vision which he verily believed came to him from the gods, to foretel to him the success of his enterprise; the godly expressions in the treaty between him and king Philip, his not robbing the temple of Juno Lacinia; and lastly, his invoking the gods, at the time of his death, to take vengeance on Prusias for his breach of hospitality. All these together sufficiently prove that Hannibal had religion.

As for Scipio, our author says, "he does not know, whether this Roman had read the Cyropædia, but that it is evident, he imitated Cyrus in every thing, and above all in religious worship. From the time that he put on the manly gown, that is, from the age of seventeen, he never began any business, public or private, till he had first been at the Capitol to implore the help of Jupiter." Our author goes on, "What the religion was, either of Cyrus or Scipio, is not here the question. We know very well that their religion could not but be false. But the example given to all commanders and all men, to begin and finish all their actions with prayer and thanksgiving, is for that reason the stronger. For what would they not have said and done, if they, like us, had been illuminated with the light of the true religion, and had not been so happy as to know the true God?"

Were I to answer this question of our pious and learned author, I should say that Cyrus, Hannibal, and Scipio, had they known the true God and the true religion, would probably have said and done as the Christian conquerors and destroyers of mankind have since said and done. They would have uttered some prayers from time to time; and on certain occasions have walked in processions: they would have had chaplains, and offices of devotion, and religious ceremonies, and fasting days, and thanksgiving days, and, with all these, would have gone on plundering and slaughtering the innocent and weak, and gloriously laying waste the world. If they had not done these mighty mischiefs, it is more than probable we should have heard little of their virtues.

I flatter myself that the reader will be greatly edified by the zeal expressed, in the foregoing observations, for the support of Hannibal's moral character. But should it be otherwise, I shall still be content, if I may only be excused for not attempting to draw at large the characters of those shining heroes we meet with in the Roman story. The truth is, I am unequal to the task of character-drawing; and were I not, I should still decline it, that I might not be charged with the affectation of a new kind of colouring. For I cannot, from the actions of the Scipios, Marcellus, Flamininus, Æmilius Paullus, Mummius Achaicus, and such-like worthies, form those high ideas of their virtue, which their panegyrists, both ancient and modern, would have us entertain.

Year of ROME 571. B. C. 181. 570th consulship.

nians; in which case the Achæans would soon grow submissive, and most earnestly implore the protection of Rome. When therefore the Achæan ministers, in virtue of the treaty between Rome and Achaia, demanded "assistance against the Messenians, or, if that could not be granted, that at least the sending arms or provisions from Italy to the enemy might be prohibited," it was answered, "That should the Lacedemonians, or the Corinthians, or the Argives disjoin themselves from the Achæan confederacy, the Achæans would have no reason to wonder if Rome looked upon it as a matter that no way concerned her." But, notwithstanding this declaration, when the fathers learnt soon after, that Lycortas, the successor of Philopœmen, had revenged his death, and reduced the Messenians to surrender at discretion, they graciously assured the same ambassadors, "That they had taken care no arms nor provisions should be carried from Italy to Messene."

Polybius, Legat. 55.

This change of language to the Achæans upon the news of the unexpected success of their arms, was perhaps owing to the near prospect the Romans had of a war with the Macedonian; for Marcius reported to the senate, that, though Philip had done all they had enjoined him, yet it was evident, from his manner of complying, that his obedience would last no longer than necessity forced him to it. Nor indeed was the ambassador in this mistaken; for as Philip could not but see that the intention of the Romans was to possess themselves of his kingdom, by means seemingly consistent with their honour, if they could so contrive it, if not, by any means whatever, he turned all his thoughts to put himself in a condition to assert his independance. This was not easy to be effected. In the former war he had lost much both of strength and reputation: his subjects could not bear to hear of a new war with Rome: and there was neither king nor state in his neighbourhood that would venture to espouse his cause against the Ro-

mans. He formed a scheme therefore to allure the Bastarnæ (a robust and hardy people dwelling beyond the Danube), to leave their country and settle in Dardania; promising them, together with great rewards, his assistance to extirpate the natives; who (lying on the borders of Macedon) had taken every opportunity to give him disturbance. And he was to purchase of some Thracian princes a passage through their country for these Barbarian strangers. It is said, that besides the strengthening of Macedon he had a farther view in calling the Bastarnæ to his assistance. He thought they might be usefully employed even to invade Italy, marching through Illyricum and the countries upon the Adriatic. Some years passed before this project took any effect. In the mean time he applied himself very diligently to train his people to war, exercising them in some small expeditions against the wild nations on the confines of his dominions. Year of ROME 571. B.C. 246. 270th consulship.

But these his counsels and proceedings were miserably disturbed by the calamities that fell upon him, both in his kingdom and in his own house. The multitude of people, which he had transplanted, much against their wills, into Emathia, being extremely discontented with the change, uttered bitter execrations against him: and he became the detestation of all his subjects in general, when, the more effectually to secure himself against domestic enemies, he barbarously caused to be massacred the children of all those whom he had at any time tyrannically put to death. Polybius ascribes what afterward happened to Philip, in his own family, to an especial vengeance of Heaven poured on him for these cruelties. Polyb. Excerp. ap. Vales. Livy, b. 40. c. 3. See p. 376.

It is hard[y] to say what the Romans intended by the

[y] The most probable conjecture seems to be, that the conscript fathers, well acquainted with Demetrius, and knowing him to be a fool, thought him the fitter to be king of a country, which they intended to make their own. For, that he was a very weak youth seems evident from hence, that, while the king, suspecting him of a warmer heart to the Romans than to him, put an ill construction upon many of his actions, which perhaps were innocent (and particularly that assiduous court he paid to every ambassador from the senate), the prince took no pains to destroy this im-

Year of ROME 571. B. C. 181. 170th consulship. extraordinary favour they shewed to Demetrius, the king's younger son. But, certain it is, that their favour to him, and his mutual respect for them, made the father extremely jealous of him; a jealousy that was increased by the partial regard the people in general had for Demetrius, to whom they thought themselves indebted for the continuance of the peace with Rome; and who, they hoped and believed, would, by means of the Romans, succeed Philip in the throne; and this their partiality to the younger son was yet more strongly resented by the elder than by the father. Perses[z] not only conceived an implacable hatred to his brother, but formed a steady resolution to compass his destruction. In this view he accused Demetrius of an attempt to assassinate him;[a] and even pretended to know, that he had undertaken this murder in the confidence that he should be supported by the Romans. We are told, there was no solid proof of the charge. The king, however, having called some of his council to be his assessors, sat in judg-

Polyb. Legat. 50. Livy, b. 39. c. 53.

Livy, b. 40. c. 8. et seq.

pression in his father's mind; but, on the contrary, was always admiring and commending whatever was Roman; carrying this folly so far, as to lose all patience, if any body happened to say, that Rome (the worst-built city in the world) was ill contrived.

[z] Perses is said by some writers to have been Philip's son by a concubine, in which respect Demetrius had the advantage of him, being indisputably legitimate. But perhaps this is only a Roman tale.

[a] The occasion of it was this. There had been, the day before, a general muster and review of the army. It was customary for the troops, after they had been reviewed, to divide themselves into two bodies, and come to a mock fight, in which the combatants made use of poles instead of the usual weapons. In the last fight between the two divisions of the army, each being heated by more than ordinary eagerness for victory, as if they had been contending for the kingdom, some hurt was done. Perses' side at length recoiled. This vexed him, but his friends thought that a good use might be made of it. It might afford matter of complaint against Demetrius, as if the heat of his ambition had carried him beyond the rules of the sport. Each of the brothers was that day to give an entertainment to his own companions, and each of them had spies in the other's house to observe what passed. One of Perses' intelligencers behaved himself so incautiously that he was discovered, and well beaten by four of Demetrius's guests. Demetrius knew nothing of this. When grown warm and merry with wine, "Why should not we go to my brother's (said he) and join company with him? and if he is angry with us for what happened to day, we will put him into good humour again." All approved the motion, except the four who had so roughly treated Perses' spy. Yet Demetrius would not suffer them to stay behind. These, to secure themselves from being insulted, carried swords hid under their clothes; a precaution, however, not so secretly taken, but that Perses had notice of it; who thereupon caused his doors to be shut; and, when Demetrius, with his drunken companions, arrived, spoke to them from a window, in reproachful words, accusing them of murderous intentions. Livy, b. 40. c. 6, 7.

ment to try the cause. Livy has given us at large the pleadings of the two princes, or rather what they might have said, if they had possessed his talents. When Philip had heard both his sons, he told them, "That he would not judge between them upon an hour's hearing of their altercations, but upon a future observation of their life and manners, their words and actions." Year of ROME 571. B. C. 181. 270th consulship.

The king naturally inclined to his eldest son, and was confirmed in that inclination by his hatred to the Romans; yet he had not so high an opinion of Perses' veracity, as not to doubt concerning what he had alleged against his brother. His doubts made him wretched; and he dreaded to have them removed; because he could reap nothing but sorrow from a discovery of the truth. Nevertheless such discovery was expedient, in order to the regulation of his conduct in disposing of his kingdom. Full of anxiety, he (in the consulship of P. Cornelius Cethegus and M. Bæbius Tamphilus) sent Philocles and Apelles to Rome, with the character of ambassadors to the senate; but whose chief business was to learn, if possible, what had past in private between Demetrius and any of the great men there, especially T. Flamininus; who not long before had, in a letter to the king, commended his prudence in sending his younger son on the late embassy to Rome; and had counselled him to send him thither again with a greater and more honourable retinue of Macedonian nobles. These two ambassadors, whom Philip thought unbiassed to either of the brothers, but who were indeed wholly devoted to Perses, returned, and brought to the king a letter, pretended to be written to him by Flamininus, whose seal they had counterfeited. In this letter, the writer, in behalf of Demetrius, whom he owned to be faulty, deprecated the king's anger; and pressed him to believe, that whatever unwarrantable enterprises the young prince, through ambition of a throne, might have formed, yet certainly he had projected nothing against the life of Year of ROME 572. B. C. 180. 271st consulship. Livy, b. 40. c. 20. c. 23.

Year of ROME 572. B.C. 180. 571st consul-ship.

any one of his own blood. He added, that as for himself, he was not a man that could be thought the adviser of any impious undertaking whatsoever.

Philip had some months before discovered, by means of one Didos, governor of Pæonia, who had worked himself ino Demetrius's confidence, that the young prince intended to escape to Rome, imagining he could nowhere else be in shelter from the suspicions of his father and the malice of his brother. The pretended letter from Flamininus, added to this discovery, determined the king to put his son to death. Yet lest to do it avowedly and openly should give the alarm to the Romans, and raise a suspicion of his having hostile intentions against the republic, he judged it best to have the criminal taken off silently, and by fraud. To Didos was committed the execution. A cup of poison, which he insidiously gave the prince, in the expectation that it would dispatch him speedily and quietly, not taking the desired effect, but causing in him such torment, as revealed the treachery, and made him loudly complain both of his father and Didos, this traitor sent into his chamber a couple of ruffians, who, by smothering him, finished the tragedy.

CHAP. XIII.

Transactions of the Romans, from the year 572 to 578.

FROM the year 564, when the consul Manlius vanquished and plundered the Galatians, to the year 582, in which began the second Macedonian war, little was performed by the Romans in the way of arms, except the conquest of Istria. Indeed the wars against the Ligurians and Spaniards continued almost without any interruption; but in these there happened nothing very memorable.

See p. 369.

At Rome, in the present year 572,[b] one Orchius, a

Macrob. Saturn. l. 2. c. 13.

[b] In this year the books which king Numa had ordered to be buried with him, and of which mention has been made in vol. 1. p. 88. were acoidentally found, and ordered to be burnt by the senate, as containing doctrines pernicious to religion.

tribune of the people, got a sumptuary law passed, limiting the number of guests which any man should be allowed to have at his table.

The next year, A. Posthumius Albinus and C. Calpurnius Piso being consuls, was enacted the famous Villian law, regulating the ages requisite for bearing the several magistracies. What these ages were is not agreed among the learned. Yet from Cicero (Phil. 5.) it would seem that the age for quæstor was thirty-one, curule ædile thirty-seven, prætor forty, consul forty-three. Year of ROME 573. B. C. 179. 272d consulship.

The year following was remarkable for having two brothers at the same time in the consulship, Q. Fulvius Flaccus and L. Manlius Acidinus Fulvianus, the latter so called, because adopted into the Manlian family. Y. R. 574.

A. Manlius Vulso (who had for his colleague M. Junius Brutus) led an army into Istria; the conquest of which country was completed by the consul C. Claudius Pulcher, whose colleague Tib. Sempronius Gracchus suppressed a rebellion in Sardinia. Y. R. 575. Y. R. 576.

To these succeeded Cn. Cornelius Scipio Hispallus and Q. Petillius Spurinus. Y. R. 577.

While the senate were in debate concerning the troops to be raised for the service of the year, Cornelius, who had been suddenly called out of the assembly by a *viator*, returned, after some time, with a countenance full of trouble and consternation. The conscript fathers suspending their deliberations, became all anxiety and attention. Cornelius then informed them, "That the liver of an ox (six years old) which he had sacrificed, was all melted away in the boiler; that when the thing was first told him, he could not believe it; that he caused the water to be poured out of the pot, and then saw the rest of the entrails entire; but, for the liver, it was all vanished, no mortal can tell how." Livy, b. 41. c. 5. A serjeant.

The fathers, terrified by this prodigy, were yet more terrified when the other consul let them know, that of four oxen which he had successively sacrificed to Jupiter,

Year of ROME 577. B.C. 175. 276th consulship. * Salus. † Death.

not one had proved such as could please him. Both the consuls received strict orders to continue sacrificing oxen, till the omens were good. It is reported (says Livy) that all the deities were propitiated, except the goddess Health, or Safety;* but that Petillius had no luck in sacrificing to her. What followed? Cornelius, coming down the hill of Alba, was seized with an apoplectic fit, lost the use of some of his limbs, and soon after died at Cumæ, whither he had been conveyed for the benefit of the waters. Petillius conducted the war in Liguria: the enemy being lodged upon a mountain called Letum,† the consul, in an harangue to his soldiers, told them, *se eo die Letum capturum esse*, "that he should that day take Letum" (the enemy's post); not attending, says Livy, to the ambiguity of the words, which also import, "that he should that day catch his death;" and accordingly he was that day killed in a conflict with the enemy. The Latin historian adds, that upon so remarkable a fulfilling of the melancholy omen, the keeper of the sacred chickens was heard to say, that something had gone wrong even with them, at the taking the auspices before the battle, and that the consul knew it well enough.

In the place of Cornelius, C. Valerius Lævinus had been chosen, Petillius holding the *comitia*; but the ablest divines and lawyers were of opinion, that since the ordinary consuls of that year had both perished, one by sickness, the other by the sword, the extraordinary, or substituted consul, could not hold the *comitia* for a new election of magistrates.

CHAP. XIV.

After the death of Philip, his son Perses succeeds him in the throne. He renews the treaty with Rome, is recognised king by the Roman senate, and applies himself to gain the good-will of the Greeks. The Bastarnæ, a nation on the Danube, who had been invited into Macedon by Philip, enter Dardania. The Romans, on this occasion, discover their jealousy of Perses. He makes a journey into Greece, and endeavours to renew the ancient friendship between the Macedonians and Achæans. Perses, king of Macedo 578. 579.

In the consulship of P. Mucius Scævola and M. Æmilius Lepidus, certain ambassadors, who had been sent by the conscript fathers into Macedon (to seek a pretence for invading and conquering that country), returned to Rome. Their report, which was very short, will be mentioned when the reader has first had an account of some changes in the state of Macedon, since it was last spoken of. Year of ROME 578. B. C. 174. 577th consulship.

King Philip was dead. He had lived but two years after the murder of his son Demetrius, and had passed those years in the extremest melancholy and wretchedness of mind. For Perses, having got rid of his rival brother, paid no longer any respect to his father, but let himself be courted and worshipped by the people, as if he were already on the throne. The old king was in a manner left desolate, some expecting his death, and some scarce enduring the tediousness of such expectation. Thus neglected and deserted, his thoughts ran frequently back to his son Demetrius, of whom he began now to regret the loss, not without some suspicion of foul play on the part of Perses in relation to his brother. One man there was of his court, and but one, his cousin-german Antigonus (the son of his uncle Echecrates), that continued faithful to him. Antigonus, by his fidelity to Philip, had drawn upon himself the hatred of Perses; and well foresaw, how dangerous that hatred would be to him, if ever the prince should ascend the throne. He no sooner, therefore, observed the softening of the king's mind at the remembrance of Demetrius, and how apt he was to the belief, that unfair practices had been used to Livy, b. 40 c. 54. et seq.

Year of ROME 578. B. C. 174. 577th consulship.

compass that prince's destruction, but he applied himself diligently to listen to what people said upon that subject, and industriously to bring the matter into discourse, often joining with those who complained of the rashness of the king's act. He found that Philocles and Apelles, the ambassadors who had brought the pretended letter from Flamininus, lay under the suspicion of fraud; and that it was commonly whispered in the palace, that Xychus, their secretary, had counterfeited the hand-writing and the seal of the Roman. Antigonus accidentally meeting this Xychus, laid hold of him, and brought him into the palace. There leaving him in custody with some officers, he went to the king, and acquainted him, that he had found the man who could best satisfy him whether his son Demetrius had died justly, or by treachery. Xychus being examined in Philip's presence, and threatened with torture, after some little hesitation confessed the whole matter. Philocles was instantly seized. Some say, that being confronted with Xychus, he owned the fact; others, that he bore the torture without confessing any thing. Apelles, then absent from court upon some commission, having notice of Xychus's being arrested, made his escape, and fled into Italy.[c] As for Perses, he was grown too powerful

[c] May not this circumstance, joined with some others in the story, justify a doubt, whether this pretended discovery of truth was not itself a fraud, contrived by Antigonus, who hoped by the success of it to gain the kingdom? Was Italy a country where Apelles, if guilty of forging a letter from Flamininus to the destruction of Demetrius (a prince so much in favour with the senate), could hope to find an asylum? Yet, though Philip demanded him, the Romans did not deliver him up, as appears from Livy, (b. 42. c. 5.) who also tells us, that Philocles, by some historians, is said to have denied the crime to the last, though confronted with Xychus, and put to the torture. Why may not the letter in question have been genuine? Livy, who makes it a point to justify Demetrius, and load Perses (doubtless because a victim destined by the Romans to destruction), allows, not only that Demetrius was vain and insolent, on account of the extraordinary regard the senate expressed for him, but that several months before Apelles and Philocles brought the letter from Italy, he had formed the design of withdrawing from his father's obedience, and escaping to his friends at Rome. Might not Flamininus, knowing this, and perhaps some other unjustifiable practices of Demetrius, which had brought him under his father's displeasure, write a letter to the king, to deprecate his anger, and dissuade him from any measures too severe against the prince . in which deprecation he might hope to succeed the more easily, by assuring Philip, that whatever wicked schemes of ambition the young man had formed, they could not take place, since they would have no countenance from Rome?

to be under any necessity of flying his country; he only took care to keep at a distance from his father; who despairing of ever being able to bring him to corporal punishment, bent his thoughts to hinder his succession to the throne, and secure it to Antigonus. And this, had he lived a little longer than he did, he would doubtless have effected. But in making a progress through his kingdom for this very purpose, he fell sick at Amphipolis, and died (year of Rome 574). His physician Caligenes concealed his death till Perses arrived; to whom he had given notice of the king's condition, upon the first indication of the distemper's being mortal. Antigonus was not at Amphipolis: he had been sent, much against his will, as ambassador from Philip to quicken the march of the Bastarnæ, and was coming with Cotto, one of their leaders, to let the king know, that they had passed the Danube, and were advancing; a prodigious multitude, with their wives and children. Not far from Amphipolis he heard a rumour of Philip's death, and was soon after arrested and slain by the order of Perses, who had taken possession of the kingdom.

Year of ROME 578. B. C. 174. 577th consulship.

The more firmly to establish himself, Perses sent ambassadors to Rome to get his title to the crown recognised by the senate, and to renew the league that had been made between his father and the republic; both which requests he obtained. Nor did he neglect any thing which he thought might help to conciliate to him the good-will of the Greeks, and his other neighbours. To ingratiate himself with his subjects, he recalled by edicts (published in the island of Delos, at Delphi, and in the temple of Itonia Minerva) all the Macedonians who had fled their country for debt, or had been banished thence by the judges; promising them, not only impunity, but restitution of their estates, with the profits of them during their absence. He remitted also all debts due to his exchequer, and released all persons that were in custody either for treason, or the suspicion of it,

Polyb. Excerp. ex. Lib. 20 ap. Valos.

Year of ROME 578. B. C. 174. 577th consulship.

By such actions of generosity and clemency, he made the Greeks universally conceive the highest hopes of him. Add to this, that in his person and in all his deportment, there was a royal dignity; and having carefully shunned the vices of incontinence and intemperance, to which his father had been addicted, he had a strength of body, that would enable him to sustain the hardships of war, as well as the fatigues of civil government. Such, says Polybius, was Perses in the beginning of his reign.

The Bastarnæ (as mentioned above) were upon their march to the country of Dardania, when Philip, who had invited them thither, died. This event embarrassed them: for the Thracians, with whom Philip had settled the price of their passage, now disputed it. A battle ensued, in which the Thracians had the worst. Nevertheless we find that the whole multitude of the Bastarnæ, except 30,000, returned home, because (if we may believe Livy and P. Orosius), it was miraculously bad weather. The 30,000 came on, and entered Dardania; where we find them three years after. For the Dardans then sent ambassadors to Rome, to ask help against those invaders; adding, that they were yet less afraid of the Bastarnæ than of Perses, who was in league with them. This furnished the Romans with a pretext to visit the king with ambassadors, who should pry into his conduct and designs.

Polyb. Legat. 62

When these ministers returned, the whole of their report amounted only to this; "That there was war in Dardania." Perses, apprehending some design against him, had appointed ambassadors to accompany the Romans in their journey home, and to assure the conscript fathers, that he had not sent for the Bastarnæ, that they did not act by his advice. The senate answered, "That they neither accused the king, nor acquitted him of that fault; that they only admonished him to be very careful religiously to observe, the treaty between the republic and him."

Livy, b. 41. c. 49.

The following year, when the consular fasces had been transferred to Sp. Posthumius Albinus and Q. Mucius Scævola, some Roman ambassadors, who had passed into Africa (it does not appear under what pretence of business), reported, at their return home, "That having gone first to Masinissa, they had received much better accounts from him of what had been doing at Carthage, than they afterward got from the Carthaginians themselves; that unquestionably ambassadors had been there from Perses, and admitted to audience by night in the temple of Æsculapius; and that Masinissa affirmed, what the Carthaginians themselves could not confidently deny, that they had sent ambassadors into Macedon." Hereupon the fathers resolved, that they too would send ambassadors into Macedon; and accordingly three were ordered thither. Year of ROME 579. B. C. 173. 278th consulship. Livy, b. 41. c. 22.

About this time the Dolopians, subjects of Perses, refusing (for what reason is unknown) to submit to his authority, and appealing from their king to the Romans, he marched with an army, and by force speedily reduced them to obedience. The Romans (as we shall see hereafter) would needs make this an act of presumption in the king, and resent it as if he had invaded some country of their Italian allies.

Perses, after this expedition, made another, under the pretence of religion. He crossed mount Oeta, and visited the temple of Apollo at Delphi. His army being with him, the Greeks were at first much terrified at his sudden appearance among them; but he stayed only three days at Delphi, and then, through Phthiotis and Thessaly, returned into his own country, not having done the least act of hostility in any place through which he had passed. With the cities in his way he had amicably treated in person; and to those at a distance he had sent ambassadors or letters, desiring that the memory of all misunderstandings between his father and them might be buried with his father, since his own inclination was

Y. of ROME 579. B. C. 173. 578th consulship. to live in amity with all his neighbours. The Romans would have been better pleased if the Macedonian had done some violences in his progress. Nor did they fail, for want of such cause of quarrel, to make it a crime that he had acted the contrary part, and, by a friendly behaviour, courted the good-will of the Greek states.

The king was more especially solicitous to recover the friendship of the Achæans, which his father had so far lost, that by a solemn decree they had forbidden any Macedonian to enter their territories. Whatever reasons of policy the Achæans might have for the continuance of this decree during the war of Philip with the Romans it seemed inhuman afterward, and a nourishing of deadly hatred, without leaving means of reconciliation. It was besides very prejudicial to them; their slaves daily running away, and taking refuge in Macedon, whence they knew they should not be reclaimed; for though there was no degree forbidding the Achæans to enter that kingdom, yet the masters of the slaves could not possibly think it safe for them to go thither. Perses took advantage of this circumstance: he apprehended all the runaways, and, by a letter to the Achæan diet, made a friendly offer to restore the fugitives: exhorting, at the same time, the magistrates to think of some effectual means to prevent the like escape for the future. Xenarchus, the prætor, read to the diet this letter; which the greater part heard with much pleasure, and especially those who were going, contrary to all expectation, to recover their slaves. But Callicrates, a partisan of the Romans, and who, to raise himself by their favour, had cast off all regard for his country, advised the assembly to be well aware of what they did; affirming, that the manifest aim of the king's civility was to make them break friendship with Rome, a friendship on which their all depended. "For, I suppose (said he), you have no doubt but there will be a war between the Romans and Perses. You know that Philip was making preparations

Polyb. Legat. 58 et. Excerp. ex L. 28. Livy, b. 41. c. 25.

for a rupture. He slew his son for no other reason but his affection to Rome. And what was the first thing that Perses did after his coming to the throne? He brought the Bastarnæ into Dardania. It is true, they are gone away again. Had they stayed, they would have been worse neighbours to the Greeks than the Gauls are to the Asiatics. But did their departure make Perses give over all thoughts of the war? No, if the truth may be spoken, he has already begun it; witness his expedition against the Dolopians. And as for that extraordinary journey to Delphi, and his wonderfully kind behaviour to the Thessalians, whom he hates. What do you think of all this? Was it any thing more than an artifice to draw men over to his party? Every body understands the meaning of his compliment to us. My advice is, that we let things continue as they are, till we see whether the peace between Rome and Macedon will remain inviolate."

Year of ROME 579. B. C. 173. 278th consulship.

To this, Archo, the prætor's brother: "Callicrates, I see, has a mind to make it difficult for those who disagree with him in opinion, to answer him. Why else does he bring the Romans into the question? I observe, that he is surprisingly well instructed in the councils of foreign courts. He knows every thing. He gives us an account of the most secret transactions; he even divines what would have happened if Philip had lived: he knows how it comes to pass that Perses inherits the kingdom; what the Macedonians are meditating; and what the Romans think: and upon all this knowledge he forms his opinion. But now, as for us, who neither know why or how Demetrius died, nor what Philip, if he had lived would have done; we ought, I think, to govern ourselves only by what we do know. And this we know: that Perses upon his accession to the throne was acknowledged king by the Romans; that they renewed their league with him; and that they afterward sent to him ambassadors who were kindly received. To me these things seem tokens of peace, and

Livy, b. 41. c. 24.

Year of ROME 579. B.C. 173. 578th consulship.

not of war: nor do I see how the Romans can be offended, if, as we followed their steps in making war, we follow them likewise in making peace. Why the Achæans alone are to carry on an inexpiable war against the Macedonians, I do not comprehend. Our neighbours are in commerce with Perses; and nothing more is proposed for the Achæans: no league, no alliance, nothing but such a correspondence as common humanity requires; nothing, therefore, that can justly offend the Romans. Why then all this stir? Why do we distinguish ourselves from our neighbours? Is it to make them suspected and hated, by our flattering the Romans more than they? Should there be a war, Perses himself does not doubt but we shall side with Rome. In a time of peace, enmity, if not wholly laid aside, should at least be suspended." Those who had been pleased with the king's letter, greatly applauded this discourse: yet the Roman faction found a pretence to get the debate adjourned. They alleged, that Perses, having sent only a letter, and not an ambassador, had failed in the ceremonial. It surely was not natural, considering upon what terms the two states had been for some time, that he should send a minister, before it could be known that a minister would be received; yet since this was made an objection, Perses, to remove it, dispatched an ambassador to them in form. But now, the dread of Rome prevailing in the council, he was refused audience; and for this the Achæans were, soon after, highly commended by the Romans; who thereby discover their hatred to Perses, though hitherto he had given them no provocation.[d]

Livy, b 42. c. 46.

Val. Max. b. 3. c. 5. et b. 4. c. 5.

[d] This year a son of Scipio Africanus stood candidate for the prætorship, and would have lost his election, if the competitor Cicereius, who had been his father's secretary, had not, out of respect for the family, desisted from his pretension, and even used his interest for Scipio. After he was chosen, and that it fell to his lot to be prætor peregrinus, his relations persuaded him to renounce the exercise of that office, as utterly unfit for it nor did he sit to pronounce one decree. They also prevailed with him to lay aside a ring he wore, whereon was the head of his father, whom he disgraced by his incapacity; and the censors this year struck his name out of the list of the senators. Nevertheless Cicero speaks of this Scipio as of a man of parts, though of an infirm habit of body. Cic. de Senect. c. 11. et Brut. c. 19.

The streets of Rome, by order of the censors, were this year paved for the first time. Livy, b. 41. c. 27.

CHAP. XV.

The consul Popillius vanquishes the Statelliates, a people of Liguria, and treats them with great cruelty. Eumenes, king of Pergamus, accuses Perses, in the senate of Rome, of designs against the republic. Assassins, hired by Perses, attempt to murder the Pergamenian in his return home. Perses is accused of plotting to take off by poison certain Roman generals and ambassadors. The Carthaginians make new complaints at Rome of Masinissa's usurpations. Some Roman ambassadors report to the senate the ill reception they had met with at the court of Macedon.

580. 581. Eumenes, king of Pergamus.

THE three ambassadors, sent into Macedon, returned to Rome (in the beginning of the consulship of L. Posthumius Albinus and M. Popillius Lænas) complaining, "That they had not been able to obtain an audience of the king; it having been sometimes pretended, that he was absent, sometimes that he was sick, and both falsely:" they added, "that he was undoubtedly preparing for war, and would soon take the field." The senate, not long after this report, resolved to trouble Perses with five more ambassadors; at the head of whom was C. Valerius: and those were from Macedon to go to Alexandria, to renew a league of friendship with Ptolemy.

Year of ROME 580. B. C. 172. 279th consulship. Livy, b. 42. c. 2. c. 6.

Popillius the consul, without orders from the senate, and without any provocation, led an army against the Statelliates, a people of Liguria, and came to a battle with them before the gates of their town called Carystum. He slew 10,000 of the enemy, and took 700 prisoners, with the loss of 3000 of his men. The vanquished, having collected their scattered troops, found that the number of the citizens lost was greater than those which remained. They surrendered, therefore, without making any conditions; never imagining that the consul would treat them worse than former generals had treated their prisoners. Yet Popillius not only plundered the town, but demolished it, and sold the inhabitants for slaves. Of this proceeding he sent an account to the conscript fathers; who, being highly offended with it, decreed, that returning the money to the purchasers, he should

c. 7.

Year of ROME 580. B.C. 172. 179th consulship.

restore to the captives their liberty and effects; and then quit the province. Popillius would not obey; but, having put his army into winter-quarters at Pisa, came home in as great wrath, says Livy, with the fathers, as he had expressed against the Ligurians.

Year of ROME 581. B.C 171. 180th consulship.

When the fasces had been transferred to P. Ælius Ligus and C. Popillius Lænas (both plebeians), Ælius, at the instigation of the senate, would have revived the affair of the injury done to the Ligurians; but was turned aside from his purpose by his colleague, the delinquent's brother, who threatened to oppose him, and to render null whatever he should do in that process.[e] The senate hereupon became so angry with both, that, though the war against Macedon was just on the point of being declared, they absolutely refused them the conduct of it, nor would even grant them a decree to levy soldiers for the war in Liguria.

About this time Eumenes, king of Pergamus, came to Rome. Besides his hereditary quarrel with the Macedonian, he had a particular hatred to him, on account of the great progress he made in the esteem and affection of the Greeks; while his own reputation among them was every day decreasing: in proof of which, the Achæans had lately abrogated, as extravagant and illegal, certain honours that had been decreed him in their country. Eumenes had doubtless learnt the intentions of the Romans with regard to Perses, and would therefore not be backward in making his court to the senate upon such an occasion; hoping perhaps to be rewarded with some part of the Macedonian kingdom, as he had, for his service against Antiochus, obtained a good share of that prince's dominions. The senate received the king with great honours: and though he had little to say which they knew not before, yet they listened to him

Livy, b. 42. c. 5. Polyb. Legat. 74.

Livy, b. 42. c. 11.

[e] We find that justice was afterward done to the Statelliates; but that Popillius, though prosecuted, escaped punishment, by the artifice of the prætor who was to try him. Livy, b. 42. c. 22.

with the utmost attention, pondering all his words, as if the weight of them were to turn the balance that before was equal. He introduced his discourse with saying, "That the cause of his journey to Rome was (besides the desire of visiting those gods and men, by whose favour he enjoyed that fortune which had left him nothing to wish for) that he might in person warn the senate to prevent the designs of the Macedonian." He then spoke of the murder of Demetrius, a prince always averse from a Roman war; Philip's invitation of the Bastarnæ, by whose help he was to have invaded Italy; the expedition of Perses against the Dolopians; the esteem which the Greek and Asiatic cities had for him. "I do not see (said Eumenes), for what merit, what munificence of his, so much respect is paid him; nor can I certainly tell, whether this be owing to the good fortune of Perses, or (which I am loath to say) to a hatred of the Romans. He is in great authority even with the Asiatic kings. Seleucus, the son and successor of Antiochus the Great, has given him his daughter Laodice in marriage: yet Perses did not ask her; Seleucus offered her. Prusias, king of Bithynia, has by earnest entreaties obtained, for a wife, the sister of Perses; and these marriages have been solemnized with congratulations and presents from numberless ambassadors. The Bœotians, who never could be brought to make a league with Philip, have made one with his son. The Achæan council, if a few friends of Rome had not opposed it, would have let him into Achaia. At the same time, they were putting affronts upon me, to whom they are more obliged than can be well expressed. And who does not know, that the Ætolians, in their domestic feuds and seditions, had recourse for assistance, not to the Romans, but to Perses? And without the support of these associations and friendships abroad, he has strength enough at home for the war; 30,000 foot, 5000 horse, corn for ten years, that he may not be driven to live by spoil, or take from

Year of ROME 581. B. C. 171. 280th consulship.

Year of ROME 581. B.C. 171. 280th consulship.

his own subjects: money enough (not to speak of his mines) to pay 10,000 mercenaries for ten years; arms sufficient for three such armies as he has now on foot;[f] the Thracians near at hand to supply him with as many recruits as he shall require."

The king added, "I have not taken up these things, conscript fathers, upon uncertain report, nor given an easy credit to them, as wishing them to be true of an enemy: but I bring you accounts of what, by a thorough inquiry, I have discovered as certainly, as if you had employed me to be your spy, and I had seen them with my own eyes."

Eumenes proceeded to accuse Perses of some facts which might either be denied or justified as that he had procured the death of certain persons, friends to the Romans; dethroned Abrupolis, a petty king of Illyricum, who had invaded Macedon; given assistance to the Byzantines, contrary to the treaty with Rome; made war upon the Dolopians; and led an army through Thessaly and Doris.

He concluded thus: "Since you, conscript fathers, have quietly and patiently borne these things, and the Macedonian sees that you have abandoned Greece to him, he is very sure, that he shall meet with no army to oppose him, before he passes into Italy. How safe or how honourable for you this may be, you are the best judges. As for me, I should have been ashamed, if Perses had got the start of me, and had brought the war hither, before I had come to give you notice of the danger."[g]

Sir W. R. It would be very foolish to imagine that the senate stood in fear of Perses's invading Italy. Nevertheless, as they always sought plausible pretences of their wars,

[f] This army and these stores were left to Perses by his father.

[g] Though Livy (b. 42. c. 5.) says very fine things of Eumenes (in comparing him with Perses), and tells us, that the cities under his domination were so happy that they would not change condition with any free cities; yet one cannot help thinking that, by this speech, which he has put into the king's mouth, he intended to shew him in a ridiculous light.

and as they could find none at present, they took advantage of this visit from Eumenes to make it believed, that he had given them some intelligence of the greatest importance to their preservation; and such as would justify their attacking Macedon. To induce this belief, it was necessary to make a profound secret of all that the king had said; because it amounted to no more than what every body knew from the report of the Roman ambassadors. And had the fathers, upon such report, or tales invented by flatterers and spies, commenced a war against Perses, the injustice and oppression would have been manifest to all the world. But when the danger threatening them was so terrible, that such a prince as Eumenes came out of his own kingdom, as far as from Asia, to bid them look to themselves; who could blame them, if they took the speediest measures for their own security? This imminent danger, their affected secrecy would help to magnify in the imagination of the public. Not a word, therefore, of what the king had said transpired. It was only known, for the present, that he had been in the senate-house. The rest, says Livy, did not come out till the war was over.

Year of ROME 581. B.C. 171. 280th consulship.

Livy, b. 42. c. 14.

After a few days, the senate gave audience to Perses's ambassadors; but, being predetermined, would neither admit their defence, nor have regard to their deprecation. Whereupon Harpalus, chief of the embassy, said, "The king earnestly wishes, that you would believe him, when he declares, that neither by words nor actions has he given you any cause to look upon him as your enemy: but if he finds that you are seeking a pretence of quarrel with him, he will not want courage to defend himself. The chance of war is equal, and the event uncertain."

The cities of Greece and Asia, anxious to know what Eumenes's journey to Rome, and the Macedonian embassy would produce, had sent deputies thither under various pretexts. The Rhodians, in particular, did not

Year of ROME 581. B. C. 171. 280th consulship.

doubt but the king of Pergamus would give them a share in whatever crimes he should think proper to charge upon Perses. Satyrus, chief of the embassy from Rhodes, used therefore all his interest with the senators of his acquaintance to get an opportunity of being heard against Eumenes: which when he had obtained, he, with great acrimony, accused him not only of having stirred up the Lycians, their subjects, to a revolt, but of being more oppressive to Asia than ever Antiochus had been. Such discourse, though agreeable to the Asiatic cities (for they also favoured Perses), was displeasing to the senate, and of no benefit to the Rhodians. The fathers favoured Eumenes the more for the combination formed against him; they loaded him with honours and presents.

Harpalus, returning into Macedon with all possible diligence, told his master, that he had left the Romans, not indeed making preparations for war, but so ill disposed, that unquestionably they would not defer it long. The king, fully convinced that he should soon be attacked, laid a plot to begin the war, with spilling the blood of Eumenes, the man whom of all men he most hated. It was known that the Pergamenian, in returning home, would take Delphi in his way, intending a sacrifice to Apollo. Perses, for the assassination, employed a certain Cretan, named Evander (general of his auxiliaries), and three Macedonians (men of experience in such enterprises), who placing themselves behind a ruined wall, that hung over a hollow way, so narrow, that only one could pass at a time, there waited the coming of the king and his retinue. Pantaleon, an Ætolian chief, walked foremost; Eumenes followed: just as he came under the wall, the ruffians rolled down two stones of a huge size, one of which lighting on his head, the other on his shoulder, he was struck to the ground; where a shower of smaller stones came pouring upon him, and overwhelmed him. The assassins, imagining

their business effected, made all haste to get away; and one of them, not being able to keep pace with the rest, his companions slew him, to prevent a discovery. Year of ROME 581. B. C. 171.

Upon seeing the king fall, his attendants, except Pantaleon, had all fled away in a fright. Running now together again, they took him up senseless; still warm, however, and breathing. After a short time he came to himself; and the next day they put him on board his ship, which conveyed him first to Corinth, and thence to the island of Ægina. Here he was cured, but, during his recovery, was kept so secretly, that fame, throughout all Asia, confidently reported him dead. Attalus believed it sooner than became the brotherly affection that had always remarkably subsisted between them: for (as Livy adds) thinking himself now the undoubted inheritor of the kingdom, he discoursed with his brother's wife and the governor of the citadel of Pergamus. Of this Eumenes had private information, yet, when he returned safe home, all the reproof which Attalus received from him, at their meeting, was a whisper, to forbear marrying the queen till he were well assured of the king's death. 260th consulship. Plut. in Apophth. Livy, b. 42. c. 17.

While the rumour of the Pergamenian's being assassinated was yet fresh at Rome, Valerius, head of the last embassy into Macedon and Greece, returned home, and brought with him Praxo, a woman of great distinction at Delphi, to whom Perses had, by letter, recommended the assassins, to be by her entertained. He produced also one Rammius, a citizen of Brundusium, at whose house all the generals and Roman ambassadors, as well as the king's ministers, used to lodge, in their journeys to and from Italy. This man declared, that being lately at the Macedonian court, he had been there tampered with to poison such of his guests as the king should occasionally name to him.

These stories, true or false, obtained easy belief at Rome; they served to swell the account of Perses's

Year of ROME 581. B.C. 171. 580th consulship.

crimes, and make appear more fully the justice and necessity of a Macedonian war. The senate being dissatisfied, for the reasons formerly mentioned, with the present consuls, commissioned Sicinnius, the prætor peregrinus, to pass with an army into Epirus, and there continue till a successor should arrive.

Livy, b. 42. c. 23.

About this time came ambassadors from the Carthaginians with a new complaint against Masinissa. He had been encroaching upon them ever since their defeat at Zama. How he took from them the country of Emporia has been already mentioned.* This usurpation was followed by another. Gala, the father of Masinissa, had conquered some lands from the Carthaginians, which afterward Syphax conquered from Gala, and restored to the first owners, out of love to his wife Sophonisba, the daughter of Asdrubal. Upon these lands the Numidian seized; and, by Roman arbitration, was permitted quietly to possess them: an injury which the Carthaginians had scarcely digested, when Masinissa came upon them again, and took from them above seventy towns and castles without any colour of right. It was of this that the present ambassadors complained. They represented the grievous oppression which Carthage laboured under by reason of those articles in her treaty with the Romans, which restrained her from making war, out of her own territory, or against any confederate of Rome. "Now (said they) although the towns and castles lately seized by Masinissa are unquestionably within our territory, and, therefore, the driving him thence would be only a defensive war; yet as he is a confederate of Rome, we fear even to defend ourselves against him without your permission. We beg, therefore, that Carthage may either have justice by arbitration, or be suffered to defend herself by force of arms; or, at least (if favour must prevail over truth), that you would be pleased to determine once for all, what part of her dominions she shall give up to Masinissa. If none of these requests can be

* See p. 329. Livy, b. 40. c. 17

B. 42. c. 23.

obtained, we then desire, that you will let us know in what we have offended, since the time that Scipio granted us peace, and vouchsafe to punish us yourselves in such manner as you shall think proper. It would be better for the Carthaginians, and more agreeable to them, to live slaves to the Romans in safety, than to be free, but continually exposed to the oppressions of Masinissa: we had rather perish at once than draw our breath at the mercy of that Numidian hangman." This said, the ambassadors threw themselves prostrate on the ground. Year of ROME 581. B. C. 17. 230th consulship.

Gulussa, the son of Masinissa, being present, the senate asked him what answer he could make to these complaints. He said, "That his father had given him no instructions relating thereto; that neither could he well have given any, the Carthaginians not having imparted to him the subject of their embassy, nor even their intention of sending an embassy to Rome. It was indeed known that they had of late held secret councils by night, in the temple of Æsculapius, and dispatched ambassadors to the senate; for which reason his father had sent him to entreat them not to give credit to the accusations of their common enemy, who hated Masinissa for no other reason but his constant fidelity to the Roman people." The senate replied, "That they had done, and would do, whatever they could to honour Masinissa; but that justice must not give place to favour; and that it was not consistent with their equity to countenance him in taking from the Carthaginians any lands, which by their treaty they were quietly to enjoy." With this mild reproof they dismissed Gulussa, making him the usual presents (as they did also to the Carthaginians), and bidding him tell his father that they expected he should send ambassadors more fully instructed in this affair.

About the same time, three ambassadors, of which Cn. Servilius Cæpio was chief, returned from Macedon to Rome. They had been sent to demand satisfaction Livy, b. 40. c. 25.

Year of ROME 581. B.C. 171. 580th consulship.

for the wrongs which Perses had done (meaning those pretended injustices about which Eumenes had harangued in the senate), and, in case of refusal, to renounce friendship with him in the name of the republic. The report was, "That they had seen mighty preparations for war in all the towns of Macedon; that they had long waited in vain for an audience of the king; and at length, in despair of obtaining it, had set out to return home: that then they were called back, and introduced to him. That they put him in mind of the league made with his father, and renewed with himself: by which he was expressly restrained from making war out of his own dominions;[h] or against any state in alliance with Rome. That they had rehearsed to him all the facts spoken of by the king of Pergamus (they themselves having found them to be true); that they had besides mentioned some private conferences he had held, for several days, in the island of Samothrace, with ambassadors from the cities of Asia. And, lastly, that in the name of the senate, they had demanded satisfaction for these injuries.

"Hereupon (said they) the king broke out into a passion, frequently calling the Romans avaricious and proud, who thought it fitting that he should regulate all his words and actions at the nod of their daily ambassa-

[h] In the form of the treaty between Philip and the Romans, as it is given by Polybius, we find no condition forbidding the king to make war abroad without leave of the republic: but Livy inserts a clause to that effect.

It is likely, says Sir W. R. (Hist. of the World, b. 5. c. 6. §. 5.) that all the Roman confederates were included in this peace, whereby every one of the neighbours round about Macedon, entering shortly into a league with Rome, did so bind the king's hands, that he could no more make war abroad, than if he had been restrained by plain covenant. And thus might that seem an article of the peace, which never was agreed upon, but only was inferred by consequence. Now if the Romans would urge this point farther, and say, that the Macedonian might not bear defensive arms without their permission; then had Perses very just reason to find himself aggrieved. For since they had allowed his father, without control, to make war in Thrace (whilst they themselves were unacquainted with the Thracians), and elsewhere abroad, though he asked not their licence: why should they now interpret the bargain after another fashion? Was it now become unlawful for him to chastise his own rebels; or to repay an Illyrian that invaded Macedon? By such allegations Perses maintained the right of his cause in very mild sort when it was too late. At the present, by disclaiming the league as unjust (if, after all, it be true that he did so), he ministered occasion to the ambassadors to give him defiance.

dors, with whom they pestered him, and who were no better than mere spies. After he had talked loudly and long in this strain, he ordered us to come again the day following, when he would give us, he said, an answer in writing. He did so; and it was to this effect: 'That he had nothing to do with the treaty made with his father: that he had renewed it, not because he approved of it, but because, upon his first accession to the kingdom, he was obliged to bear with every thing. That if the Romans would make a new treaty with him, it must be upon equal terms; and he would then consider what his interest required; as they, he doubted not, would take care of theirs.' As soon as he had delivered us this writing, he flung away, and while they were making us withdraw, we declared, 'That we renounced his friendship and alliance.' The king, in wrath, turned back, and raising his voice, ordered us to leave his kingdom in three days. We came away; having neither at our arrival, nor while we continued at his court, received any mark of hospitality or civility."

Year of ROME 581. B.C. 171. 280th consulship.

CHAP. XVI.

THE SECOND MACEDONIAN WAR.

Rome declares war against Perses. The dispositions of the Greeks and Asiatic states at this time. At the election of centurions for the army designed against Macedon, twenty-three of them refuse to serve, and appeal to the tribunes of the people; but afterward one of the appellants drops his appeal, and persuades the rest to follow his example. Ambassadors from Perses sue in vain to the conscript fathers for peace. The Macedonian asks a conference with Marcius the Roman ambassador in Greece, who artfully grants the king a truce, in order to gain time till the consul should arrive with his army. It is agreed, that Perses should send ambassadors to Rome, to negotiate a peace. Marcius contrives to dissolve the Bœotian league. The Rhodians declare for the Romans. The senate will hearken to no overtures from Perses's ambassadors. 582

When the people of Rome, upon a motion by the consuls, P. Licinius Crassus and C. Cassius Longinus, decreed war against Perses, the republic had few open enemies, and no real friends.

Year of ROME 582. B.C. 170. 281st consulship.

After the victory over Antiochus, although Macedon,

Year of ROME 582. B. C. 170. 281st consulship.

Pergamus, the commonwealth of the Achæans, and all the other states of Greece, were governed by the same laws and magistrates as before the Romans came among them, and made alliances with them; yet the people which Rome had subdued to her laws and magistrates, were no more really her vassals, than the kings and nations which she called her allies. For, by her ambassadors abroad, or the decrees of her senate at home, she exercised such an empire over those allies, that no laws made by them could take place, if she interposed her will to the contrary. Nor was their election of magistrates so free as not to be influenced by the good pleasure of the overbearing republic. Add to this, that she had assumed to herself the right of deciding all quarrels between her allies; and had made it a part of her policy not to suffer, without reproof, and sometimes menaces, any of her friends to take arms, even in their own defence, before they had consulted the oracle at Rome.

This method of proceeding, whatever interpretation was put upon it, by such as were actuated by private interest or fear, could not but be very grating to all generous and free spirits. The Greek states began now universally to apprehend the evil which Philopœmen had foretold; the miserable subjection to which Greece would be reduced by the Roman patronage. It was so evident both to the states and to the bordering kings, or became soon so evident, that the view of Rome was to reduce Macedon to the condition of a Roman province, which would make her their near and most dangerous neighbour, that if we may believe Polybius, Perses, for a very moderate sum of money well applied, might have brought all those states, and all or most of those kings, to have espoused his cause.[1] Of this the historian is so positive, that he says no wise man will dispute it with him. And some events which happened in the course

[1] Polybius seems to speak of the time when Perses's arms having prospered for two years together, his affairs had a promising aspect.

of the war, will shew his opinion not to have been ill-founded. We shall find that even Eumenes had not always that anxiety for the welfare of Rome which he expressed in his late speech to the senate. At present, however, not only he, but the kings of Syria, Egypt, and Cappadocia, offered their assistance to the Romans. The last of the three sent his son to be educated at Rome. Prusias, king of Bithynia, though married to a sister of Perses, observed an exact neutrality; the Greeks durst not refuse their aid: Carthage was in slavery to Rome. Masinissa lent his assistance: for he judged, says Livy, that should the Romans prove conquerors, his affairs would remain in their present situation; should they be vanquished, he doubted not to become master of all Africa. On the other hand, Perses had no associate but Cotys, king of the Odrysians in Thrace. Gentius, a king of Illyricum, was indeed suspected at Rome of being in the Macedonian interest, but he had not yet openly declared for either side.

Year of ROME 582. B.C. 170. 281st consulship. Livy, b. 42. c. 29.

After the people of Rome had voted the war, the conscript fathers regulated the levies for the year. They appointed Sulpicius Galba, the prætor urbanus, to raise four Roman legions, 15,000 foot and 1200 horse of the allies; the legions to be commanded by four tribunes, chosen from among the senators. This army was to be in readiness, to march whither the fathers should direct. One of the consuls was to have, for the defence of Italy, two legions of 5000 foot and 200 horse each; and of the allies 12,000 foot and 600 horse. To the consul, who would go into Macedon, the senate assigned two legions, of 6000 foot and 300 horse each; and 16,000 foot and 800 horse of the Italian confederates. They granted him also the privilege of choosing whom he pleased of the veteran soldiers and centurions, that were under fifty years old, though the law obliged no man above forty-five to serve in the army. The people, on this occasion, waved their right of naming

Livy, b. 42. c. 35. c. 31. et seq.

Year of ROME 582. B. C. 170. a certain number of the legionary tribunes, and left the choice of them to the consuls and prætors.

281st consulship. Macedon fell by lot to Licinius, and Italy to Cassius. They carried on the levies with extraordinary rigour; yet many presented themselves voluntarily to Licinius, knowing that the soldiers, who had served in the first Macedonian war, and in the war against Antiochus, had returned home rich. But when his legionary tribunes were appointed the centurions, twenty-three of those who were called upon to serve, and who had been primipiles, or first centurions of the triarii, refused to enlist themselves, and appealed to the tribunes of the commons. Two of the college would have referred the matter to the consuls, but the other eight were for taking cognizance of it themselves, and righting the appellants if aggrieved. At the desire of Licinius the affair was brought before the people. M. Popillius, who had been consul two years before, appeared as advocate for the centurions. He said, that the veterans had served the legal time, and were worn out with age and the fatigues of war; that nevertheless they did not refuse to give the remainder of their strength to the republic; they only desired that they might not be placed in a lower rank than what they had last held in the army. Licinius ordered the decree of the senate to be read; it imported, that war should be commenced against Perses, and that as many as possible of the veteran centurions should be enrolled for that war, exempting none under fifty years old. He then entreated the people, that in the present case of a war so near Italy, and against so powerful a king, they would not obstruct the levies, nor hinder the consul from so placing every man as was most for the benefit of the republic; or at least that they would refer the matter to the senate. Licinius having ended, one of the twenty-three appellants asked permission of the consul and the tribunes to speak a few words to the people. This being granted, he said,

"My name, Romans, is Sp. Ligustinus; I am of the Construminian tribe, and of Sabine extraction. My father left me an acre of ground, and a little cottage, in which I was born and bred, and in which I now dwell. As soon as I was of an age to marry, my father gave me to wife his brother's daughter. I had no fortune with her, but she was free born, chaste, and an excellent breeder; a richer man would not desire a better. We had six sons and two daughters: the girls are married; four of my sons are men grown. I was listed a soldier for the first time, in the consulship of P. Sulpicius and C. Aurelius: I served two years, a private man, in the army that went into Macedon against king Philip. The third year T. Quinctius Flamininus, in reward of my courage, made me a centurion of the tenth order of the hastati.[k] Philip being vanquished, we returned to Rome, and were disbanded. Presently after I went a volunteer with the consul, M. Porcius, into Spain. Those who have served under him and other generals,

Year of ROME 582. B.C. 170. 281st consulship.

[k] We cannot have a tolerable notion of the centurions, without remembering, that every one of the thirty manipuli in a legion was divided into two ordines or ranks; and consequently the three bodies of the hastati, principes, and triarii, into twenty orders a-piece, as into ten manipuli. Now every manipulus was allowed two centurions, or captains, one to each order or century. and to determine the point of priority between them, they were created at two different elections. The thirty who were made first, always took the precedency of their fellows; and therefore, commanded the right-hand orders, as the others did the left.

The triarii, or pilani (so called from their weapon, the pilum), being esteemed the most honourable, had their centurions elected first; next to them the principes, and afterward the hastati; whence they were called primus et secundus pilus, primus et secundus princeps, primus et secundus hastatus; and so on.

Here it may be observed, that primi ordines is used sometimes in historians, for the centurions of those orders; and the same centurions are sometimes styled principes ordinum, and principes centurionum.

We may take notice too, what a large field there lay for promotion; first through all the orders of the hastati, then quite through the principes, and afterward from the last order of the triarii to the primipilus, the most honourable of the centurions, and who deserves to be particularly described. This officer, besides his name of primipilus, went under the several titles of dux legionis, præfectus legionis, primus centurionum, and primus centurio; and was the first centurion of the triarii in every legion. He presided over all the other centurions, and generally gave the word of command by order of the tribunes. Besides this, he had the care of the eagle, or chief standard of the legion; hence aquilæ præesse is to bear the dignity of primipilus; and hence aquila is taken by Pliny for the said offices. Nor was this station only honourable, but very profitable too; for he had a special stipend allowed him, probably as much as a knight's estate; and when he left that charge, was reputed equal to the members of the equestrian order, bearing the title of primipilarius, in the same manner as those that had discharged the greatest civil offices, were styled ever after consulares, censorii, &c. Kennet. Antiq. b. 4. c. 7.

Year of ROME 582. B. C. 170. well know that there is not a more nice observer, or more critical judge of military virtue than he. This general thought me worthy of the post of first centurion of the hastati. After this I entered a volunteer in that army which was sent against the Ætolians and king Antiochus. I was then by M. Acilius made first centurion of the principes. Antiochus being driven out of Greece, and the Ætolians subdued, we were brought back into Italy; and here I served in two campaigns, such as the legions then made every year. Afterward I served twice in Spain; the first time under Q. Fulvius Flaccus; the second under the prætor Tib. Sempronius Gracchus. I was amongst those whom, for their bravery, Flaccus distinguished by bringing them home to assist at his triumph; and I returned into the same province at the desire of Tiberius Gracchus. In the space of a few years I was four times first centurion of the triarii. I have received thirty-four military rewards from my generals; and among these six civic crowns. I have made two-and-twenty campaigns, and am past fifty years old. But had I not served my full time, and if my age did not exempt me, yet, P. Licinius, as I can furnish you four soldiers, instead of one, it is but reasonable I should be excused from serving any more. But I say all this only to shew the justice of my cause. So long as I am judged fit to bear arms, I shall never seek to decline it. Let the legionary tribunes place me in the post for which they think me proper. It shall be my care that no soldier in the army surpasses me in bravery: that this has always been my care, the generals under whom I have made my campaigns can testify. And you, fellow-soldiers, though you have appealed, and your appeal be well founded, yet, as in your younger days, you never did any thing against the authority of the magistrates and senate; you will now, I am persuaded, think it right to let yourselves be disposed of as they judge convenient; and esteem every post honourable in

281st consulship.

which you can contribute to the defence and preservation of the republic." Year of ROME 582. B. C. 170.

The consul, after highly praising Ligustinus's virtue, took him to the senate-house, where he received the thanks of the conscript fathers. And the tribunes of the soldiers, as a reward of his merit, declared him first centurion of the first legion. The other appellants, following his example, desisted from their appeal; so that the levies went on without farther opposition. 281st consulship.

Besides the forces above mentioned, as destined for Macedon, were granted, at the request of Licinius, 2000 Ligurians and a certain number of Cretan archers. The senate also asked of Masinissa a body of Numidian horse and some elephants.

About this time ambassadors came from Perses. They were not allowed to enter the city, because war had been already declared against their master. Being admitted to audience in the temple of Bellona, they said, "That the king wondered why the Romans had transported an army into his neighbourhood; that if the senate could be prevailed upon to recall it, he was ready, at their determination, to make satisfaction for any injuries they should think he had done to their allies." The army the ambassadors spoke of, was that under the prætor Cn. Sicinnius, who with 5000 foot and 300 horse, lay encamped near Apollonia. Sicinnius had sent Sp. Carvilius to Rome to confront the Macedonian ministers in the senate. When Carvilius had accused Perses of some usurpations upon the neighbouring states, and of several other facts which he pretended the king had done, or was preparing to do; the ambassadors were asked what they had to say in their master's justificstion. They answered, that they had no farther commission than what they had delivered; whereupon they were bid to tell the king, that if he had a mind to give satisfaction, he might treat with the consul P. Licinius, who would shortly be in Macedon with an Livy, b. 42. c. 36.

Year of ROME 582. B.C. 170. army; but that it was to no purpose to think of sending more ambassadors to the senate, for they would not be suffered to pass through Italy. With this answer the fathers dismissed the Macedonians, and ordered them to leave Italy in eleven days. Shortly after, the senate dispatched five of their body, L. Decimius, Q. Marcius, Philippus, A. Atilius, and two of the Cornelian family, to visit Greece and the neighbouring countries. Attended by 1000 soldiers, they landed at Corcyra: whither letters came to them from Perses, asking, for what reason the Romans had sent forces into Greece, and were taking possession of the towns? They would return him no answer in writing, but told the messenger who brought the letters, that what the Romans did was for the defence of the Greek cities.

281st consulship.

Livy, b. 42. c. 37.

And now the ambassadors separating, L. Decimius repaired to Gentius of Illyricum, to persuade him, if possible, to take part with the republic in the war. He had no success; and even fell under a suspicion at his return to Rome, of having received bribes from the Illyrian king.

The Cornelii made a progress through Peloponnesus, exhorting the several states of that country to assist Rome against Perses, with the same alacrity and faithfulness as in the wars against Philip and Antiochus. Though the Romans employed gentle words and the soft style of persuasion, the Greeks were now so well acquainted with Roman courtesy, that without hesitation they promised their ready aid;[k] for though not

[k] Sir W. Raleigh thinks, that this ready compliance of the Greeks to the will of the Romans may justly be imputed to the timorous conduct of Perses, who, as we have seen, no sooner learnt that a small body of Roman soldiers were landed in Epirus, than he sued to the senate for peace. "Since, therefore, it was known that a very small thing would serve to terrify him, and consequently that it would at all times be in the power of the Romans, by giving him any tolerable conditions of peace, to take revenge at leisure upon those who had assisted him; little cause was there why any should adventure to partake with him." May not the conduct of the Macedonian, which Sir Walter styles timorous, have been the effect of just policy? For as the king saw plainly that the Romans were determined to attack him; could he do any thing wiser, even in the view of defending himself in the best manner, than, by offers of satisfaction for injuries complained of, to make it evident to all the world, that the war was unnecessary, and therefore, unjust, on the part of the Ro-

only the bulk of the people, but also the wisest and best men, who had nothing in view but the good of their country, wished success to Perses; yet, doubtless, fear got the better of their inclinations. Year of ROME 582. B. C. 170. 281st consulship.

Q. Marcius and A. Atilius went into Epirus, Ætolia, and Thessaly, to fix the people of those countries in the interest of Rome. While the two Romans were at Larissa, Perses sent to ask an interview with Marcius. The ambassadors, according to their instructions, prefaced the request with mentioning, that Marcius's father had formerly been the guest and friend of king Philip. Marcius answered, "That he had often heard his father speak of that friendship, and was far from having forgot it when he undertook his present commission; and that as soon as possible, he and his colleague would meet the king at the river Peneus, near Dium."

Perses was much pleased with Marcius's insinuation, that he had come into Greece with a view to serve him, and began to entertain hope of an accommodation. Soon after, a day being appointed for the conference, they both came to the banks of the Peneus. The question now was, which of them should pass the river. Perses claimed the compliment, on account of his royal dignity; Marcius thought it due to the majesty of the Roman name: besides, the king had asked the conference. The ambassador put an end to the dispute by a dull jest, which his bearing the surname of Philip furnished him with; "Let the younger (said he) come to the elder; the son to the father." The king easily suffered himself to be persuaded; but then he was for crossing with all his retinue: to this Marcius objected, insisting, that he should come with only three attendants, or else give

mans? We shall find that he took great pains to convince all the neighbouring states of this truth, that he might thereby induce them to side with him. It is to be observed, that no one part of Perses's conduct does in any degree suit with that violent and brutal behaviour which, by the report of Servilius Cæpio and his colleagues, he used towards them: there may be room, therefore, to doubt the truth of that report, at least we may well suspect that they gave him sufficient provocation by their insolent manner of treating him. See p. 418. 419.

Year of ROME 582. B.C. 170. 581st consulship.

hostages: not that the Roman suspected any treachery, says Livy, but that the deputies from the several cities (of whom there was a great concourse at the interview) might see the superiority of the republic to the king of Macedon. Perses gave hostages, and, with all his train of attandants, passed over to Marcius. They saluted each other, not as enemies meeting to parley, but like familiar friends. When both were seated, Marcius, after a short pause, broke silence: "I believe you expect that I should answer the letter you sent to us at Corcyra, in which you ask, why we, who are ambassadors, come attended with soldiers, and put garrisons into several towns. Not to answer your question would perhaps look like pride; and the proper answer, I fear, you may think too harsh. But since he who breaks a league should be made sensible of his error, either by words or by arms, I, who had rather the commission to make war against you should be given to any body than to me, shall take upon me the disagreeable task of reproving my friend. The senate think, that, since your accession to the throne, you have done but one thing which you ought to have done; the sending ambassadors to renew the league: and yet they judge that it would have been better not to renew it, than to renew it and afterward break it. Abrupolis, a friend and ally of the Roman people, you have driven from his kingdom: the murderers of Artetarus (of all the Illyrian kings the most faithful to Rome), you received into your protection; thereby shewing (to say nothing worse) that you rejoiced at the murder. You went with an army through Thessaly and Malæa to Delphi, contrary to our treaty: in violation of the same treaty you sent succours to the Byzantines. You secretly made a league with the Bœotians, our allies, which you ought not to have done. Eversa and Callicritus, the Theban ambassadors, who were coming from us—I would rather ask, who killed them, than accuse any body of the crime. The intestine war in Ætolia,

Livy, b. 42. c. 40.

and the slaughter of the chief men there—by whom but your agents can these be supposed to have been effected? In person you invaded the Dolopians, oppressed them with the ravages of war. Eumenes, returning from Rome into his kingdom, was almost slain as a victim before the altars at Delphi—I am loath to mention the person whom he accuses. I know you have had an account, by letters from Rome, and by your ambassadors, of the discovery which Rammius of Brundusium made to us, of certain secret machinations. The only way to have avoided hearing these things from me, was, not to have asked why the Romans send an army into Macedon, or why they garrison the cities of their allies. My remembrance of the friendship between our fathers inclines me to lend a partial ear to what you can say in your justification; and I wish you may furnish me with arguments to plead your cause in the senate." Year of ROME 582. B.C. 170. 281st consulship.

To this the king: "I have a cause unquestionably good if I had impartial judges; but I am to plead it before those who are both my judges and accusers. Of the things objected to me, some I have perhaps reason to glory in; some I need not be ashamed to own; and others, as they are only asserted, not proved, they will be sufficiently confuted by a bare denial. If I were this day to be tried by your laws, what could the informer Rammius or Eumenes allege against me, that would not be deemed rather slander than truth? Had Eumenes, who so heavily oppresses many private persons, as well as states, no enemy but me? And could I find no fitter instrument than Rammius, whom I had never seen before, and whom I was never to see again? You are pleased to call me to account for the murder of the two Thebans and Artetarus. The Thebans, every body knows, perished by shipwreck: as to the latter, what does the accusation amount to? Why truly, that his murderers, when banished, fled into my kingdom. Will you then grant yourselves to be chargeable with all the

Year of ROME 582. B. C. 170. 281st consulship.

crimes of those exiles who take refuge in Italy? And how can a man be condemned to banishment, if there be no place to which he may be banished? Yet, as to those assassins, as soon as I understood from you that they were in Macedon, I ordered them to be sought out, expelled, and forbade to return into my dominions. These things are objected to me, as to a man arraigned before a court of justice; the rest, as to a king, and relates to the treaty between you and me. Was it any breach of that treaty to defend myself against the invasion of Abrupolis, your ally? What could I do, when he laid waste my territories as far as Amphipolis, and carried off many of my subjects, with their cattle and effects? Would you have had me sit still, and suffer him to enter Pella? Come armed even into my palace? But, it seems, I ought not to have vanquished him, nor to have treated him as a vanquished enemy. How can he, an invader, complain of suffering what I, whom he attacked, was exposed to suffer? As to my reducing the Dolopians by force; had not I a right to do it? Are they not my subjects? Their country, is it not a part of my kingdom, assigned to my father by your decree? Can any man think that I dealt severely with rebels, who took away the life of my lieutenant, Euphranor, their governor, by such tortures, that death was the least part of his sufferings? After visiting Larissa, Antrona, and Pteleum, in the neighbourhood of which places I had many vows to pay, I went up to sacrifice at Delphi: this is made a crime; and, to aggravate this crime, it is added, that I took my army with me; as if my view had been to seize upon towns, and garrison castles, as you now do. Call a council of all the Greek cities by which I passed; and, if any one can prove he has sustained damage by my soldiers, I am willing it should be thought, that under the pretence of a sacrifice I concealed other designs. I sent assistance to the Ætolians and Byzantines, and made a league with the Bœotians. These actions, of whatever

nature they be, my ambassadors have not only mentioned, but often justified in your senate, where I met with some arbitrators not so favourable to me as you, Q. Marcius, my paternal friend and guest. Yet Eumenes had not then been at Rome with his accusations; nor by calumnies and misconstructions made me suspected and hated: he had not yet endeavoured to persuade you, that, while the kingdom of Macedon was safe, Greece could not be free, nor enjoy the advantages you procured her. A complaint of this kind (and better founded) you will soon hear; you will be told, that you have done nothing by confining Antiochus within mount Taurus; that Eumenes is more oppressive to Asia than the Syrian ever was; and that your allies will never be in quiet while there is a palace in Pergamus. Year of ROME 582. B.C. 170. 281st consulship.

"All that you have objected, Q. Marcius, and all that I have answered, will, I know, be construed by the hearers according to their dispositions; nor is it of so much consequence what I have done, or with what views, as in what light you will see my actions. I am conscious to myself that I have not offended knowingly; and, if through ignorance I have transgressed, your reprehension will be sufficient to make me correct what is amiss. Assuredly I have done nothing which cannot be remedied; nor for which you can think I deserve to be prosecuted by war. With little reason is your moderation and clemency famous among the nations, if, for causes scarce worth complaining of, you take arms against a king, who is your friend and your ally."

Marcius affected to appear much satisfied with the king's discourse, and advised him to send new ambassadors to Rome; that nothing might be omitted which could give the least hope of an accommodation. To this end a truce seemed necessary, and though Marcius's sole view in granting the king a conference, was to draw him to ask a truce; yet, when he did ask it, the Roman raised mighty difficulties, complying at length (as he Livy, b. 42. c. 43.

Year of ROME 582. B.C. 170. 281st consul. ship.

pretended) merely out of personal regard to the son of Philip. Marcius meant nothing by all this but to make Perses lose time, who being ready for action, might have done something considerable, before the consul Licinius with his army could arrive in Greece.

Livy, b. 42, c. 43, 44. Polyb. Leg. 63.

After this interview the Roman ambassadors went into Bœotia, the people of which country had, not long before, made a league with the Macedonian. Great dissensions had since arisen among them; some declaring for the king, others for the Romans. The Thebans, and, after their example, all the other petty states of Bœotia, offered now to enter into an alliance with Rome. Marcius would not treat with them jointly, but obliged each city to send its respective minister to Rome to treat separately for itself. By thus dividing them into many independent states, he weakened them all. They were never after united.

From Bœotia, Marcius repaired to the diet of the Achæans convened at Argos. He demanded of them 1000 men to garrison Chalcis till the Roman army should come into Greece; which demand was instantly complied with.

About the same time Rome sent deputies into the most considerable islands of Asia, to ask assistance in

Leg. 64.

the war against Perses. The Rhodians distinguished themselves on this occasion. They thought it necessary to efface the impressions, which their differences with Eumenes, and their complaisance for Perses in several instances, particularly in convoying his wife to him from Asia, had made in the minds of the Romans. The deputies, therefore, no sooner arrived, but they were shewed a fleet of galleys equipped for the service of Rome, and ready to put to sea: this mark of zeal had the desired effect.

Leg. 65.

Perses, in consequence of what had passed between him and Marcius, dispatched ambassadors to Rome to negotiate the treaty of peace, which he imagined to be

already begun by that conference. At the same time he, by circular letters to the neighbouring states, gave an account of his conversation with the Roman: and this he did, not only to set forth the justice of his cause but to learn how they stood affected. To the Rhodians he sent ambassadors, exhorting them to stand neuter, and in case the Romans should refuse him a peace, to take upon them the office of mediators; an office which, he said, more properly belonged to them than any others, as being the most powerful of the Greek states, and not only zealous for their own liberty, but guardians of the liberty of all Greece. These ambassadors met with a friendly reception, but were answered, "That the Rhodians desired the king not to ask them to do any thing which might be disapproved by the Romans."

Year of ROME 582. B.C. 170. 581st consulship.

The same ambassadors going thence into Bœotia, succeeded little better in that country. Only Coronæa and Haliartus came over to the king's interest, and sent to him for garrisons to secure them against the Thebans, who still adhered to the opposite interest. Perses answered, that he could not send them garrisons, because of his truce with Rome.

Livy, l. 42. c. 46. et seq.

When Marcius and his colleague, at their return home, gave an account to the senate of their negotiations, they boasted much of having deceived Perses into a truce, which hindered him from beginning the war with the advantage he was master of, and gained time to the Romans to finish their preparations. Nor did these able ministers forget to mention their dexterity in so dissolving the Bœotian league, that the states of that country would never more be in a condition jointly to make an alliance with the Macedonian. Livy tells us, that some of the older senators were far from being pleased with the craft and dissimulation of the ambassadors. Be that as it will, the majority of the fathers approving of what had been done, Marcius was again

Year of ROME 582. B. C. 170.

sent into Greece, with a commission to act there as he should think most for the interest of the republic.

2d st consulship.

The senate, though determined to pursue the war against Perses, yet, that it might not be too plain how much he had been deluded, granted audience to his ambassadors. But neither their excuses nor their entreaties availed any thing: they were ordered to leave the city immediately, and Italy in thirty days. It is probable that the fathers thought, they sufficiently covered the deceit of Marcius, by admitting these ambassadors within the walls of the city, and allowing them so long a time for their departure out of Italy; whereas the former ambassadors from the king had been received without the walls, and had been allowed but eleven days for their departure.

CHAP. XVII.

Perses draws together his forces at Pella. He marches down through the pass of Tempe, while the consul comes down through Athamania to oppose him. The king, having gained over Evander the Cretan and other allies, Lucinius, through fear, decamps in the night, and posts himself behind the river Peneus, yet he proposes peace to the Macedonians, on any terms but his surrendering himself and his kingdom at discretion. M. Lucretius robs Gentius (an Illyrian king) of his fleet. The Roman admiral makes himself master of Haliartus in Bœotia. Cassius the consul, attempting to make his way from Gaul into Macedon, is recalled by the senate. During the winter, Perses defeats the Thracians. Epirus, in great part, revolts to him. The new consul Hostilius makes two unsuccessful attempts to penetrate into Macedon. Appius Claudius is twice defeated by Gentius in Illyricum. The people of Alabanda deify the city of Rome.

Rome made a goddess.

Liv. l. 42. c. 51.

PERSES was so effectually cheated by the arts of Marcius, that the consul Licinius arrived with his army at Apollonia, almost as soon as the Macedonian ambassadors got back to their master at Pella. In a council held by the king, a few days before, some had advised him to purchase a peace of the Romans, though it should cost him not only a yearly tribute, but even a part of his dominions. The majority, however, being more magnanimous, and declaring for war: "War then let us have (said Perses), and the gods grant us success." And now he ordered all his forces to be drawn together,

and appointed their rendezvous at Citium, a town in Macedon; and thither with his courtiers and his guards he himself repaired. His forces consisted of 39,000 foot and 4000 horse: a more numerous army (says Livy) than any king of Macedon had ever brought into the field, except Alexander the Great. Perses, in a speech to his troops, recalled to their minds the glory of their ancestors; expatiated on the injustice, treachery, and insolence of the Romans; and represented the goodness of his cause, and the ample provision he had made for the war. His harangue was frequently interrupted by the applauses of the soldiers, and loud expressions of indignation and anger against the Romans. The assembly dismissed, he gave audience to the deputies from the several towns of Macedon, which had sent offers of money and provisions, each according to its ability. Having first thanked them, he answered, that he desired nothing of them but carriages for his engines of war.

Year of ROME 582. B. C. 170. 231st consulship.

The Macedonian marched out of his own kingdom into Thessaly, knowing that the Romans were to come that way to meet him. Some towns yielded to him without resistance: others he took by force. Elatia and Gonni, places of great importance, because standing in the entrance of the strait of Tempe, opened their gates upon the first summons. Having well fortified this pass, he advanced to Sycurium, situated at the foot of mount Ossa, where, pitching his camp, he resolved to wait the coming of the enemy.

From Apollonia, Licinius marched his army through Athamania to Gomphi in Thessaly: for it was only through Thessaly that they could penetrate into Macedon; unless they would run the hazard of being starved in the mountains of Dassaretia. At Gomphi the consul stayed some days to refresh his troops, much fatigued by the rough and difficult roads [m] through which they

Livy, b. 42. c. 54.

[m] Livy says, that the Romans were exceedingly rejoiced when they arrived at Gomphi, as thinking that they had escaped a very great danger, for had Perses,

Year of ROME 582. B. C. 170. passed. On advice that the Macedonians were ravaging the eastern part of Thessaly, he advanced towards Larissa, and encamped by the river Peneus.

231st consulship. About this time Eumenes arrived at Chalcis with his brothers Attalus and Athenæus. The last stayed in this place with 2000 foot to strengthen the garrison: Eumenes and Attalus, with 4000 foot and 1000 horse, joined the consul; as did also some other auxiliaries, but in small numbers.

Livy, l. 42 To draw the Romans to a good distance from their camp, and fight them with advantage, Perses sent out some detachments to ravage the territory of Pheræ, a city in alliance with Rome. The consul, however, did not stir; which encouraged the Macedonian to think of insulting him in his intrenchments. At ten o'clock in the morning, the king, with his whole army, appeared within a mile of the enemy. Here he made his infantry halt, and went forward with his cavalry and light-armed troops. Perceiving soon after a small party of Romans coming towards him, he detached about an equal number to skirmish with them. The action proved of little importance, and it was hard to say which side had the victory. Perses returned to Sycurium. Next day he led his army again within sight of the enemy's lines; and there being no convenient watering in the march, which was of twelve miles length, in a dusty road, he brought water with him in carts, that his men might not be both weary and thirsty when they came to fight. The Romans kept close within their trenches, so that no action followed. Perses repeated this movement for several days together, in hopes that the Roman cavalry

with his army ranged in good order for battle, advanced and met them, while they were yet weary and struggling with the difficulties of the way, they would probably have suffered a great overthrow. And Sir W. Raleigh blames Perses for not having brought his army to defend the pass of Aous, where his father Philip formerly stopped the Roman legions for a considerable time. But may it not be questioned, whether Perses could easily have done either of these things? For at this time the Thessalians (through whose country he must have marched, to post himself at the pass of Aous, or to attack the Romans in Athamania), were his enemies: whereas in the former war, Philip was master of Thessaly.

would be detached to fall on the rear guard, and that then, suddenly facing about, he might attack them at a considerable distance from their camp; in which case, as he was superior in horse and light-armed foot, he doubted not of victory. Disappointed of this hope, he came and posted himself seven miles nearer the enemy; and the next day, having, at sunrising, drawn up his infantry in the same place as before, he led all his cavalry and light-armed troops within less than half a mile of the Roman intrenchments. His coming at such an unusual hour filled the camp with tumult; and though the troops he brought with him being unfit to assail trenches, the consul had no apprehension of such an attempt, yet, to check the king's pride, he sent out to battle all his horse, light-armed infantry, and auxiliaries; he himself remaining in the camp with his legions in readiness for action. The honour of this morning was entirely the king's. With the loss of only twenty horse and forty foot, he slew about 2000 of the Roman infantry and 200 of their horse: and took the like number of horse prisoners. Upon the first news of his victory the captains of his phalanx led it to him, though unsent for, that he might attack the enemy's camp. But success in such an enterprise was an object too great for the hopes of Perses. Evander, the Cretan, who probably, from the king's irresolution, inferred the bias of his thoughts, advised him not rashly to hazard all, in an unnecessary enterprise; adding, that the advantage he had already gained would either procure him honourable conditions of peace, or, at least, many associates in war. There needed no more to make Perses lead back his army to the camp.

Year of ROME 582. B. C. 170. 581st consulship.

Plut. Life of P. Æmil. and Liv. b. xl. c. 59

In the mean time the Romans were fearing what the Macedonian durst not hope. Eumenes advised the consul to dislodge by night, and remove to the other side of the river Peneus; and Licinius, though ashamed to avow his fear, yet followed the advice, since reason so required.

Year of ROME 582. B.C. 170. 181st consul-ship

Next day Perses advanced with his army, to provoke the enemy once more to battle. When he perceived them safely intrenched on the other side of the river, he became sensible (says Livy) of the error he had committed the day before, in not pursuing his victory; and of the greater error he had been guilty of, by his inaction in the night; because his light-armed troops alone would have been sufficient to destroy a great part of the enemy in their passage of the river.

On the other hand, the Romans, though now no longer uneasy with the apprehension of being suddenly attacked, were grievously mortified by the loss they had sustained, especially of their reputation. In a council of war every one threw the blame from himself upon the Ætolians. Five of the chief men among these had been observed to be the first who turned their backs: the Thessalians, who had made a good retreat, were praised, and rewarded with military honours and presents.

Perses, having lost the opportunity of gaining another victory, endeavoured to draw some new advantage from that which he had gained, by extolling it in a pompous harangue to his soldiers, and by persuading them, that it was a sure prognostic of a happy issue of the war. They all heard him with delight. Those who had been in the action grew braver from the praise; and the phalangites, from the hope of meriting the like glory. Next day the king made a march, and pitched his camp upon a rising ground near Mopsium, between Tempe and Larissa. This motion probably obliged the Romans to dislodge. They removed to a stronger post, still keeping on the banks of the Peneus. Hither Misagenes, the son of Masinissa, brought them a reinforcement of 1000 horse, as many foot, and twenty-two elephants.

Although Perses had seemed as if he meant to press hard upon the Romans, he was yet easily persuaded to lay hold of the favourable opportunity, which some of

his courtiers thought he now had, by his late victory,[n] of obtaining peace. He sent to the consul an offer of submitting to the same conditions which had been imposed on his father Philip. The constancy of the Romans shewed itself remarkably on this occasion. They unanimously agreed, in council, to return the harshest answer possible: "That Perses must surrender himself and his kingdom to the Romans at discretion, or expect no peace." Some of the king's counsellors, provoked by the Roman pride, advised him never more to think of an accommodation. Perses could not relish this advice. He thought that the Romans would not have acted in so haughty a manner, but from a well-grounded confidence in their superiority of strength. Once more, therefore, he sent to Licinius; and now offered a larger tribute than had been paid by Philip. Finding that peace could not be purchased with money, he retired to Sycurium; for what reason is not said.

Year of ROME 582. B.C. 170. 231st consulship.

Polyb. Leg. 69.

During these transactions, C. Lucretius, the Roman admiral, was besieging Haliartus in Bœotia. He had sailed from Italy with only forty-five quinquiremes; but this fleet was now much augmented by the dexterous management of his brother Marcus, whom he had sent before him, with orders to get what ships he could from the Italian allies, sail with them to Cephallenia, and there wait his arrival. Marcus in his way had stopped at Dyrrhachium, where, finding in the haven seventy-six vessels, of which fifty-four belonged to king Gentius, the rest to the Dyrrhachians and Issæans, he took them all away with him, pretending to believe that they had been fitted out for the service of the Romans, though, in truth, Gentius had not yet declared himself for either party.

Livy, c. 18.

[n] "Over great (says Sir W. R.) was the folly of the king in hoping thus for peace; and in suing for it, even when he had the victory, what else did he, than proclaim to all who were inclined to take part with him, that neither good nor bad fortune would keep him from crouching to the Romans whenever they would be pleased to accept of him?"

Year of ROME 582 B.C. 170. 281st consulship. Livy, b. 42. c. 63

Haliartus, after a vigorous defence, was taken by assault, sacked, and razed. From thence the prætor marched his forces to Thebes, which opened her gates to him upon the first summons. He put the government of the town into the hands of the partizans of Rome; and all who had favoured the king of Macedon he sold for slaves. After these exploits in Bœotia, he returned to his ships.

Perses, at Sycurium, heard that the Romans, having hastily gathered in the corn from the fields around them, were cutting off the ears with sickles before the doors of their tents, so that the camp was full of heaps of straw. This suggested to him the hope of being able to burn their camp; and his men having provided themselves with torches, and all things proper for the purpose, he set out in the middle of the night, that he might fall upon the enemy at day-break. But the alarm being taken in good time, he failed in this enterprise. Once more he offered the enemy battle: which they declining, he again brought his army to Mopsium, because Sycurium was at too great a distance from the Romans, and because of the difficulty, before mentioned, of getting water in the way. From Mopsium he advanced with 2000 foot and 1000 horse, fell upon some parties of the enemy while they were busy in reaping, and took 600 prisoners, and 1000 carts, most of them loaded. Not content with this success, he attacked a body of 800 Romans, that had been stationed to guard the reapers. The consul, upon notice of the danger his men were in, hastened with the best part of his army to their relief. Perses faced the Roman legions, and sent orders to his phalanx to advance; very unadvisedly (says Livy), because, the great number of carts he had sent off being in the way, the phalanx could not possibly come time enough to his assistance. He was now overpowered by numbers, and forced to retire, with the loss of 300 foot and twenty-four of his horse-guards. A few days after

this misfortune, the winter approaching, he retired into Macedon.[o] Year of ROME 582. B.C. 170. 61st consul ship.

On the king's departure, Licinius went straight to Gonni, hoping to have taken it, and thereby to have got an entrance into Tempe. But finding the enterprise too difficult, he turned off into Perrhæbia, where he reduced several towns. Thence he went to Larissa in Thessaly, which he also made himself master of; the Macedonian garrison having deserted it. How this place or Demetrias (which it is said the consul had thoughts of besieging) fell into the hands of the Macedonians is nowhere related: nor is it easy to guess, unless, perhaps, Perses, after his victory, did greater acts than we find recorded: and conquered some part of Thessely. The accounts of what happened in Greece about this time are very imperfect.

Licinius having dismissed all his allies, except the Achæans, quartered his army for the winter in Thessaly and Bœotia, into which latter country he himself went, at the request of the Thebans, who were distressed by their neighbours, the people of Coronæa.

The consul had, in the summer, sent one of his lieutenants with a body of troops into Illyricum. This man reduced two opulent towns to surrender, and granted the inhabitants their effects; hoping, by an appearance of clemency, to engage another town of great strength, in the neighbourhood, to submit to him. But finding that this town would neither yield to his virtue nor to his arms, he returned and pillaged the two which he had before spared. Livy, b. 43. c. 1.

Cassius, the other consul, whose lot confined him to Gaul, where there was little to do, had, from a spirit of emulation, attempted to make his way into Macedon through Illyricum. The senate, in all haste, recalled him, being much displeased that he should dare, with-

[o] Plutarch reports, that Perses surprised the Roman fleet this year at Oreum: took four quinquiremes, and twenty ships of burden, and sunk many others loaded with corn. Life of Æmil.

Year of ROME 582. B.C. 170. out orders, to undertake so dangerous a march through many strange countries, and thereby shew the people of those countries a way into Italy.

581st consulship Perses was not idle during the winter. He had lately dismissed, with large presents, his ally, Cotys, king of the Odrysians in Thrace, to go to the defence of his own country, invaded by some of his Thracian neighbours, in conjunction with a body of Pergamenians. The Macedonian now marched to his assistance, and defeated the invaders.

Polyb. Excerp. l. 27. Livy, b. 40. c. 3. About the same time Epirus, or a great part of it, revolted to Perses from the Romans; a revolution brought about by one Cephalus, on occasion of an intestine discord.

Year of ROME 583. B.C. 169. At Rome, the *comitia* raised to the consulship A. Hostilius Mancinus and A. Atilius Serranus; and gave Hortensius the command of the fleet. To Hostilius fell the province of Macedon. Little progress was made in the war during his year. He twice unsuccessfully attempted to penetrate into Macedon; once by the way of Elimæa, where Perses defeated him in battle; and then by the Cambunian mountains. After this the king marched against the Dardanians, cut in pieces their army, consisting of 10,000 men, ravaged their country, and carried off a great booty.

consulship

In the mean time Appius Claudius, whom the consul had detached with an army of 4000 men, and who by levies among the confederates had doubled this army, entered Illyricum. Thinking to have taken Uscana (a town on the confines of that country and Macedon), by the promised treachery of the Cretan garrison that defended it, he fell into a snare: for advancing, in careless order, to the gates of the town, both the garrison and the inhabitants sallied out upon him on a sudden, and attacked him so vigorously, that not above a fourth part of his whole army escaped the slaughter. Yet this town shortly after became Roman, by what means is no-

Livy, b. 43. c. 10.

where said. But we are told that Perses recovered it in the winter, he having then leisure to lead his forces into Illyricum, the only side on which his kingdom was exposed: for Cotys secured it on the side of Thrace; Cephalus on that of Epirus; Perses himself had lately quelled the Dardanians; and the snows made the mountains of Thessaly impassable to the Romans. After reducing Uscana and the neighbouring towns, where he took many prisoners, and among the rest 4000 Romans, he made a painful expedition into Ætolia. He had been promised admission into Stratus, the strongest city in that country. Of this hope though he were disappointed, by the prevalence of the Roman faction in the place, yet in his return home he got possession of Aperantiæ, and soon after received the agreeable news, that Clevas, one of his lieutenants, had gained a new and entire victory over Appius Claudius. Year of ROME 585. B. C. 169. 582d consulship. Livy b. 43 c. 19

As for Hortensius, the Roman admiral, he performed nothing but against the allies of the republic, whom he cruelly oppressed, as his predecessor Lucretius[e] had also done. The heavy complaints brought to Rome against these two admirals, and some other Roman commanders, put the senate under a necessity of passing a decree, c. 17 "That no man should be obliged to pay obedience to a Roman magistrate imposing any burden for the present war, unless he could produce an order from the senate for such imposition."

The Greeks were at this time indirectly menaced by certain ambassadors from Rome (C. Popillius Lenas and Cn. Octavius), who travelled through all the cities of Peloponnesus; and, while they cried up the great clemency and indulgence of the senate, so conspicuous in the decree before mentioned, gave to understand, that they very well knew how every one was inclined: who among them were zealous for the Roman cause, and who were lukewarm. These ambassadors would have Polyb. Leg. 74.

[e] Lucretius was afterward accused of this, and condemned in a great fine by the unanimous suffrages of all the tribes.

Year of ROME 583. B. C. 169. 632d consulship.

accused by name, in the diet of Achaia, Lycortas and his son Polybius, as men ill affected to Rome, and waiting only for an opportunity to raise disturbances. But because no colour of truth could be found to countenance such a charge, or perhaps because the Roman affairs had not greatly prospered of late in Greece, it was thought better for the present to forbear the prosecution, and give gentle words, as if all were well. They acted much the same part in Ætolia and Acarnania; using soft words even to those whom they suspected of being in the Macedonian interest; and desisting from some demands, because they found them disagreeable to the people.

Polyb. Leg. 74, 75.

Sir W. Raleigh, from Livy, b. 43. c. 6.

"Among the great number of embassies that came to Rome about this time, either to seek redress of injuries, or to offer their services, it is note-worthy, that from Alabanda, a town of the lesser Asia, there was presented unto the senate, and well accepted, a most base piece of flattery. These Alabanders brought 300 horsemen's targets, and a crown of gold to bestow upon Jupiter in the Capitol. But having a desire to gratify the Romans with some exquisite token of their dutiful obedience, wherein they would be singular; and being not able to reach unto any great performance, they built a temple unto the town Rome, and appointed anniversary games to be celebrated among them in honour of that goddess. Now who can wonder at the arrogant folly of Alexander, Antigonus, Ptolemy, and the like vain men, that would be thought gods; or at the shameful flattery of such as bestowed upon men, and not the most virtuous of men, divine honours; when he sees a town of houses, wherein powerful men dwell, worshipped as a goddess; and receiving (without scorn of the givers, or shame of the present) the title of deity, at the gift of such a rascal city as Alabanda?"[q]

[q] In the consulship of Cato the elder, Smyrna paid the same compliment to Rome. Tacit. An. 4. c. 57.

CHAP. XVIII.

Q. Marcius, the Roman consul, having penetrated into Macedon, Perses in a fright abandons Dium, withdraws his garrisons from Tempe, and his guards from the passes into Macedon, orders his treasures at Pella to be thrown into the sea, and his naval stores at Thessalonica to be burnt. The Roman general, for want of provisions, leaves his new conquest, but possesses himself of the fortresses of Tempe. Hereupon Perses returns to Dium, repairs its fortifications, and strongly intrenches himself on the banks of the Enipeus. Polybius, at the desire of Marcius, hinders the Achæans from sending a supply of soldiers to Appius Claudius in Illyricum. 584. Polybius.

After the war against Perses had lasted two years, he was in a better condition to sustain it than at the beginning. He had not only hindered the Romans hitherto from entering his country, but had enlarged his borders on the Illyrian side: and his continual success had much increased the reputation of his arms. On the other hand, the consuls Licinius and Hostilius had successively wasted their time in fruitless attempts to force a passage into Macedon, defacing the glorious enterprise of conquest by many losses received. Nor was it only by the casualties of war that the army became greatly diminished, but by the facility of the military tribunes, or perhaps of Hostilius himself (for they laid the blame each upon the other), in licensing the soldiers to go home. The admirals of the republic had so demeaned themselves as to make many of the towns, which had declared for Rome, weary of the alliance. And all these things together, occasioned, for a time, a general discouragement[1] among the Romans. Year of ROME 583. B. C. 169. 582d consulship.

To Hostilius succeeded Q. Marcius Philippus, who with Cn. Servilius Cæpio had been elected to the consulship for the new year. Marcius, with a large reinforcement, which he had brought from Italy, joined the army at Pharsalus. Purposing to prosecute the war with vigour, he presently after his arrival consulted the guides concerning the best way to penetrate into Mace- Year of ROME 584. B. C. 168. 583d consulship. Livy, b. 44. c. 2, et seq.

[1] Livy reports, that on advice of the bad success of the war in Macedon, the prætor, by order of the senate, published an edict, commanding all the senators in Italy (who were not absent on affairs of the republic), to repair to Rome; and forbidding those who were in the city to go above a mile from it. B. 43. c. 11.

Year of ROME 584. B. C. 168. — 583d consulship.

don. Some advised him to go by the way of Pythium; some by the Cambunian mountains, where Hostilius had attempted a passage the last year; and others by the side of the lake Ascuris. The consul would determine nothing, till he should come to the place where the road he was now in branched out into three roads, which led to those passes. In the mean time Perses heard of the enemy's approach, and being uncertain what way they would take, distributed his own forces to the defence of all places which might give entrance, or permit ascent When Marcius was come to the three roads before mentioned, and had heard the opinion of his council, he determined to proceed by that road which led by the lake Ascuris; and accordingly sent before him 4000 foot to seize the most convenient posts in the way. Two days was this detachment embarrassed in overcoming the difficulty of only fifteen miles. After marching seven miles farther they possessed themselves of a safe piece of ground, from whence they had sight of a body of 12,000 Macedonians, which, under the command of Hippias, the king had appointed to defend that pass. Marcius, having received notice of the situation of his detachment, hastened to join it. Hippias, not in the least dismayed at his appearance, met him, and fought with him two or three days successively, each returning to his own camp at night, with little loss on either side. These conflicts being on the narrow ridge of a mountain, where but a small number could march in front, few men were employed; all the rest were spectators. It was impossible for Marcius to get forwards, yet both shameful and dangerous to return. He, therefore, took the only course remaining: part of his men he left with Popillius, to amuse the enemy, whilst he himself with the rest, fetched a compass, seeking a passage by

[s] Geographers are not agreed where to place the lake of Ascuris, but the situation of it may be conjectured from hence, that when Marcius was got to the top of the hill which overlooked it he could see Phila, Dium, and all the sea-coast This hill was twelve miles from Dium

ways that had never been trodden, and being compelled to make paths, where nature seemed to have intended that none should be. So steep he found the descent of the mountain, that his men, for the most part, rolled themselves down, not daring to trust their feet. And when they had gone or tumbled four miles of this troublesome journey, they desired nothing more earnestly than that they might be allowed to creep back again, if possible, by the way they had come. To add to the other difficulties, the elephants, through fear, recoiled from the precipices, cast their governors, and made such terrible noises, as affrighted the horses: so that they caused among the troops a confusion almost as great, as if an enemy had broke in upon them by surprise. Shift, however, was made to let down the huge beasts by a kind of bridge, of which the one end was joined to the edge of the cliff, the other sustained by two posts fastened in the ground below. These bridges were covered with turf, that the beasts might not fear to go upon them. When an elephant had got some way upon one of these bridges, the posts upholding it were cut; which made him slide down to the next bridge, that began where the first ended. In like manner he was conveyed to the third, and so onward to the bottom of the descent. Year of ROME 584. B.C. 168. 23d consulship.

After seven miles, the army came to a plain, and there rested a whole day, waiting for Popillius, who probably stole away in the night: for had the enemy followed him, and set upon him from the higher ground (which doubtless they would have done, had they known of his motion), he must infallibly have been cut off.

The third and fourth day's marches were like the first: only that custom, and the nearness to their journey's end, without meeting an enemy, animated the soldiers more cheerfully to endure the fatigue. The fourth day they encamped in the fields near Heracleum, about midway between Tempe and Dium, where the king had posted himself with the main of his army.

Year of ROME 584. B.C. 168. 283d Consulship.

Perses seems now to have been struck with fear beyond comprehension, and to have entirely lost his reason; for, could he have seen his own advantages, nothing had been more easy for him than to make the Roman general repent of his adventurous march. Marcius had indeed avoided the strait of Tempe,[t] and got beyond it; but he was enclosed between that strait and Dium;[u] neither of which could he have forced, had the Macedonians defended them: so that he and his army must have perished for want of provisions, unless he could have gone back the way he came; a thing impracticable, considering that the enemy, being now aware of the path he had made, would have fallen upon him from the tops of the hills, of which they were masters. There was no fourth way. Yet the cowardice of Perses gave a colour of prudence to the rashness of the consul: for the king no sooner heard that the enemy were come over the mountains to Heracleum, but, crying out that he was vanquished without fighting, he took from Dium what valuable things he could carry away in haste, abandoned the town, and retired with his army to Pydna. In the same vehemency of amazement, he sent strict commands to burn without delay, his naval stores at Thessalonica, and to throw his treasures, that were at Pella, into the sea; as if the Romans were just at the gates of those two cities, and going to take possession. Nicias, who received the order to drown the treasure, performed it as expeditiously as he could; yet not so desperately, but that when the king regretted the loss, the greater part was recovered by diving. As to the naval stores, An-

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[t] Tempe was a valley five miles in length and very narrow, bounded on one side by Mount Olympus, and on the other by Mount Ossa, between which, and through the middle of the valley, ran the river Peneus. The road lay on the side of a frightful precipice, along the river, and was so narrow, says Livy, that a loaded mule had scarce room to pass. To defend this strait, Perses had posted a detachment at Gonni, in the entrance of the valley, another farther on at Condylon, an impregnable fortress, a third at a place called Characa, and a fourth in the road itself, and where the valley was narrowest.

[u] Dium stood at the foot of Mount Olympus, on the side towards Thessaly, and about a mile from the sea, of which mile, the river Baphyrus, becoming there a lake, took up the one half; the rest was such as might be easily fortified.

dronicus, who had charge to set fire to them, deferred the execution, foreseeing that repentance might follow. Whether Nicias, for his absolute and blind obedience, or Andronicus, for his prudent forethought, merited the greater commendation, it lay in the king's breast to determine. The reward of their service was this: Perses, growing ashamed of his mad cowardice, caused them both to be slain. Those poor men also, who had fetched his treasure out of the sea, were recompensed after the same manner; that so there might be no witness of the king's frantic fear. Year of ROME 584. B.C. 168. 283d consulship.

To fill up the measure of his folly, he withdrew his garrisons from Tempe, and called Hippias away from the pass of Ascuris, as also Asclepiodorus, from the guard of another pass; and these men he openly reproached, as if they, and not he, had betrayed to the enemy the gates and bars of Macedon.

Marcius took Dium without resistance, and from thence went forwards into the country; but, after three days, was compelled, by want of provisions,[x] to return. His fleet, which he had ordered to steer along the coast, came to him at this time; but had left the storeships behind at Magnesia. Luckily for him, Lucretius, one of his lieutenants, whom he had employed to seize the fortresses of Tempe (abandoned by the Macedonians), found there plenty of corn; of which good fortune he gave the consul notice. The sooner to get this corn, Marcius quitted Dium, and went to Phila,[y] to meet the convoy that was coming to him; by which foolish journey he lost not only that important place, but his reputation. For he was now thought a coward, or, at least, an unskilful general; since he thus retreated, when it most imported him to have pushed forward. Livy, b. 44. c. 7.

[x] It is likely, that a greater part of his stores (for he had taken a month's provision with him from Pharsalus) was lost among the mountains; otherwise he could not have been in such distress, as, without any opposition from the enemy, to be forced to quit his enterprise.

[y] A town between Dium and Tempe.

Year of ROME 584. B. C. 168. 583d consulship.

The imprudence of Marcius brought the king to see his own error. To correct it in the best manner he could, he quickly repossessed himself of Dium, and repaired its fortifications, having found it dismantled by the Romans. This done, he encamped strongly behind the river Enipeus. Less diligence, more early employed, would have been enough to have gained him ample revenge upon Marcius who had formerly deceived him by an idle hope of peace. And even his recovering and fortifying Dium, and his posting himself on the Enipeus, made it impracticable for the consul to do any thing towards the conquest of Macedon in all the continuance of his office. He took indeed Heracleum, and made a feint as if he would have driven the king farther off, and retaken Dium; but he had nothing so great either in his intention or hope, his chief care being to provide winter-quarters. In order to facilitate the conveyance of provisions from Thessaly or Heracleum, he caused the roads to be cleared, and magazines to be erected in the most convenient places. He also sent the admiral to make attempts upon the maritime towns, Thessalonica, Cassandrea, Demetrias, and others: but although this commander was assisted by Eumenes with twenty ships of war, and had five from king Prusias, he met with no success in any one of these enterprises, but lost a considerable number of men.

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As Marcius acquired little honour by this campaign, so he shewed himself very unwilling that Appius Claudius, who commanded on the side of Illyricum, should acquire more. At the time when Perses, by the success of his arms against Hostilius, had gained great reputation, Archo, Lycortas, and the patriots among the Achæans, judged it for the good of the nation to assist the Romans, in their adversity, whom, in their prosperity, they were never prone to flatter. Archo, therefore, proposed a decree, which passed, "That the Achæans should send their whole strength into Thessaly, and

Polyb. Leg. 78

share all dangers with the Romans. Polybius and others were appointed ambassadors to Marcius, to acquaint him with this decree, and to know his pleasure. Finding the consul busy in seeking a passage into Macedon, they went along with the army, but mentioned nothing of their commission till he was got to Heracleum: then Polybius presented the decree; at the same time setting forth how invariably obedient the Achæans had been, during the course of this war, to every command of the Romans. Marcius, in very strong terms, expressed his satisfaction in the proofs of their good-will; but said, that he now needed no assistance. Instantly Polybius dispatched his colleagues home to report the consul's answer, staying himself behind in the camp. After a while, Marcius had advice, that Appius Claudius desired of the Achæans 5000 men, to be sent him into Epirus. There could be no room to doubt but Appius had need of those men, and might, with such an accession of strength, do signal service, by obliging Perses to divide his forces. Nevertheless Marcius desired Polybius to return into Achaia, and take especial care that no such aid were sent to Appius: the Achæans, he said, ought not to be burdened with an expense to furnish troops that were not wanted. Away went Polybius, musing, and unable to resolve whether the consul's earnestness in this affair proceeded from affection to the Achæans, or from envy towards Appius. And when the matter came to be debated in the Achæan diet, Polybius was in a new perplexity; the issue nearly concerning himself and those of his party. For should he neglect what the consul had given him in charge, he was sure to incur his resentment; and, on the other hand, he considered, that words spoken by Marcius to him in private, would prove no good warrant to the Achæans for refusing assistance to Appius. In this dilemma, therefore, he had recourse to the decree of the senate, which exempted all their allies from the

Year of ROME 584. B.C. 168. 283d consulship

Year of ROME 584. B. C. 168. — 283d consulship.

necessity of submitting to any imposition from a Roman commander, unless the same imposition were authorized by express order of the conscript fathers. Appius having no such warrant, the diet referred his demand to the consul, by whom they knew it would be opposed. And thus Polybius, by his artful management, saved to the Achæans above 120*talents.[a]

* 23,250*l.* Arbuth.

CHAP. XIX.

585 L. Æmilius Paullus is chosen consul at Rome, and has the conduct of the war in Macedon assigned to him. Eumenes being dissatisfied with the Romans, Perses endeavours to draw him from their alliance. The Pergamenian proposes, for a certain sum of money, to stand neuter, and, for a greater sum, to procure the Macedonian a peace. But, the two kings suspecting each other of dishonesty, the negotiation breaks off. Perses engages king Gentius of Illyricum to begin a war with Rome, and then defrauds him of a sum of money he had promised him. The Macedonian refusing to fulfil his engagements with the Bastarnæ, whom he had invited to his aid, they return into their own country.

PLUTARCH reports, that the people of Rome, weary of the long continuance of the Macedonian war (in which, through the cowardice or insufficiency of their generals, they had got nothing hitherto but dishonour), cast their eyes upon L. Æmilius Paullus, as a captain, from whose courage and abilities they might hope a speedy and fortunate issue to that enterprise.

This man, the son of that Æmilius Paullus, who perished at the battle of Cannæ, had been consul in the year 571, and had then conducted the war against the Ligurians with so much success, as to deserve the ho-

[a] This year was passed at Rome the famous Voconian law, so called from Q. Voconius, the tribune who proposed it. The law enacted, that no woman should be left heiress to an estate; and that no census should, by his will, give above a fourth part of what he was worth to a woman. By a census is meant a person rated high in the censor's books.

The same year a difference happened between the censors, T. Sempronius Gracchus and C. Claudius Pulcher, about the freedmen. These, that they might have the less sway in elections, had been confined to the four city tribes; and Gracchus now proposed to deprive the greatest part of them entirely of the right of suffrage. But Claudius insisted that this was illegal; and that though a censor might remove a man from one tribe to another (which was the full meaning of *tribu movere*) yet he could remove no man, much less a whole order of men, from all the five-and-thirty tribes. It was at length agreed, that all the freedmen should be incorporated in one of the city tribes, and it fell by lot to the Esquiline tribe to receive them. Liv. b. 45. c. 15.

nour of a triumph. He was now near sixty years of age, but in full strength both of body and mind. Some time before this, the people had refused him a second consulship when he stood candidate for it: but in the present exigency they raised him to that dignity, even against his inclinations; and assigned him the province of Macedon without suffering him to draw lots with his colleague C. Licinius Crassus.[b] Year of ROME 587. B. C. 167. 60th. consulship

Æmilius would propose nothing to the senate concerning his province, till by commissaries, sent thither to view the state of things, the strength and condition both of the Roman and Macedonian forces were perfectly known.

The commissaries at their return reported, "That the army had penetrated into Macedon, but with greater danger than benefit: that the two camps lay near each other, the river Enipeus between them: that the king avoided a battle, and the Romans had no strength to force him to it: that the Macedonians were 30,000 strong: that Marcius wanted provisions; the Roman admiral, men; and, for those few that he had, wanted both money and clothes: that Appius Claudius and his army, on the frontier of Illyricum, were so far from being in a condition to invade Macedon, that they lay exposed to the danger of being cut off, if not speedily reinforced: that Eumenes and his fleet had just appeared, and then gone away; nobody could tell why: that he was wavering in his friendship to Rome, but his brother Attalus unquestionably steady." Livy, b. 44. c. 20.

Valerius Antias reports, that Eumenes coming to assist Marcius, in the same friendly manner as he had assisted the former consuls, was not treated with the distinction he had expected; and thereupon returned home in anger, refusing, though requested, to leave behind him his Gallo-Greek horse. Whether this were c. 13.

[b] Livy says nothing of Æmilius's reluctance to accept of the consulship; and tells us, that the province of Macedon fell to him by lot.

Year of ROME 585. B. C. 167. 28th consulship.

truly so, or whether the Pergamenian began, when too late, to apprehend lest the fire, which he himself had helped to kindle, would soon take hold of his own kingdom, it is certain that about this time he grew cold in his behaviour to the Romans. Perses took encouragement from it to sound him; and, finding him tractable, made an attempt to disengage him from the interest of Rome. The ambassadors, whom he sent to Pergamus on this business (but under colour of negotiating an exchange of prisoners), were also commissioned to go to Antiochus Epiphanes, king of Syria, then at war with Ptolemy of Egypt. These ministers had orders to represent to Eumenes, "That there could be no real friendship between a king and a free state: that the Romans had an equal enmity to all kings, though they used the help of one king against another: that they had oppressed Philip by the help of Attalus: Antiochus the Great by the help of Philip and Eumenes: and now made use of the forces of Eumenes and Prusias to ruin Perses." They were to exhort the Pergamenian to consider, "That the kingdom of Macedon once destroyed, his own could be no longer safe; and that the Romans already began to look with a better eye upon Prusias than upon him." In like manner they were to admonish Antiochus, "Not to expect any good conclusion of his war with the Egyptian, so long as the Romans could make him desist from the prosecution of it, by a bare declaration of their will and pleasure." And, lastly, they were to request, of both Antiochus and Eumenes, "That they would either, by negotiation, engage the republic to make peace with the Macedonian; or, in case she persisted in so unjust a war, turn their arms against her, as against the common enemy of all kings." What answer the Syrian gave is not recorded. Eumenes having perceived that the Romans themselves were weary of so tedious and difficult a war, and thinking it not unlikely that a peace would soon be concluded, whether he used

Polyb. Leg. 85. Livy, l. 44. c. 24.

his mediation or not, conceived a project of drawing some pecuniary advantage to himself from the present situation of things. He offered Perses, for 1000 talents, to stand neuter; for 1500, to procure him a peace; and, in either bargain, not only to pledge his word, but to give hostages. The Macedonian approved very much the article of hostages; and readily agreed with Eumenes, that they should be sent to Crete. But as to paying the money, here he stuck. He was willing to be at some expense for a peace with Rome; but did not care to pay for it before he had it. Till the peace should be concluded, he would needs deposit the money in the temple of Samothrace. As this island belonged to Perses, Eumenes thought the money would be no nearer to him there, than if it remained in Pella; and, therefore, insisted upon having at least a part of it in hand. Thus the two kings (says Livy) in vain attempted to overreach one another, and got nothing but infamy for their labour.

Year of ROME 585. B.C. 167. 284th consulship. Appian. Frag. l. 9.

After the like manner acted Perses with Gentius of Illyricum; with whom he had been treating before, and who had answered him in plain terms, that without money he could not stir. The Macedonian was very backward at that time to diminish his treasures; but, when the Romans had got possession of Tempe, he agreed to pay 300 talents, which Gentius demanded as the price of his friendship; and hostages were to be delivered on both sides for performance of covenants. Gentius sent his hostages, in company with some ambassadors, to the Macedonian camp, where Perses ratified the treaty by oath, and delivered his hostages in presence of the troops, that they, being witnesses of this transaction, might be encouraged by such an accession of strength to their party. Ambassadors were presently after sent from both kings to Rhodes, to engage that republic in the confederacy. The Rhodians answered, "That they had already resolved to bring about a peace;

Polyb. Legat. 76, 77. Leg. 85. Leg. 87. Leg. 86.

Year of ROME 585. B.C. 167. 284th consulship.

to which they exhorted the kings to raise no unnecessary obstacles." The favourers of Perses having become the prevailing party at Rhodes, ambassadors had been sent from thence to Rome, to press the senate to cease the prosecution of the war. What reception these ministers met with we shall see hereafter.

Sir W. R.

Pantauchus, the Macedonian ambassador, had remained with Gentius, daily urging him to begin the war, especially by sea, while the Romans were unprovided of a naval strength. Ten talents of the promised money came, as earnest of the rest that was following. More followed indeed, and sealed up with the Illyrian seal, but carried by Macedonians, and not too fast. Before this money reached the borders of Illyricum, Gentius had laid hands on two Roman ambassadors, under the pretence of their being spies, and thrown them into prison; which Perses no sooner heard than he recalled his treasure-bearers,[c] and sent them with their load to Pella: for now the Illyrian must of necessity make war with the Romans, whether he were hired to it or not.

Plut. Life of Æmil. Livy, b. 44. c. 27. App. in Fragment.

There came about the same time, from the other side of the Danube, to the aid of Perses, 10,000 horse and 10,000 foot of the Gauls, called by Plutarch, Bastarnæ. The king, having advice of their arrival on the frontiers, sent a messenger with some inconsiderable presents to the chiefs, whom he invited to come to him, and promised to gratify with rich rewards. Clondicus, the general, immediately asked, whether Perses had sent money for the soldiers, who, according to the bargain, were to have part of their pay in hand. To this the messenger making no answer, "Why then (said Clondicus), tell thy master that the Gauls will not stir one foot farther, till they have money and hostages." Upon the report of this answer, the king took counsel; if it might be

Plut. Life of Æmil. Livy, b. 44. c. 26.

[c] Polybius, who tells us, that Perses ratified by oath the treaty with Gentius, that he gave hostages to the Illyrian ambassadors for the performance of covenants, and that he sent those, who had come to take charge of the stipulated money, to Pella, there to receive it, says nothing of Gentius's being cheated of that money

called taking counsel, to deliver his own opinion before men so wise that they would not contradict him. He made an invective against the savage manners and perfidiousness of the Gauls: "who came in such numbers as could not but be dangerous to him and to his kingdom. Five thousand horse (he said) would be as many as he should have occasion for; and not enough to give him cause to fear them." Doubtless there wanted not employment for the whole army of Gauls; since, without any danger to the kingdom, they might have been sent, by the way of Perrhæbia, into Thessaly, where, ravaging the country, they would have constrained the Romans to abandon Tempe, even for want of provisions. This and much more might have been done; but Perses was a better guardian of his money than of his kingdom. In conclusion, Antigonus, one of his nobles, and the same messenger who had been with the Gauls before, was sent again to let them know the king's mind. He did his errand: upon which followed a great murmuring of those many thousands that had been drawn so far from their own country to no purpose. Clondicus asked him, "Whether he had brought the money with him to pay those 5000 whom the king would take into his service." And when it was perceived, that Antigonus, for want of an answer, had recourse to shifting excuses, the Gauls, without delay, marched back towards the Danube, pillaging and wasting that part of Thrace through which they passed. Yet, barbarians as they were, they suffered the messenger of fraud to escape unhurt, which was more than he could well have expected.

Year of ROME 585. B. C. 167. 284th consulship.

Thus acted Perses, like a careful treasurer for the Romans, as if he meant, says Livy, to preserve his money for them, without diminishing the sum.[d]

[d] Dio. Cassio imputes this parsimonious conduct of Perses, to a confidence in his own strength, not doubting but that he should be able, without the assistance of allies, to drive the Romans out of Greece. Dio. Cass. ap. Vales. p. 611.

CHAP. XX.

Æmilius Paullus. Battle of Pydna

In thirty days' time, the prætor Anicius finishes the war in Illyricum, Gentius surrenders himself and his dominions at discretion. Æmilius Paullus forces Perses to abandon the Empeus, and soon after defeats him in battle at Pydna. The king, deserted by his subjects, takes refuge in the isle of Samothrace; and the whole kingdom of Macedon submits to the conqueror. Perses, after an attempt to escape from Samothrace, surrenders himself to the prætor Octavius, who sends him prisoner to the consul.

Year of ROME 585. B.C. 167.

UPON the report before mentioned of the commissaries returned from Macedon, the senate ordered into that country a large supply of men; but Æmilius was to have, in his army, only two Roman legions, of 6000 foot, and 300 horse each; and of the Italian allies 12,000 foot, and 1200 horse. What soldiers remained after completing these numbers, were to be disposed of in garrison, if fit for service; if unfit, they were to be discharged. Yet, according to Plutarch, Æmilius had in Macedon 100,000 men under his command. Cn. Octavius, the admiral of the fleet, had 5000 recruits granted him. And to the prætor, L. Anicius, appointed to succeed Appius Claudius in Illyricum, was allotted an army of 20,400 foot and 1400 horse.

2d consulship. Livy, l. 44. c. 21.

The consul, before his departure from Rome, made an harangue to the people. The substance of it was a reproof for the liberty they took, while ignorant of the true state of things, to censure the conduct of their generals. He said: "That if any of them thought themselves wise enough to manage this war, he desired their company into Macedon, to assist him with their advice; that he had ships, horses, tents, and provisions ready at their service; but if they did not care to exchange the ease and indolence of a town life for the fatigues of war, they would do well to restrain their tongues; for he should not govern his actions by their caprice, nor have regard to any counsels but such as were given him in the camp."

In the beginning of April, Æmilius the consul, Octa-

vius the admiral, and Anicius the prætor, set out for their respective provinces. Year of ROME 585. B.C. 167.

The success of Anicius in Illyricum was as rapid as fortunate. He brought the war to a conclusion in thirty days, and before they knew at Rome that he had begun it. Gentius, after some loss at sea, and the ready submission of some of his towns to the Romans, shut himself up in Scodra, his capital, with all his army, consisting of 15,000 men. This place being very defensible by nature, and so strongly garrisoned, and the king there in person, it could not possibly have been taken in a short time, had the defenders of it kept within their walls. But they would needs sally out and fight; in this seeming rather passionate than courageous, for they were presently routed: and though they lost but 200 men, yet such was their fright and amazement, that Gentius thought it advisable to ask of the prætor a truce, in order, as he said, to deliberate concerning the state of his affairs. Three days being granted him, he employed this time in inquiring after his brother Caravantius, whom he had commissioned to raise forces, and who was reported to be approaching to his rescue. Finding the rumour groundless, and having asked and obtained of the prætor permission to come to him, he threw himself at his feet, lamented with tears his past folly, and yielded himself, together with his wife and children, at discretion: after which the whole kingdom presently submitted. Anicius dispatched Perperna (one of the ambassadors whom Gentius had imprisoned) with the news of all these events to Rome. 584th consulship. App. in Illyr. Livy, b. 44. c. 31

Æmilius Paullus, having set sail from Brundusium at break of day, arrived at Corcyra before night. Thence in five days he reached Delphi; where he sacrificed to Apollo. In five days more he joined the army at Phila, not far from the Enipeus. Livy, b. 45. c. 27. Plut. Life of Æmilius. App. in Fragment. Livy, b. 44. c. 32.

Perses, after taking the best measures he could to hinder a descent from the Roman fleet on the coast, spared

Year of ROME 585. B. C. 167. no labour to fortify his bank of the Enipeus; so that the consul had little hope to force him in his camp, and enter Macedon that way.[e] On inquiry he learned, that there was a passage over Mount Olympus, and by Pythium; the road not bad, but blocked up by a body of troops which the king had placed there. To force this guard, Æmilius chose out 5000 men, whom he committed to the conduct of Scipio Nasica, his son-in-law, and Q. Fabius, his own son by nature, but adopted into the Fabian family. In order to conceal the design, they took the way to Heracleum, as if they were going to embark on board the fleet. From Heracleum they directed their march to Pythium, dividing the journey so as to arrive there the third day before it was light. In the mornings of those two days, when they were passing the mountain, Æmilius, that he might fix the king's attention on something present, detached a part of his velites to attack the advanced guard of the Macedonians. The channel of the Enipeus, which received in winter a great fall of waters from the mountains, was exceedingly deep and broad, and the ground of it such, as though at present it lay almost quite dry, yet it afforded no good footing for heavy-armed troops. It was for this reason Æmilius employed only his velites, of whom the king's light-armed soldiers had the advantage in a distant fight, though the Romans were better armed for close engagement. The engines from the towers, which Perses had raised on his own bank, played also upon the Romans, and did considerable execution. Yet Æmilius renewed his assault the second day; when he suffered

Consulship.

[e] About this time the consul introduced some new regulations in the Roman discipline: the word of command used to be given aloud at the head of the legions to all the soldiers, but Æmilius now ordered the tribune of the nearest legion to give it in a low voice to his primipile, who was to transmit it to the next centurion, and thus it was to be conveyed from one to another, till it had gone through the whole army. And whereas it had been the custom for the guards to stand from morning to night in their posts, without being relieved, the consul altered this method, ordering them to be changed at noon. And because they often fell asleep, leaning upon their shields, he commanded that for the future they should go upon guard without a shield. Liv. b. 44. c. 33.

yet a greater loss than the first. The third day he made a motion as if he meant to attempt a passage over the river near the sea. In the mean time, the king's camp became, on a sudden, full of tumult and confusion. Scipio and Fabius (according to Polybius) had surprised the Macedonian guard upon the mountain asleep, and slain most of them; the rest with all speed fled to the army, with the news, that the Romans had passed the mountain, and were at their backs. The king instantly broke up his camp, and made a hasty retreat to Pydna.[f] Thus was a passage once more opened into Macedon; an advantage which Æmilius did not, like his predecessor Marcius, neglect to improve.

Year of ROME 585. B. C. 167. 584th consulship. Polyb. ap. Plut.

Perses could not determine for a while what course to take; whether to distribute his troops into the fortified towns, and so to protract the war; or to put all at once to the hazard of a battle. Seeing his men in good heart, and eager to fight, he at length resolved to venture a general action. He chose, therefore, a place near the walls of Pydna, commodious for the phalanx, and on each side of which were some high grounds, fit for the archers and light-armed troops. A river covered the whole front; and this river, though shallow, and of little breadth, must, in some measure, break the order of the Romans in advancing to him. It was not long before the enemy appeared. He offered them battle; which the Roman soldiers would gladly have accepted the instant they arrived, but Æmilius, knowing that they were fatigued with their march, did not think it advisable to come to an engagement till they had taken some rest. Yet, that he might seemingly yield to the ardour of his men, he began to draw them up as for battle, directing the tribunes to repair each to his post. As the day advanced, and the sun grew hotter, the countenances of the soldiers appeared less animated, their voices sunk, and some of the men were seen leaning on their shields

Plut. Life of Æmilius.

Livy, b. 44. c. 36.

[f] This account differs in some circumstances from Plutarch's.

Year of ROME 585. B. C. 167. 284th consulship.

and javelins for weariness. The consul hereupon ordered a camp to be marked out. His chief officers, though dissatisfied with this change (as they thought it) of his design, yet remained silent. But young Scipio, whose late success on Mount Olympus gave him confidence, took the liberty to remonstrate, begging him not to lose his opportunity by delay. Æmilius told him, he spoke like a young man, and bade him have patience. This said, he commanded the troops in the front of his army to remain in their order, while those in the rear formed a camp, and intrenched it: which finished, the whole army at leisure fell back into it, without any confusion or molestation from the enemy.

The next day many in each army blamed their generals for not having fought the day before. Perses excused himself by the backwardness of the enemy, who did not advance, but kept upon ground very inconvenient for the phalanx. On the other side, the consul, who had his reasons before mentioned, communicated them to those about him.

Sn W. R. In the evening of that day (which, by the Roman account, was the 3d of September), C. Sulpicius Gallus, a legionary tribune, foretold to Æmilius, and, with his approbation, to the army, an eclipse of the moon which would happen the same night; admonishing the soldiers not to be terrified, it being a natural event, which might be known long before the time. The Romans (according to their custom) while the eclipse lasted, beat pans of brass and basons, as we do in following a swarm of bees; thinking that thereby they helped the moon in her labour. On the other side the Macedonians howled and made a great noise, and this doubtless because it was their custom, and not because they were frightened at the eclipse, as with a prodigy that foreboded any mischief to them; since it did not in the least diminish their ardour for the fight. Æmilius, though not so ignorant concerning this phenomenon as to ima-

Plut. Life of Æmilius

gine it any thing supernatural, yet, being very religious, could not refrain from doing his duty to the moon, and, by a sacrifice of eleven young bulls, as soon as she shone out bright again, congratulating with her on her deliverance. And early the next morning, when he had given the signal to prepare for battle, he sacrificed to Hercules twenty oxen successively, before any good omens could be found in the entrails. At length, in the belly of the one-and-twentieth ox, was found a promise of victory to the Romans, but conditionally that they acted only on the defensive.[s] Year of ROME 585. B.C. 167. 28th consul

About three in the afternoon, when there was no likelihood of a battle, Perses keeping his ground, and Æmilius having sent abroad a part of his men for wood and forage, an accident brought that to pass, of which neither of the generals seemed very desirous. A horse belonging to a Roman broke loose, and ran into the river, whither two or three of the soldiers followed him: 800 Thracians lay on the farther bank, whence two of them ran into the water to draw this horse over to their own side. These fell to blows with the Romans as in a private quarrel, and one of the Thracians was slain. Some of his countrymen hasted to revenge their fellow's death, and followed over the river those that had slain him. Hereupon assistance came in on each part, till the number grew such as made it past a fray, and caused the generals of both armies to be anxious about the event. Livy b. 44 c. 40

s Sir W. R. pleasantly says, "That Hercules was a Greek, and partial, as nearer in alliance to the Macedonian than the Roman. That, therefore, it had been better to call upon the new goddess lately canonized at Alabanda, or upon Romulus, or (if a god of older date were more authentic) upon Mars, the father of Romulus, to whom belonged the guidance of military affairs, and who, therefore, would have limited his favour with no injunctions contrary to the rules of war."

One of the most distinguishing parts of Æmilius's character was circumspection and caution, which he had inherited from his father, a disciple of Fabius Cunctator. And though Sir W. R. blames Æmilius on this occasion, as vainly consuming a great part of the day, in the sacrifices above mentioned; yet, considering the advantage which Perses had of the ground, it is not improbable, that the consul had better reasons than any he found in the ox's belly, for desiring that the king should quit his post, and be the assailant. Plutarch speaks of the morning sun being full in the faces of the Romans, as a reason for Æmilius's deferring the battle till the afternoon. But it appears from Livy, that the consul had no intention to fight, even when the sun favoured him

Year of ROME 585. B.C. 167. 284th consulship.

Perses and Æmilius drew up their men in order of battle; and, to elevate their courage, employed all the arguments which the importance of the occasion suggested. But the king having finished his oration, and ordered his men to the charge, withdrew himself into Pydna; there to offer a sacrifice to Hercules: as if Hercules, says Plutarch, could like the sacrifice of a coward; or would grant victory to him that would not fight.[h]

It is impossible to form any satisfactory notion of this battle, in its detail, from the imperfect accounts of it in Livy and Plutarch. We read that the Macedonian cavalry quickly fled out of the field; that nevertheless the phalanx pressed on so resolutely as to bear down all that opposed it, insomuch that Æmilius was astonished and terrified, and rent his clothes for grief. What gave him the victory was the difficulty, not to say the impossibility, of the phalanx's preserving its order for any considerable time. For while some of the Roman battalions pressed hard upon one part of it, and others recoiled from it, it was necessary, if the Macedonians would follow those that gave ground, that some files should advance beyond the rest. Æmilius, when he saw the front of the enemy's battle become unequal (by reason of the unequal resistance which they met with), and the ranks in some places open, divided his men into small battalions, ordering them to throw themselves into the void spaces, and charge the phalangites in flank. The long pikes of the Macedonians by this means became useless: and, with only their weak swords and targets, they were by no means a match for the Roman legionaries, who had strong swords, and whose shields covered them almost from head to foot. There soon followed a total rout of the Macedonian infantry. More than 20,000 of them are said to be slain, and 5000

[h] One Posidonius (an historian quoted by Plutarch) says, that he was present at this battle, and reports, that Perses, though hurt the day before in the leg by a kick of a horse, did nevertheless, and contrary to the pressing instances of his friends, lead his phalanx to the charge, and that he continued at their head till he was wounded in the side by a javelin.

taken prisoners. It is also said, that the Romans did not lose above 100 men; a tale not very consistent with what is related of the exploits of the Macedonian phalanx. Year of ROME 585. B. C. 167. 284th consulship.

Perses fled from Pydna towards Pella, attended by a great number of his horse. Some of the foot which had escaped from the slaughter overtook the king and his company in a wood, where they fell to railing at the horsemen, calling them cowards, traitors, and other such names, till at length they came to blows.[i] The king, fearing lest they should turn their wrath against him, suddenly left the high road. A few followed him: the rest dispersed themselves, and went every one whither his inclinations guided him. Of those that kept with their king the number began in a short time to lessen: for he fell to devising upon whom to lay the blame of that day's misfortune; which caused those that knew his nature to shrink away from him under various pretences. At his coming to Pella about midnight, he found his pages, and Euctus[k] the governor of the town, ready to attend him; but of his great men that had escaped from the battle, though he often sent for them, not one would come near him. Fearing lest they, who had the boldness to disobey his summons, would dare something worse, he stole out of Pella before morning. There went with him only Evander (the Cretan formerly employed to kill Eumenes at Delphi), and two other companions of his flight from Pydna. The third day after the battle Perses came to Amphipolis, where having several times attempted to make a speech to the people, and having as often been hindered by his tears from proceeding, he appointed Evander to speak in his name what he himself had intended to say. The Amphipolitans, upon the first rumour of the king's defeat,

Plut Life of Æmil.

Sir W. R.

Livy, b. 44. c. 43.

[i] Livy says nothing of the foot having overtaken the horsemen, or of the quarrel between them; or that the king blamed any body for the loss of the battle.

[k] Plutarch says, that Perses stabbed with his own hand this Euctus, and one Edeus, for telling him of his faults, and giving him advice with too much freedom.

Year of ROME 585. B. C. 167. 584th consulship.

had emptied their town of 2000 Thracians that lay there in garrison, sending them out, under colour of an expedition that was to make them rich, and then shutting the gates after them. And now to rid themselves of the king, some of the citizens cried out while Evander was speaking, "Hence; depart: must we be ruined upon your account?" Perses, therefore, put his family, his treasures, and 500 Cretans, on board some vessels which were in the river Strymon, and embarking with them, followed the course of the stream. These Cretans are said to have repaired to him, not out of any affection to his person or his cause, but to his money, of which they hoped to share.[l] The king, knowing their wishes and views, caused some gold and silver cups and vases, to the value of fifty talents,* to be laid on the shore, as a booty for which they might scramble. He would not make the distribution himself, for fear of disobliging some of them. When the Cretans had loaded themselves with these riches, the little fleet sailed to Galepsos, a maritime town between the mouths of the Strymon and the Hebrus. But now Perses, repenting of his liberality, pretended to the Cretans, that among the cups and vases, there had been put, by mistake, some which Alexander the Great had made use of; for whose memory he had so high a respect, that it grieved him, he said, to part with the least thing that had belonged to that hero; and he offered to redeem them with more than they were intrinsically worth. Many of the Cretans, imposed upon by this declaration, brought back their urns and vases. The king passed into Samothrace, and spoke no more of the money. By this base artifice he recovered about thirty talents.[m]

* 9,637*l.* 10*s.* Arbuth.

Plut. Life of Æmil.

Samothrace was an island consecrated to Cybele the mother of the gods. According to tradition, she had

[l] This may be true, yet it seems natural, that without this allurement, they should adhere to Evander, their countryman and general, who continued about the king.

[m] Livy makes no mention of this cheat.

formerly dwelt in it, on which account it was held sacred by all nations. Perses, hoping that the Romans would not profane this sanctuary by staining it with his blood, chose to retire thither with his family and the remains of his dear treasure (which still amounted to about 2000 talents*), and he took up his habitation in a place adjoining to the temple of Castor and Pollux. Year of ROME 585. B. C. 167. 24th consulship. * 387,500*l.* Arbuthnot.

It is somewhat singular, that a king whose arms had prospered for three years together, should, after the loss of only one battle, be so deserted by all his subjects, and reduced to such miserable shifts: and it renders credible, in some degree, what the historians have related of his monstrous falsehood, avarice, and pusillanimity, in the latter part of his reign. The whole kingdom fell into the power of Æmilius in a few days after his victory. Hippias, who had kept the pass near the lake Ascuris against Marcius: Pantauchus, who had been sent ambassador to Gentius; and Milo, another of the king's principal officers, were the first that came in, yielding themselves and the town of Berœa, whither they had retired out of the battle. With messages to the like effect came others from Thessalonica, from Pella, and most of the towns of Macedon, within two days. Pydna held out a day or two longer. About 6000 soldiers of divers nations having fled out of the battle into that town, this confused rabble of strangers hindered the townsmen from coming immediately to any determination. Milo and Pantauchus, by the direction of Æmilius, went thither to parley with the commander of the garrison. It was agreed, that the soldiers should yield themselves prisoners of war, and that the Roman army should have the plunder of the city. After this, Æmilius marched to Pella, where, of the king's treasure, he found no more than 300 talents (Livy should have said 290): the same of which the Macedonian had lately defrauded Gentius. Livy, b. 44. c. 45, 46.

The report that Perses had taken refuge in Samo-

Year of ROME 585. B C. 167. thrace, was soon confirmed by his own letters to the consul. He had sent these letters by persons of such mean condition, that Æmilius is said to have wept with compassion for a king so fallen as to have no servants of better rank to employ in this commission. But though Perses had written in the style of a suppliant, and not of a king, yet, because the inscription of his epistle was, "King Perses to the consul Paullus," his folly, says Livy, in retaining the title of king, when he had lost his kingdom, extinguished all the consul's pity, so that he would return him no answer either by word or writing. The Macedonian now felt the whole weight of his calamity; he wrote again, omitting the word king in the superscription, and desiring Æmilius to send to him some persons with whom he might confer about his present condition. Three went to him from the consul, but effected nothing; they insisting, that Perses should yield himself at discretion; and he refusing to part with the title of king. It was, perhaps, the hope of being able to compound with his enemies, and purchase of them the permission to live in quiet, and retain the title of king, that had made him so carefully preserve his treasures, and retire with them to Samothrace: imagining that the Romans would neither violate a sanctuary, nor yet neglect the riches in his possession.

284th consulship. Livy, b. 45. c. 4, et seq.

Presently after arrived at that island, with the Roman fleet, C. Octavius, who had been ordered thither by the consul. Octavius endeavoured, as well by threats as by fair words, to make the king leave his retreat. All proving ineffectual, a young Roman, named Atilius, moved a question to the Samothracians; "How they came to pollute their island (which they held to be sacred), by receiving, even into their sanctuary, a man stained with the blood of king Eumenes, whom he wounded and endeavoured to murder, in the holy precincts of the temple at Delphi?" As they were now absolutely in the power of the Romans, this question caused no small perplexity

and fear. They signified to the king, that Evander, who lived with him, was accused of a sacrilegious crime, of which he must either clear himself, upon a fair trial; or, if through guilt he durst not stand a trial, must cease to profane a holy place, and leave it immediately. The king himself was not charged in this message; yet, what would that avail him, if the instrument of the fact, being brought into judgment, should impeach the author? Perses therefore exhorted the Cretan, by no means to stand a trial, in which neither favour nor justice could be expected; adding, that the best thing he could do was bravely to kill himself. Evander seemed to approve the advice; but said, he had rather die by poison than the sword; and, under colour of preparing poison, he prepared to escape. The king, suspecting his intention, found means to get him murdered; and then, to avoid the charge of having polluted the holy place, he bribed the chief magistrate of Samothrace to publish, that the Cretan had killed himself. This monstrous procee ding of Perses, towards so constant a follower of his fortunes, drove almost every body from him, except his wife, his children, and his pages. Thus deserted, he turned his thoughts to make an escape, and fly with his treasures to king Cotys of Thrace, his good friend and ally. Oroandes, a Cretan, who lay at Samothrace with one ship, was easily persuaded to undertake the affair. The dear treasure (as much of it as could be so conveyed) Perses caused secretly to be carried on board by night: after which, having got out at a window, with his wife and his eldest son Philip,[n] they passed through a garden, and over a wall, and thence to the sea-side. No ship was there. Oroandes had sailed away with the money. Perses wandered some time on the shore, undetermined what course to take. It grew towards day:

Year of ROME 585. B. C. 167. — 264th consul.

[n] This elder son is said by Livy to have been the king's brother by nature, and his son only by adoption.

Year of ROME 585. B.C. 167.

fearing, therefore, to be discovered and intercepted, he made all haste back to his asylum.

284th consulship.

Octavius published a proclamation, importing, that all the Macedonians who yet attended their master in Samothrace, should have their lives and liberty, with whatever estate or effects they had, either in the island or in Macedon, provided they immediately yielded themselves to the Romans. Hereupon the pages, who were the sons of the chief nobles, and who had hitherto constantly kept with the king, surrendered themselves to the prætor. Ion also, a Thessalonian, to whom Perses had committed the care of his younger children, delivered them up. Lastly, the king, now destitute of all support, and accusing the gods of Samothrace, that had no better protected him, gave himself up, with his son Philip, to Octavius, who sent them away to Æmilius: and thus the Roman victory was complete.[o]

Perses entered the camp in a mourning habit; and when he came into the consul's tent, would have thrown himself at his feet; a behaviour so base and abject, that Æmilius thought it dishonoured his victory. Having made the king sit down, he expostulated with him, in gentle words, on his having, so unjustly and with so hostile a mind, made war upon the Romans.[p] To this a prince of more spirit would not have wanted an answer. Perses said nothing. The consul went on: "However these things have happened, whether through mistake, to which every man is liable, or by chance, or by the inevitable decrees of fate; take courage: the clemency of

Livy, b. 45. c. 41. Plut. Life of Paull. Appian. Fragm.

[o] Æmilius Paullus is (by Livy and others) made to boast in a speech to the people that he finished the war against Perses in fifteen days. This is absolutely unintelligible, unless he reckons from the battle of Pydna, or the action upon the Enipeus; for no circumstances of the whole story are better, if so well, authorized, than his leaving Rome, the 1st of April to go to the army, his arrival in the camp the eleventh day after sailing from Brundusium, and his fighting the battle of Pydna on the 4th of September.

Petavius says it is evident, from the eclipse which happened the night before this battle, that it was fought in the year before Christ 168. Rationar. Temp. p. 2. b. 2. c. 14.

[p] So outrageous an insult upon wretchedness, as Æmilius is guilty of in this lying expostulation, is hardly to be paralleled.

the Roman people, which so many kings and nations have experienced in adversity, affords you, not only a hope, but almost an assurance of life." He then gave the king in custody to Ælius Tubero, who was the consul's son-in-law. Year of ROME 585. B. C. 167. 584th consulship.

Thus ended the Macedonian war (which had lasted four years); and with it the Macedonian monarchy, after it had continued in splendour 193 years, reckoning only from Philip, the father of Alexander the Great.[q]

CHAP. XXI.

Certain ambassadors, whom the Rhodians, in the view of mediating a peace between Perses and the Romans, had sent to Rome, are admitted to audience after the news of the victory at Pydna, and roughly treated by the senate. Antiochus Epiphanes, at the command of the senate, intimated to him by their ambassador Popilius, retires from Egypt, when just upon the point of finishing the conquest of it. The kings of Syria, Egypt, and Numidia, congratulate the Romans on their victory over Perses. Amicus reduces Epirus, and, in conjunction with five commissioners from Rome, settles the government of Illyricum. The proconsul Æmilius, assisted by ten commissioners, divides the kingdom of Macedon into four cantons, independent of each other, and makes them tributary to Rome. Five hundred and fifty Ætolians being inhumanly massacred by some of their countrymen, the murderers are acquitted by Æmilius and his colleagues. Many of the Ætolians, Acarnanians, Epirots, and Bœotians, and above 1000 of the principal men of Achaia, being suspected of disaffection to the Romans, are summoned to take their trial at Rome. Æmilius dispatches his son Fabius, and Scipio Nasica, to ravage the country of the Illyrians; and in one day, by treachery, plunders seventy towns of the Epirots, and reduces 150,000 of the inhabitants, to slavery. At his return to Rome, his own soldiers oppose his having a triumph; which, however, is at length granted him. Perses is sent prisoner to Alba (in the country of the Marsi), where he dies. The senate of Rome restore to Cotys, king of the Odrysians in Thrace, his son, who had been a hostage in Macedon, and taken prisoner by Æmilius. Antioch. Epiph. 586.

IT is needless to say any thing of the joy at Rome upon the news of the victory at Pydna. The Romans began now to look with a haughty and menacing eye upon all

[q] The Roman state, by the entire conquest of Macedon, became exalted to the pitch of an irresistible power. Sir Walter Raleigh, finishing that part, which he has left us, of the History of the World, with this conquest, makes use of a beautiful similitude to express the prosperous condition and high fortune of the Romans at that period, and likewise the future fate, the decline, and total ruin of their empire:

"By this which we have already set down, is seen the beginning and end of the three first monarchies of the world.—That of Rome which made the fourth, was also at this time almost at the highest. We have left it flourishing in the middle of the field, having rooted up or cut down all that kept it from the eyes and admiration of the world. But after some continuance, it shall begin to lose the beauty it had; the storms of ambition shall beat her great boughs and branches one against another; her leaves shall fall off, her limbs wither, and a rabble of barbarous nations enter the field, and cut her down." Sir W. R. *in fine.*

Year of ROME 585. B. C. 167. those of their allies whose behaviour had displeased them during the war of Macedon.

284th consulship. The republic of Rhodes (as was before observed*) had arrogantly undertaken to put an end to the war between Perses and the Romans. At what time soever her ambassadors came to Rome on this affair (for the time is uncertain) they had not their audience till after the news of Æmilius's victory.[r] The senate, who knew upon what business these ministers had been sent, maliciously called for them now, and bid them perform their commission. Agesipolis, chief of the embassy, said, "That they had come in the view of mediating a peace, believing that the war was extremely burdensome to the Greeks in general, and on account of the expenses that attended it, even to the Romans themselves. But since it was now brought to that conclusion which the Rhodians had always wished, they congratulated with the senate and people of Rome on so happy an event." To which the fathers answered, "That the Rhodians had not sent this embassy from any regard to the welfare of Greece, or from affection to the Roman people; but for the service of Perses. For, had they studied the good of Greece, they would have offered their mediation when Perses had his camp in Thessaly, and, for two years together, ravaged the lands of the Greeks. But as the mediating scheme was not thought of till the Roman army had entered Macedon, and Perses had small hopes to escape, it plainly shewed, that the only view of the Rhodian republic was, as much as in her lay, to rescue the Macedonian out of his danger. Her ambassadors,

* See p. 457.

Livy, b. 45. c. 3. Polyb. Leg 83.

[r] Livy having before related (b. 44. c. 14.) that these very ambassadors had been admitted to audience in the consulship of Marcius, and had then spoken arrogantly, and in threatening terms to the senate, now tells us, that, according to some authors, these ministers had no audience till after the battle of Pydna. That this last account is true, may be gathered from Polybius, who had a share in the transactions of those times. He tells us, that the Rhodians indeed sent ambassadors to Rome, in the consulship of Marcius; but that their business was to renew their friendship with the Romans, to vindicate Rhodes from the charge of disaffection to Rome, and to ask leave to export a certain quantity of corn from Sicily. He adds, that they were very graciously received, and civilly dismissed. Legat 80. 86. 88. 93.

therefore, had no title to be received by the senate as friends, or to expect a friendly answer." Year of ROME 585. B.C. 167. 284th consulship.

How excessively the Roman pride was swelled by their conquest of Macedon, we have a remarkable proof in what passed, about this time, between their ambassador and the king of Syria.

After the death of Antiochus, surnamed the Great (who was killed by the people of Elymais, for plundering the temple of Jupiter Belus in their country), his son, Seleucus Philopator, succeeded him in the throne. Strabo, b. 16. p. 744. Seleucus sent for his younger brother Antiochus, who had been a hostage at Rome ever since the conclusion of the peace between his father and the republic; and gave in exchange for him his own son Demetrius. Before Antiochus arrived in Syria, Seleucus was poisoned, and the kingdom usurped by Heliodorus, the treasurer. Nevertheless, by the assistance of Eumenes, king of Pergamus, Antiochus expelled the usurper, and seated himself in the throne, assuming the surname of Epiphanes (or the Illustrious). He entered into a war against his nephew Ptolemy Philometor, king of Egypt, about Cœle-Syria and Palestine; vanquished the Egyptians in two battles; and took Philometor prisoner. Hereupon the Alexandrians declared Ptolemy Evergetes or Physcon, king, in the room of his elder brother. The Syrian, under pretence of restoring the latter to his kingdom, renewed the war against the Egyptians, defeated them in a sea-fight, took Pelusium, and laid siege to Alexandria, where Physcon had shut himself up with his sister Cleopatra. These applied to the senate for relief; and the conscript fathers, not thinking it for the interest of the republic that Antiochus should annex Egypt to his dominions, dispatched ambassadors to put an end to the war between the two kings. C. Popillius Lænas, C. Decimius, and C. Hostilius, the persons commissioned on this affair, had orders to address themselves first to Antiochus, and then to Ptolemy, signifying to

App. in Syr. p. 116. Polyb. Leg. 72. et 82. Hieron. in Dan. c. 11. ap. Prideaux. Livy, b. 44. c. 19.

Year of ROME 585. B. C. 167. 284th consulship. Livy, b. 45. c. 11.

each, that if he persisted in carrying on the war, the people of Rome would hold him for their enemy. In the mean time, as the Syrian found it difficult to reduce Alexandria, in its present strength, and hoped that he should succeed better in his designs when the brothers were weakened by the continuation of the war between themselves, he returned home; leaving Philometor in possession of Memphis and all Egypt, except Alexandria and Pelusium. This last town he kept in his own hands, that he might enter the country when he pleased. The brothers perceived the ambitious views of the Syrian; to disappoint which they came to an accommodation, by the good offices of their sister Cleopatra, and agreed to reign jointly. Antiochus, vexed to see his projects disconcerted, resolved now to make war upon both the brothers. In pursuance of this resolution, he sent a fleet to Cyprus, and marched with his land army towards Egypt. At his coming to Rhinocolura, ambassadors met him from Ptolemy the elder, to entreat him that he would not destroy his own work, but suffer their master quietly to wear the crown he owed to his friendship. The Syrian answered, That he would neither draw off his fleet nor his army, unless Cyprus, Pelusium, and all the land on that branch of the Nile where Pelusium stood, were yielded to him in perpetuity. These conditions being rejected, Antiochus by force of arms subdued all Egypt, except Alexandria. He was on his march to besiege this city, and within four miles of it, when the Roman ambassadors (who, having passed through Greece and Asia, had been several months in their journey) came up to him. The Syrian, while a hostage at Rome, had contracted a friendship with Popillius, the chief of the embassy, and therefore immediately offered him his hand. But the Roman, instead of accepting the civility, put into the king's hand a writing, which contained the senate's decree; and bid him read that. Antiochus read it; and then said, "He would consult with his friends."

Instantly Popillius, with a vine twig, drew a circle round the king: "Your answer (said the ambassador) before you go out of this circle." Antiochus,[s] stunned at the imperiousness of the command, hesitated for some moments; after which he replied, "The senate shall be obeyed." He would hardly have been so submissive (says Polybius) had he not received advice of Æmilius's victory over Perses. And it may be worth observing, that this haughty Popillius was the man who, when the Roman affairs went ill in Macedon, employed such soft and gentle words to the Achæans and Ætolians. Nor did Antiochus, during that war, pay any regard to the mediation of the Romans, who had sent ambassadors to terminate the war between him and Ptolemy. But times were changed; and the Syrian now most obsequiously withdrew his fleet and army, and went back into his own country.

Year of ROME 585. B.C. 167. 284th consulship. Polyb. Leg. 92. Leg. 91.

Popillius and his colleagues having sent away Antiochus, and established a peace between the two Ptolemies, left Egypt, and returned to Rome. They were followed thither by ambassadors from Syria and Egypt. The Syrians, on the part of their king, assured the conscript fathers, "That he preferred a peace, that was agreeable to the senate, before any victory; that he had obeyed the orders of their ambassadors, as if they had been the commands of the gods; that he congratulated the Romans on their victory over Perses; and that, had they required it of him, he would have zealously assisted them in the war." The senate answered, "That Antiochus had done well in obeying the ambassadors, and that his conduct herein was very agreeable to the republic." Then the Egyptian ministers, and, after them Masgaba, the son of Masinissa, had audience of the fathers. Their speeches were such, as if they had vied one with another, which should flatter the Romans most.

Livy, b. 15. c. 12.

[s] It was this Antiochus who pillaged Jerusalem, filled the streets with dead bodies, and the temple with profanations; a memorable event which the prophet Daniel had foretold. Dan. 11. 31. 1 Maccab. c. 1. Joseph. Antiq. b. 12.

Year of ROME 585. B.C.167. 284th consul-ship.

The Egyptians said, "That the two kings and Cleopatra thought themselves more indebted to the senate and people of Rome, than to their parents, or even the immortal gods." And as for Masgaba, he truly, on the part of his father (having first reckoned all the horse, foot, elephants, and corn, he had sent into Macedon in four years past), "was overwhelmed with confusion on two accounts; the one, that the senate, to have these supplies, had employed a request, and not a command; the other, that they had sent money for the corn. (He added) Masinissa never forgets that he owes his kingdom and all its augmentations to you: he, indeed, by your favour, enjoys the revenues of it, but always considers you as the proprietors and lords of Numidia. This, at my departure, he instructed me to say. Having afterwards heard of your victory over Perses, he dispatched some horsemen after me, to bid me assure you that he was overjoyed at your success; and beg that you would permit him to come to Rome, if he should not be troublesome, and offer, in thanksgiving, a sacrifice to Jupiter in the Capitol." The substance of the senate's answer was, "That the Romans had done Masinissa the favours he mentioned; that he had deserved them; and that he was a very grateful and a very honest man. As to his journey (they said), it would be sufficient if he thanked God at home; his son might do it for him at Rome."

Year of ROME 586. B. C. 166. 285th consul-ship.

Q. Ælius Pætus and M. Junius Pennus were raised to the consulate. But the senate continued Æmilius in his command in Macedon, as proconsul; and Anicius and Octavius in their respective provinces as proprætors. They also appointed ten commissioners to regulate the affairs of Macedon, and five to settle those of Illyricum, in concert with the two generals.

Livy, b. 45. c. 16.

c. 26.

Anicius, before these commissioners arrived, marched with part of his rmy into Epirus. All the country immediately submitted to him, except four towns, Passaron,

Tecmon, Phylax, and Horreum; and not one of these stood a siege. Two men, Antinous and Theodotus, who, in concert with Cephalus, had brought about the defection of the Epirots, and who despaired of pardon, would have persuaded the inhabitants of Passaron to hold out against the Romans, and prefer death to slavery: but the counsel of a certain young citizen of rank, who advised them to open their gates, had more weight with the multitude. Antinous, and his friend, seeing themselves thus deserted, rushed out of the town, attacked a Roman guard, and there found the death they sought. Cephalus, who had engaged the people of Tecmon to shut their gates, being also slain, both these towns surrendered to the proprætor; and their example was soon followed by Phylax and Horreum. Year of ROME 586. B.C. 166. 165th consulship.

The reduction of Epirus being thus completed, Anicius distributed his troops into winter-quarters, and returned to Scodra in Illyricum. Here he found the five commissioners from Rome; with whom having consulted, he called an assembly of the principal men of the country, and, in conformity to a decree of the conscript fathers, declared, "That the senate and people of Rome granted liberty to the Illyrians: that the Roman garrisons should be withdrawn from all the towns, fortresses, and castles in the country; that those of the Illyrian towns, which, before or during the war with Gentius, had come over to the Romans, should be exempted from all taxes; the rest pay but a moiety of what they had used to pay to their kings." Illyricum was then divided into three parts, independent of each other.

During these transactions Æmilius was making a tour of pleasure, and visiting all the famous cities of Greece: he would not, any where, inquire into the dispositions of the inhabitants with regard to Perses, that he might give them no alarm. Soon after his return from this excursion, he proceeded to business; the ten commissioners, who were to assist him in settling the affairs of Macedon,

Year of ROME 586. B.C. 166. 585th consulship.

being arrived. He had ordered ten of the principal men out of each city of the kingdom, to attend him on a certain day at Amphipolis, bringing with them all the public registers, and the king's money. When this day came, he ascended the tribunal with the Roman commissioners, and, having caused silence to be made, pronounced, in Latin, to the assembly, what had been determined by the senate of Rome and the council present, in relation to Macedon. The prætor Octavius afterward explained to them the whole in Greek. It was to this effect: "All the Macedonians shall be free, and enjoy their cities, lands, and laws,[t] and create annual magistrates. They shall pay to the Roman republic half the tribute they formerly paid their kings. Macedon shall be divided into four cantons, of which Amphipolis, Pella, Thessalonica, and Pelagonia, shall be the capitals. In these chief cities shall be held the particular diets of each canton; and there the magistrates shall be elected, and the tribute money paid. No person shall be suffered to marry, or to purchase lands or houses, out of his own canton. No Macedonian shall be suffered to work in gold and silver mines: but they may in those of copper and iron."

Livy, b. 45. c. 29.

The article of choosing their own magistrates, and that of paying but half their former tribute, were some consolation to the Macedonians; but did not compensate them for separating the members of the national body, and thereby depriving each member of all assistance from the rest. Livy says, the Macedonians themselves were not aware how contemptible each part became by this division.

Livy, b. 45. c. 28.

Æmilius, in his return from his tour of pleasure, had been met by a crowd of Ætolians in mourning, who

[t] When Livy says laws, he must mean the by-laws of the several cities or communities; for we find that Æmillius made a body of laws for the government of the whole: if it be not rather true that, in promising them that they should retain their own laws, he acted, as in other parts of his conduct, without the least regard to truth or humanity.

came to make heavy complaints to him. Lyciscus and Tisippus, two of their countrymen, whom their credit with the Romans rendered all powerful in Ætolia, had, with a body of soldiers, lent them by Bæbius, surrounded the diet, and massacred 550 of the principal men of the nation, banished others, and given the estates, both of the murdered and the exiled, to their accusers.[u] The proconsul had deferred his answers to these complainants, and bid them meet him at Amphipolis. He now, in conjunction with the commissioners, examined into the affair. But the only inquiry was, Who had favoured Perses, and who the Romans; not who had done, or who had suffered wrong. The murderers were consequently acquitted of all injustice, and the banishment of the exiles confirmed. Only Bæbius was condemned for having employed Roman soldiers in the massacre.

Year of ROME 586. B. C. 166. 585th consulship. Livy, b. 45. c. 31.

Whatever might be said to palliate the cruelty of the Roman proceedings, in regard to those nations that had been conquered by them, certainly their behaviour towards the Greeks, that were not subjects to Rome, could deserve no better name than mere tyranny and shameless perjury. The Greeks, during the war, had been divided into three parties, which we may call by the names of the Romanists, and Perseites, and the patriots; which last had nothing at heart but the preservation of the laws and liberty of their country. The two former may properly be styled factions; because, as Livy tells us, they acted upon views only of private interest. Since the defeat of Perses, the Romanists had every where got possession of all offices and honours; and these men employed their credit with the Romans to ruin both the patriots and the Perseites. Coming in great numbers to Æmilius, they gave information against the open and secret enemies of Rome; by the latter, meaning the

Sir W. R.

[u] Lyciscus had been instrumental in disappointing Perses of his hopes, when, during the war, he made a journey into Ætolia, as has been mentioned, (p. 445.) and the men on whom this massacre was committed, were probably those who had invited Perses thither.

Year of ROME 586. B.C. 166. 585th consulship.

patriots. The proconsul, by his mandates, summoned, from Ætolia, Acarnania, Epirus, and Bœotia, all those whose names had been given in to him; and ordered them to follow him to Rome, there to be tried.

With regard to the Achæans, Æmilius and the other ten tyrants proceeded with more form. Callicrates,* that traitor to his country before mentioned, had given in a list of all those of his countrymen whom he had a mind to destroy; but it was not judged advisable to summon these by letter; because the Achæans, having more spirit than the other Greeks, might possibly not obey; and perhaps they might massacre Callicrates and his adherents. Besides, though the commissioners had, among the king of Macedon's papers, found letters from the leading men of the other states; yet they had found none from any Achæan. They deputed, therefore, two of their own body, C. Claudius and Cn. Domitius, to negotiate with the Achæan diet. One of these deputies, having first complained in the assembly, that some of the chief among them had, with money and other means, befriended Perses, modestly desired that all such men might be condemned to death; whom, after sentence given, he would name to them. "After sentence given! (cried out the whole assembly,) what justice is this? Name them first, and let them answer. If they cannot clear themselves, we shall quickly condemn them." Then said the Roman impudently, "All your prætors, as many as have led your armies, are guilty of this crime." "If this be true," answered Xeno (a man of temper, and confident in his innocence), "then have I also been a friend to Perses, for I have commanded the Achæan army. But if any one accuse me, I am ready to answer him, either here immediately, or before the senate at Rome." The Roman, laying hold of these words, replied, "You say right: that will be the best way. Do you, with all the rest, clear yourselves at Rome before the senate." Then, by an edict, he or-

* See p. 406.

Pausan in Achaic. c. 10.

dered above 1000 of the principal Achæans, there named, to be carried to Rome: a proceeding unprecedented, and more tyrannical than any thing done by Philip of Macedon, or his son Alexander the Great. Those princes, all-powerful as they were, never thought of summoning their enemies, among the Greeks, to come to Macedon to be tried; but left the judgment of such matters to the council of the Amphyctions.

Year of ROME 586. B. C. 166. 285th consulship.

This may be justly termed the captivity of Greece, so many of the worthiest men being torn from their native homes, for no other cause but their love to their country, and for being Grecians in Greece; though the Romans held it the greatest of crimes for a member of their republic not to be a Roman. At the coming of the accused to Rome, the senate, without hearing them, and under pretence that they had been already condemned by their own countrymen, dispersed them into several cities of Hetruria, there to be held in custody. Frequent embassies were sent from Achaia to remonstrate to the senate that these men had not been condemned by the Achæans; and to beg that the fathers would either take cognizance of the cause themselves, or send the captives to be tried at home, where strict justice should be done. The senate answered, "That they thought it not for the interest of Achaia that those men should return thither." Neither could any solicitation of the Achæans, who never ceased to importune the senate for the liberty of their countrymen, prevail, till after seventeen years, when scarce 300 of them were enlarged; of whom Polybius,[x] the historian, was one. All the rest had either died in confinement; or, for attempting to escape, had suffered death as malefactors.

Sir W. R.

Polybius, Polyb. Legat. 105. 137.

To return to Æmilius. After Claudius and Domitius had performed their commission in Achaia, the proconsul convened a second general assembly of the Ma-

Livy, b. 45. c. 32.

[x] Polybius had not been sent into Hetruria; Scipio and Fabius, the sons of Æmilius, having obtained leave for him to stay at Rome. Polyb. Excerp. b 31.

Year of ROME 586. B. C. 166. 285th consulship.

cedonians; and gave them a body of new laws for their better government: laws so wise, and so judiciously contrived, says Livy, that time and experience found nothing to correct in them. And the more effectually to secure the peace of the government, he ordered that all the chief nobles, all those who had been generals of armies, commanders of fleets and garrisons, or had been employed in embassies, or in any ministry under the king, should, on pain of death, with their children (those above fifteen years of age), leave Macedon, and go into Italy. These men, accustomed to luxury and expense, to make servile court to the king, and to insult their inferiors, would, he thought, be impatient of that equality, which laws and liberty introduced.

After this the proconsul celebrated games at Amphipolis, and made sumptuous feasts for his friends; that is to say, for those who had betrayed the liberty of their country to the Romans. One part of the show was burning, in a great heap, all such of the Macedonian weapons as he did not think worth carrying to Rome: another was exposing to view all the statues, paintings, and rich moveables, of which he had plundered the king's palaces; doubtless a more agreeable sight to the Macedonian spectators. All these magnificent spoils he gave in charge to Octavius, the admiral; and having exhorted the Macedonians to make a good use of the liberty granted them by the Romans, and preserve union among themselves; and having dispatched his son Fabius and Scipio Nasica to ravage the country of the Illyrians, who had assisted Perses (and to whom Anicius, by order of the senate, had granted pardon and liberty*), he set out for Epirus.

* See p. 479.

The senate being desirous to preserve entire the Macedonian treasure, and yet to gratify the soldiers of Æmilius, had sent orders that all the towns of Epirus, which had favoured Perses, should be given up to be plundered by the army. To use the words of a great

historian, "This was a barbarous and horrible cruelty; as also it was performed by Æmilius with mischievous subtility." Being come to Passaron, he, by letter, communicated to Anicius, who lay encamped not far off, what was going to be done, that he might not be alarmed at the execution. He then dispatched, into the several towns, certain centurions, who were to pretend commission from him to withdraw the garrisons, that the Epirots might be free like the Macedonians. The same officers had also instructions to send to him ten of the principal inhabitants of each town. To these, when they came, he gave strict command to see, that all the gold and silver, both in the temples and private houses, were, on a certain day, carried into the market-places of the respective towns; and (according to Appian) assured them, that, on their punctual obedience to this command, those towns should have a full pardon of all past faults. Under pretence of assisting these collectors in their business, and of furnishing a guard to take charge of the money, he sent with them some cohorts; contriving it so, that these cohorts should arrive at the respective towns at one and the same time. On the day appointed, and to the places appointed, the gold and silver was all brought, and delivered to the Roman officers; who then, pursuant to their instructions, gave the signal for the soldiers to pillage the houses, and seize the inhabitants. Seventy towns were sacked in one day, and 150,000 persons made slaves.[y] The walls of these places were afterward demolished.

Year of ROME 586. B.C. 166. 585th consulship. Sir W. R. Livy, b. 45. c. 34.

"It may be granted (says Sir W. R.), that some of the Epirots deserved punishment, as having favoured Perses. But since they, among the people that were thought guilty of this offence, yea, or but coldly affected to the Romans, had been already sent into Italy, there

[y] When the booty came to be divided, the share of each foot soldier amounted, according to Livy, to 6*l.* 9*s.* 2*d.* and of each horseman, to 12*l.* 18*s.* 4*d.* of our money. But, according to the text of Plutarch, as we have it, each man's share came to no more than about 7*s.* It would seem, that neither of these reckonings can be true, if we suppose the slaves to have been sold for the benefit of the soldiery.

Year of ROME 586. B.C. 166. 585th consulship.

to receive their due; and since this nation, in general, was not only at the present in good obedience, but had, even in this war, done good service to the Romans; I hold this act so wicked,[a] that I should not believe it, had any one writer delivered the contrary."

After this exploit, Æmilius marched to Oricum, where, being rejoined by Nasica and Fabius, he embarked with his whole army, and arrived safe in Italy. Anicius and Octavius, with the fleet, followed him a few days after. The senate decreed triumphs to all three. But the triumph of Æmilius was opposed, in the assembly of the people, by his own soldiers, who complained of his excessive severity in discipline, and of his injustice in withholding from them the spoils of Macedon. Servius Galba, a tribune of the second legion, and a personal enemy of the general, harangued for four hours against him. The question was not put till the second day; when, the *comitium* being thronged with soldiers, the first tribes that gave their suffrages refused the triumph. Hereupon the principal senators cried out, it was a shame to deny Æmilius an honour he had so well deserved; and that, at this rate, generals would become subject to the caprice and covetousness of their soldiers. M. Servilius, a man of consular dignity, and, if we may believe Plutarch, of such prowess that he had slain twenty-three enemies in single combat, prevailed with the tribunes of the commons to call back the tribes which had already voted, and make them give

[a] Polybius, who was an intimate friend of Scipio, the son of Æmilius, reports, that the proconsul, with regard to what has been above related of the Ætolians and Achæans, did not approve of the calumnies brought by Lyciscus and Callicrates against their respective countrymen. And Plutarch tells us, that in this treatment of the Epirots, Æmilius acted contrary to his natural temper, which was gentle and humane: but he does not say that Æmilius wept for the miseries of this wretched people, as he did (when the shabby ambassadors came to him) for the humiliation of a king, whom the same historian represents as the most cowardly, avaricious, perfidious, cruel, ignominious tyrant that ever disgraced a throne. Æmilius is reported to have been disinterested, insomuch, that notwithstanding the great opportunities he had of amassing wealth, he died but moderately rich: it may be so. Cicero says, a disregard of wealth was the virtue of those times: but whatever virtues Æmilius possessed, it is very manifest that the Roman senate never had an abler minister of execrable fraud and cruelty.

their suffrages anew. The same consular, with permission of the tribunes, made a long speech of expostulation to the people, and with such effect, that the tribes unanimously decreed a triumph to Æmilius. Year of ROME 586. B. C. 166. 585th consulship

The number and excellence of the statues and paintings, the costly vases, the rich arms, the great quantities of gold and silver exposed to view in this triumph, made it more pompous[b] than any that had preceded

[b] Mr. Kennet, from Plutarch, gives us the following description of Æmilius's triumph:

"The people erected scaffolds in the forum and circus, and all the other parts of the city, where they could best behold the pomp. The spectators were clad in white garments; all the temples were open, and full of garlands and perfumes; the ways cleared and cleansed by a great many officers and tipstaffs, that drove away such as thronged the passage, or straggled up and down. This triumph lasted three days: on the first, which was scarce long enough for the sight, were to be seen the statues, pictures, and images of an extraordinary bigness, which were taken from the enemy, drawn upon 250 chariots. On the second was carried, in a great many wains, the fairest and the richest armour of the Macedonians, both of brass and steel, all newly furbished and glittering; which, although piled up with the greatest art and order, yet seemed to be tumbled on heaps carelessly and by chance: helmets were thrown on shields, coats of mail upon greaves, Cretan targets, and Thracian bucklers, and quivers of arrows lay huddled among the horses' bits; and through these appeared the points of naked swords, intermixed with long spears. All these arms were tied together with such a just liberty, that they knocked against one another as they were drawn along, and made a harsh and terrible noise; so that the very spoils of the conquered could not be beheld without dread. After these waggons loaden with armour, there followed 3000 men, who carried the silver that was coined, in 750 vessels, each of which weighed three talents, and was carried by four men. Others brought silver bowls, and goblets, and cups, all disposed in such order as to make the best show, and all valuable, as well for their bigness, as the thickness of their engraved work. On the third day, early in the morning, first came the trumpeters, who did not sound as they were wont in a procession, or solemn entry, but such a charge as the Romans use when they encourage their soldiers to fight. Next followed young men girt about with girdles, curiously wrought, who led to the sacrifice 120 stalled oxen, with their horns gilded, and their heads adorned with ribands and garlands; and with these were boys that carried platters of silver and gold. After this was brought the gold coin, which was divided into vessels that weighed three talents, like to those that contained the silver; they were in number fourscore wanting three. These were followed by those that brought the consecrated bowl, which Æmilius caused to be made, that weighed ten talents, and was all beset with precious stones: then were exposed to view the cups of Antigonus and Selencus, and such as were made after the fashion invented by Thericles, and all the gold plate that was used at Perses's table. Next to these came Perses's chariot, in the which his armour was placed, and on that his diadem. And, after a little intermission, the king's children were led captives, and with them a train of nurses, masters, and governors, who all wept, and stretched forth their hands to the spectators, and taught the little infants to beg and entreat their compassion. There were two sons and a daughter, who, by reason of their tender age, were altogether insensible of the greatness of their misery; which insensibility of their condition rendered it much more deplorable; insomuch, that Perses himself was scarcely regarded as he went along, whilst pity had fixed the eyes of the Romans upon the infants, and many of them could not forbear tears: all beheld the sight with a mixture of sorrow and joy, until the children were past. After his children and their attendants, came Perses himself, clad all in black, and wearing slippers, after the fashion of his country: he looked like one altogether astonished, and deprived of reason, through the greatness of his misfortunes. Next followed a great company of his friends, whose

Year of ROME 586. B. C. 166. 585th consulship.

it.[c] What rendered it yet more glorious, was the person of so considerable a monarch, as the king of Macedon, led in chains before the chariot of the victor. Perses had earnestly begged of Æmilius to spare him this indignity; and had received for answer, "That what he asked was in his own power."

Cic. Verr.

It was the custom, that, when the triumphant conqueror turned his chariot up towards the Capitol, he commanded the captives to be led to prison, and there put to death; that so the glory of the victor, and the miseryof the vanquished, might be, in the same moment, at the utmost. But as Æmilius* had encouraged Perses to an almost certain hope of life, from the known clemency of the Romans to conquer kings and nations; this king was only thrown into the common gaol at Alba [in the country of the Marsi]. "He was afterward,[d] at the intercession of Æmilius, removed to a more commodious habitation; where, according to most authors, he starved himself, but, according to some, the soldiers who had him in custody destroyed him, by not suffering him to sleep." Thus writes Plutarch: Mithridates, in

See p 472.

Plut. et Diod. Sic ap. Phot.

Diod. Sic. in frag. Sallust. frag. l. 4.

countenances were disfigured with grief, and who testified to all that beheld them, by their tears, and their continual looking upon Perses, that it was his hard fortune they so much lamented, and that they were regardless of their own.—After these were carried 400 crowns, all made of gold, and sent from the cities, by their respective ambassadors, to Æmilius, as a reward due to his valour. Then he himself came seated on a chariot magnificently adorned (a man worthy to be beheld, even without these ensigns of power): he was clad in a garment of purple, interwoven with gold, and held out a laurel-branch in his right hand. All the army, in like manner, with boughs of laurel in their hands, and divided into bands and companies, followed the chariots of their commander, some singing odes (according to the usual custom) mingled with raillery; others songs of triumphs, and the praises of Æmilius's deeds, who was admired and accounted happy by all men, yet unenvied by every one that was good." Kennet. Antiq. p. 2. b. 4. c. 16.

[c] Authors are notagreed about the sum Æmilius brought into the treasury. Valerius Antias reckons this sum at (millies ducenties) 120,000,000 of little sesterces. Livy thinks, from the number of waggons employed to carry it, that it must have been much more. Velleius Paterc. values it at (bis millies centies) 210,000,000 of little sesterces; and Pliny at (bis millies trecenties) 230,000,000 of the same species. Cicero (de Offic. l. 2. c. 22.) tells us, that Æmilius brought so much money from Macedon, that the Roman people were no more taxed from that time. And Plutarch (in Æmil.) says, that they were not taxed till the consulship of Hirtius and Pansa, i. e. the year after Julius Cæsar was killed, and of Rome 710. But this immunity from taxes was no doubt chiefly owing to the great tribute paid by the provinces, and the immense sums brought into the treasury, at several times, by Roman generals.

968,750*l* Arbuth. 1,695,312*l* 10*s*. 1*b*. 1,856,770*l*. 16*s*. 8*d*.

[d] Livy speaks, as if Perses, by the senate's direction, was decently lodged and entertained, even at his first going to Alba. B. 45. c. 42.

a letter to Arsaces, king of Parthia, says, "That the Romans, after many battles between them and Perses with various success, entered into a treaty with him; and though, upon the altars of Samothrace, they pledged the Roman faith for the safety of his person; yet did these subtle deceivers, these inventors of the arts of perfidy, put an end to the life of that prince, by depriving him of the necessary refreshment of sleep." Year of ROME 586. B. C. 166. 585th consulship.

The king's daughter and one of his sons died soon; it is uncertain how: his other son earned his living by following the trade of a working toyman; but was afterward preferred to be a writing clerk in one of the offices at Rome. In such poverty ended the royal house of Macedon, about 160 years after the death of that monarch, to whose ambition this whole earth seemed too narrow.

Æmilius Paullus, in the height of his glory, had the mortification to lose two sons; the one five days before his triumph, the other three days after it: a loss which he bore wisely, telling the people (when, according to custom, he gave them an account of his services) that, in the course of human things, great prosperities, such as they had lately experienced, being usually followed by great adversity, he had prayed to the gods, that the calamities to be apprehended, might fall upon him, rather than on the public: that his triumph having been immediately preceded by the funeral of one of his sons, and closely followed by that of another (so that, of four sons, not one remained to perpetuate his house and name; his two elder having passed by adoption into other families), he hoped the gods, satisfied with his private misfortune, would spare the commonwealth, and continue to make it flourish in all prosperity. Livy, b. 45. c. 40 Plut. Life of Æmil.

The triumph of Æmilius was soon followed by those of Octavius, admiral of the fleet, and Anicius, the conqueror of Illyricum. In the latter appeared king Gentius with his wife and children, and many of the Illyrian

Year of ROME 586. B.C. 166. nobles; but Octavius had neither captives in his procession, nor spoils to adorn his show.

285th consulship. Among the prisoners taken in the Macedonian war, was a son of Cotys, king of the Ordrysians in Thrace. Cotys sent ambassadors to apologize for his having aided the enemies of Rome. He alleged, in excuse, that he had been forced to give hostages to Perses; and he offered a ransom for his son, and for those hostages now in the hands of the Romans. The fathers answered, "That they had not forgot the ancient friendship between the republic and the Thracian kings his ancestors; that his having given hostages was the accusation, and would never serve for a defence; since Perses could at no time be very formidable to the Thracians; least of all, when engaged in a war against the Romans; that though Cotys had preferred the friendship of the Macedonian king to that of Rome, yet they would less consider his demerit than what became their own dignity; that they would send back his son and the hostages; and that the gifts, bestowed by the Roman people, were always free; because they preferred the gratitude of the receivers to any compensation whatsoever."

Polybius, Leg. 96. The Romans having compassed all their views in that part of the world, it was much for their interest, that Cotys should cease to be their enemy, who might otherwise have disturbed their new settlement; and it cost them very little to make this parade of beneficence and magnanimity.

CHAP. XXII.

Attalus, ambassador at Rome from his brother Eumenes, is incited by some of the fathers to ask of the senate a part of his brother's kingdom, but is diverted from this project by one of his attendants, and thereby incurs the anger of the senate. Though the Rhodians had condemned to death all of their countrymen who had been convicted of having done or said any thing in favour of Perses, yet the senate of Rome refuse to give audience to their ambassadors; and the prætor makes a motion to the people, to have war declared against Rhodes. Peace, however, is granted her: but the senate take from her Lycia and Caria, Caunus and Stratonicea. Some years after, she is admitted into an alliance with the Romans, a favour which, till the overthrow of the kingdom of Macedon, she had neither asked nor coveted. Prusias servilely flatters the senate, who are the more gracious to him on that account. The fathers, to avoid receiving the compliments of Eumenes, who is on his way to pay them in person, pass a decree forbidding all kings to come to Rome.

Year of ROME 586. B. C. 166. 585th consulship. Livy, b. 45. c. 19. Polyb. Leg. 93.

OF the many ambassadors that came to Rome from kings and states, after the victory over Perses, Attalus and the Rhodian ministers engaged the attention and curiosity of the public more than all the rest. Attalus came from his brother Eumenes to congratulate the Romans, and to ask their assistance, or countenance at least, against the Gallo-Greeks, who molested him. The senators in general entertained the ambassador in a friendly manner; and some of the most considerable privately incited him to request of the senate a part of his brother's kingdom for himself, assuring him that it would be granted. Attalus, not disliking the motion, promised to do as he was advised. But Stratius, a physician (whom Eumenes, suspecting what might happen, had sent to watch Attalus's conduct), represented to him, That, by the unanimity between his brother and him, he already reigned in Pergamus, and had every thing of a king but the title; that Eumenes was infirm, could not live long, and had no heirs but him. [For the king of Pergamus had not yet owned that son who reigned after him.] By such arguments, Attalus, though with difficulty, was prevailed upon to bridle his mad ambition. In his speech, therefore, to the senate, he only congratulated the Romans on their victory over Perses; desired that they would, by their authority, restrain the Gallo-Greeks from making incursions into Pergamus;

Year of ROME 586. B. C. 166. 585th consulship.

and, in reward of his services in the late war, grant him Ænos and Maronea. These cities of Thrace had been formerly conquered by Philip, the father of Perses, and had since been disputed with him by Eumenes. The senate, imagining that Attalus designed to take another opportunity to ask a part of his brother's kingdom, not only granted him what he now asked, but, in their presents to him as ambassador, shewed singular magnificence. Attalus would not understand their meaning, but left Rome, satisfied with what he had already obtained. This so highly displeased the fathers, that while he was yet in Italy, they passed a decree, declaring Ænos and Maronea free cities. As to the Gallo-Greeks, the senate dispatched an embassy, to order them to keep within their own bounds; doubtless not caring that they should make a conquest of Pergamus.

Livy, b. 45. c. 10.

The Rhodians had lately sent two embassies to Rome; the one close after the other: the first occasioned by the rough answer before mentioned, that was given to Agesipolis; the second, by the haughty and tyrannical behaviour of Popillius and his colleagues at Rhodes. These Roman ambassadors, in their way to Antiochus Epiphanes, had landed at Loryma in Caria. Thither came to them the principal men of the Rhodians, earnestly entreating them "To visit Rhodes (which was but twenty miles distant), it greatly concerning the honour and safety of the city, that they, by informing themselves upon the spot, of the state of things, should be able to report the truth to the senate." The Romans were not without great difficulty prevailed upon to stop their voyage. And, when they came to Rhodes, it was necessary to use pressing instances before they would condescend to honour with their presence an assembly of the people. And this honour did not cease the terror of the Rhodians, by the manner in which Popillius delivered himself. His discourse was nothing but reproaches, uttered in the tone of an angry accuser, and with a stern

menacing countenance. But C. Decimius, another of the ambassadors, spoke with more moderation (says Livy), yet he mentioned all the faults of which he could possibly accuse the Rhodians; and these faults amounted to no more than that they had made decrees, flattering Perses, and sent embassies of which they had reason to be ashamed and repent: "Nevertheless he would by no means have these crimes imputed to the body of the people, but to some turbulent citizens, on whom alone the punishment ought to fall."—In short, he was so moderate as to desire, that only all those who had shewed themselves favourers of Perses, by attempting to bring about a peace, should be put to death. The multitude, glad to have the blame removed from themselves, applauded the discourse; and instantly passed a decree, condemning to death all who should be convicted of having done or said any thing for Perses, and against the Romans. Of those whom this decree affected, some had left the city before Popillius arrived; others killed themselves; the rest were executed.

Year of ROME 586. B.C. 166. 285th consulship.

Such absolute submission to the will of the Romans, one would naturally think, should have procured the Rhodian ambassadors a ready and favourable audience of the senate. Yet they were not only refused a hearing, but the consul, by order of the fathers, signified to them, that they should not be entertained as ambassadors from a state in friendship with Rome. More than this, Juventius Thalna, the prætor Peregrinus, moved the people to declare war against Rhodes. Hereupon the ambassadors went about in mourning habits, soliciting with tears the favour of the principal citizens. And now two of the tribunes took the part of this distressed people; and, having made the prætor come down from the rostra, suffered two of the Rhodian ambassadors, Philophron and Astymedes, to take his place, and, one after another, harangue the assembly. They received such an answer as freed them from the apprehension of a war.

Livy, b. 45. c. 20. Polyb. Leg 93.

Year of ROME 586. B.C. 166. 285th consulship. At length the senate also admitted them to audience. Astymedes humbly confessed before the fathers the folly of his republic, in the late steps she had taken with regard to the war between Rome and Macedon; yet he hoped that her former services would be remembered, and make her faults be overlooked: and, in conclusion declared, that if Rome should resolve upon a war against the Rhodians, they were determined not to defend themselves.

The ambassadors then prostrated themselves on the ground, holding out olive-branches to the conscript fathers. All those of the senators, who had commanded in Macedon as consuls, prætors, or lieutenants, declaimed with heat against the Rhodians. Cato spoke in their behalf. There remain only some fragments of his speech, preserved by A. Gellius. They are to this effect: "I am very apprehensive, conscript fathers, lest, intoxicated with our present great prosperity, we should be hurried into some resolutions that will, in the end, overthrow it. Let us not be too hasty; but take time to come to ourselves.——

Aul. Gel. b. 7. c. 3.

"I believe, indeed, that the Rhodians did wish that Perses might not be conquered by us; and I believe also, that many other states and nations wished the same. Some of them, perhaps, not out of ill-will to us, but fear for themselves; lest, if there should be no power remaining to check us, and keep us in awe, we should become their absolute lords and masters. Yet the Rhodians never openly assisted Perses. Do but consider with how much more precaution we act with regard to our private affairs. There is not one of us who does not set himself to oppose, with all his might, whatever he thinks is doing against his interest.—Yet the Rhodians, in the like case, were quiet and passive.——

"Their bitterest accusers have not charged them with any thing worse than an inclination to be our enemies. And is there any law that makes inclinations penal? Is

there any one of us that would care to be subject to such a law? For my part I would not. Who has not wished to have more land than the laws allow? Yet nobody is punished for this. Does any man think of rewarding another, for having had an inclination to perform a good action which he did not perform? And shall we think of punishing the Rhodians, because they are said to have had an inclination to do some ill which however they did not do?——

Year of ROME 586. B.C. 166. 285th consulship.

"But it is said the Rhodians are proud. Be it so. What is that to us? Are we angry because there is in the world a people prouder than we?"

Cato's discourse had probably some effect, and the weight of his character more; but it would seem (from Cæsar's speech in Sallust), that what chiefly moved the senate to drop entirely the design of attacking Rhodes, was the apprehension lest it should be thought that not revenge, but covetousness, the desire of plundering that wealthy city, was their motive to the war. They returned, however, a very harsh answer, "That they would not treat the Rhodians either as friends or as enemies." The fathers soon after declared Lycia and Caria free; provinces which they had given to the Rhodians for their services in the war against Antiochus the Great. And, not long after, they were ordered to evacuate the cities of Caunus and Stratonicea, which produced a yearly revenue of 120 talents: the first they had bought of Ptolemy's generals for 200 talents; the other had, for signal services, been given them by Antiochus and Seleucus. The Rhodians not only submitted to every thing, but decreed the Romans a present of a crown of gold of great value, which they sent to Rome by their admiral Theodotus. This minister had orders to solicit the senate, that Rhodes might be admitted into an alliance with the republic;[a] a favour which, in 140 years,

Polyb. Legat. 99. 104.

[a] The Rhodians appointed their admiral to negotiate this affair at Rome, he alone being legally qualified to act without a decree of the people; and such a decree they chose not to have, because it would make the ignominy the greater, in case the alliance were refused. Polyb. Legat. 93. Livy, b. 45. c. 25.

Year of ROME 586. B.C. 166. 285th consulship.

that she had been in friendship with the Romans, she had never before asked, or even coveted. For it had been the steady policy of the Rhodians, to keep themselves free from all such engagements as might hinder them from giving their assistance, whenever they pleased, to any king or state that wanted it. Rhodes, therefore, was much courted by all her neighbours, and drew advantage to herself both from their hopes and from their fears. A year or more passed before the senate condescended to grant the Rhodians that alliance which necessity now urged them to request.

Polyb. Legat. 93. See p. 473, 474.

But, of the worshippers of the Roman senate, there was none so devout as Prusias, king of Bithynia. He had long been in this devotion. Whenever any ambassadors came to him from the republic, he used to go out to meet them with his head shaved, and wearing a cap, habit, and sandals, like those which the slaves at Rome put on when they were emancipated. In this dress, saluting the ambassadors, "You see (said he) one of your freedmen, ready to obey all your commands, and to conform himself to all your customs." And now when he came to congratulate the Romans on the success of their arms, stooping down, with both hands on the ground, at the entrance of the senate-house, he kissed the threshold of the door, and began his address to the fathers in these words, "Hail, senators, ye gods, my saviours." The rest of the speech was suitable to the beginning, and such as, Polybius says, he should be ashamed to repeat; who adds, that the senate were the more gracious to the king for the meanness of his behaviour. They granted him every thing he asked: a renewal of the league between him and Rome: leave to discharge a vow he had made to sacrifice ten oxen to Jupiter in the Capitol, and one to Fortune at Prænestе, in thanksgiving for the Roman victory: and a certain territory which, as the king pretended, the Romans had conquered from Antiochus, and which, they not having

Polyb. ap. Livy, b. 45. c. 44. Polyb. Legat. 97.

since given it to any body, the Gallo-Greeks had seized. But this last grant was made conditionally, that, upon examination, they should find what the king had said to be true. The senate also promised to continue their care of his son, who had been educated at Rome. And when the Bithynian was to set out on his return home, they appointed Scipio to attend him, pay his charges on the road, and never leave him till he had seen him safe on board his ship at Brundusium, from whence twenty galleys were to convoy him to a fleet, of which the fathers had made him a present. Year of ROME 586. B. C. 166. 285th consulship.

About the time that Prusias left Italy, the senate received notice that king Eumenes was coming. As they had an immoveable hatred to the Pergamenian, and yet were unwilling to publish it, this advice embarrassed them. Should they give him an opportunity of speaking in defence of his conduct, they must return him an answer: to give him a favourable answer, would be not only contrary to their inclination, but to good policy; and openly to proclaim their hatred to him would derogate from their reputation of prudence and discernment, they having treated this unfaithful prince as one of their best friends and allies. To avoid both these inconveniences, they passed a decree, forbidding all kings to come to Rome. And when they heard that Eumenes was landed at Brundusium, they sent a quæstor to notify to him this decree, and inquire whether he had any thing to ask of the senate. If he had not, the quæstor was to desire him to leave Italy as soon as possible. The king said he had nothing to ask; and, without entering into further conversation with the Roman, returned to his ships, and sailed home. Polyb. Legat. 97.

CHAP. XXIII.

587. The consuls obtain some advantage in the war against the Gauls and Ligurians. On
588. complaints from Prusias and the Galatians against Eumenes, a Roman ambassador
589. is sent to Pergamus, who invites all the king's subjects to bring what accusations
590. they pleased against their sovereign. Antiochus Eupator, a child of nine years
591. old, succeeds his father Epiphanes in the throne of Syria. Demetrius (the son of Seleucus, the late king's elder brother), now a hostage at Rome, asks leave of the senate to return home and take possession of the kingdom of Syria. His request is refused. The fathers send Cn. Octavius to assume the administration of the government there; and order him to burn the Syrian ships and disable the elephants. While he is executing his commission, he is assassinated at Laodicea. Demetrius, after being a second time refused leave to return home, makes his
592. escape from Rome, arrives in Syria, and, being declared king, puts to death Eu-
593. pator, and his tutor Lysias. A treaty is concluded between the Romans and the
596. Jews, in the time of Judas Maccabæus. Demetrius having expelled Ariarathes from his kingdom of Cappadocia, and set up, in his room, Holophernes, a supposititious son of the late king of that country, Ariarathes flies to Rome for protection. The conscript fathers divide Cappadocia between him and his competitor.

Livy's history of Rome, from the time that king Prusias made his visit to the senate, is lost; a loss not richly supplied by Plutarch, Appian, the tribe of abridgers, and the collectors of fragments; nor consequently by the elegant and ingenious patchwork of Freinshemius. Of the year 587 (if this be not the date of the decree that stopped Eumenes's journey) the most important events recorded are these: That the consuls, C. Sulpicius Gallus and M. Claudius Marcellus obtained some advantage in the endless war against the Gauls and Ligurians;[b] and that a kite catched a weasel behind the statue of Jupiter in the Capitol, and dropped it among the conscript fathers, assembled in that temple: a dreadful omen, which it was thought necessary to avert by expiations.

Year of ROME 587. B.C. 165. — 586th consulship. Liv. Epit. b. 46. Jul. Obseq. c. 71.

In the succeeding consulship of T. Manlius Torquatus and Cn. Octavius Nepos, ambassadors came to Rome from Prusias, complaining of some irruptions which Eumenes had made into the kingdom of Bithynia; and accusing him of having entered into a league with Antiochus against the Romans. His neighbours, also, the

Year of ROME 588. B.C. 164. — 587th consulship. Liv. Epit. b. 46. Polyb. Leg. 104, 105.

[b] The Capitoline Marbles give the consuls a triumph. Cicero speaks with great contempt of the triumphs granted for victories in Liguria, calling them Castellani triumphi, triumphs for taking a castle. In Brut. c. 73.

Galatians, sent complaints of his encroachments. This people the senate supported underhand, without declaring openly against the Pergamenian. For though Tiberius Gracchus, deceived by the artful behaviour of the kings of Syria and Pergamus, to whom he had been appointed ambassador, made a favourable report of their dispositions; yet the senate continued to suspect them of some mischievous machinations. Eumenes dispatched his two brothers, Attalus and Athenæus, to apologize for every thing in his conduct which had given umbrage to the Romans. The fathers received those ambassadors graciously, and dismissed them with honours and presents. Nevertheless they sent new commissioners into Asia, C. Sulpicius and M. Sergius, to examine things to the bottom, and learn the real intentions of Eumenes and Antiochus.

Year of ROME 588. B.C. 164. 287th consulship.

Polyb. Leg. 106.

Sulpicius, being a vain man, would needs make a figure by insulting Eumenes; in whose dominions he no sooner arrived, than he ordered proclamations to be made in the principal towns, inviting all, who had any cause of complaint against the king, to repair to Sardis. There the ambassador erected his tribunal of inquisition; and, during ten days, gave full scope to the Pergamenians, to say whatever they thought fit against their sovereign. However, for any thing that appears to the contrary, all this bustle came to nothing.

Year of ROME 589.[c] B.C. 163. 288th consulship.

In the following year, when Tib. Sempronius Gracchus and M. Juventius Thalna were consuls, died Antiochus Epiphanes, king of Syria; and was succeeded in the throne by his son Antiochus Eupator, a minor, only nine years old, and under the guardianship of Lysias.

Year of ROME 590. B. C. 162. 289th consulship.

This Lysias had commanded the Syrian troops against the Jews, and having been defeated several times by Judas Maccabæus, had made peace with them, granting

Polyb. Excerp. l. 31. Liv. Epit. b. 46. 2 Maccab. c. xi.

[c] A. Manlius Torquatus and Q. Cassius Longinus, consuls.

Year of ROME 590. B.C. 162. 289th consulship.

them the free exercise of their religion and laws. Nevertheless, Judas, to secure the continuance of this peace, applied himself to Manlius and Memmius, two Roman deputies then going to Antioch, and received a favourable answer from them.

Polyb. Legat. 107.

When the news of Epiphanes's death came to Rome, Demetrius (the son of Seleucus, the late king's elder brother), who had been twelve years a hostage there, asked permission of the senate to return home; that he might take possession of the kingdom. The fathers refused his request; thinking it more for their interest to have a child upon the Syrian throne. They dispatched Cn. Octavius[d] and two others, to assume the administration of the government. And to these they gave instructions to burn all the decked ships, disable the elephants, and, in a word, weaken as much as possible the forces of the kingdom.

New consuls were chosen at Rome, P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica and C. Marcius Figulus. But these magistrates, upon the discovery of some defect in the ceremonies of their inauguration, abdicated; and P. Cornelius Lentulus and Cn. Domitius Ænobarbus took their place.

Year of ROME 591. B.C. 161. 290th consulship.

Polyb. Legat. 108.

Octavius, in his journey, passed through Cappadocia, where king Ariarathes offered him an army to escort him into Syria, and to keep the people of that country in awe while he performed his commission. But he, confiding in the majesty of the Roman name, disdained all other protection. At Laodicea he began to put the orders of the senate in execution; burning the ships and disabling the elephants. His pretence was the treaty made with Antiochus the Great, in which it had been stipulated, that the Syrians should not have above a certain number of ships of war, nor tame any elephants. This despotic manner of proceeding highly exasperated

App. in Syr. p. 117.

Cic. Phil. 9. c. 2. Polyb. Legat. 114.

[d] He had been consul some years before, and was the first of his family who obtained that dignity. Cic. Phil. 9. 4.

the people; and one Leptines, supposed to be hired by Lysias, assassinated Octavius in the Gymnasium. Lysias sent ambassadors to Rome, to assure the senate, that the fact had not been committed by the king's authority. The fathers returned no answer. Year of ROME 591. B. C. 161. 290th consulship.

These events encouraged Demetrius to think of addressing the senate once more for permission to go into Syria. He sent for his friend Polybius, then at Rome, to consult with him upon this matter. Polybius advised him "to avoid striking his foot twice against the same stone; to place his hope in himself; and to dare something worthy of a king;" hinting, "that the present state of things afforded him sufficient opportunities." The prince understood his friend's meaning, but said nothing. Opening himself afterward to an intimate acquaintance, named Apollonius (a simple man, who considered only the justice of the case, and the absurdity of retaining Demetrius as a pledge of his competitor's fidelity), he was by him counselled to make a second application to the senate. He did so, and met with a second refusal; the same reasons subsisting which had been the ground of the first. About this time came from Syria one Diodorus, who had formerly been employed in the education of the young prince. Demetrius, from the accounts which this man brought of the state of things in that country, concluded, that there wanted little more than his appearance there, to get him the possession of the throne. He resolved therefore to attempt an escape from Italy; the very thing which Polybius had hinted to him, and to which he was now instigated by Diodorus. Before the prince took any measures for the execution of his purpose, he asked the advice and assistance of Polybius; who, not caring to act in the affair himself, engaged his friend Menithyllus (ambassador at Rome from Ptolemy Philometor) to provide a ship and every thing necessary for the design. Demetrius having left the city, under the pretence of a hunting match,

Year of ROME 591. B.C. 161. 290th consulship.

embarked at Ostia in a Carthaginian vessel bound for Tyre. The senate had no information of his flight till four or five days after he had set sail, when it was too late to think of stopping him. But they deputed Tib. Gracchus and two more, to follow him into Syria, and watch his motions.

Year of ROME 592.e B.C. 160. 291st consulship.

Demetrius landed in Lycia, from whence he wrote a respectful letter to the conscript fathers, importing, that he had no design against his uncle's son, Antiochus Eupator, but against Lysias, and to revenge the death of Octavius. From Lycia he sailed to Tripolis in Syria, where he gave out that he was sent by the Roman senate to take possession of the kingdom. This occasioned a general desertion from Eupator, who, with his tutor Lysias, being seized by the soldiers, in order to be delivered up to Demetrius, he refused to see them, and commanded both to be put to death.

Zonar. b. 9. c. 25.

1 Mac. c. vii. Justin. b. 34. c. 3.

After this, the new king delivered the Babylonians from the tyranny of Timarchus and Heraclides. These brothers had been great favourites of Antiochus Epiphanes, who had made the first governor, and the other treasurer of that province. Demetrius put Timarchus to death, and drove Heraclides into banishment, for which actions the people of Babylon gave him the surname of Soter [*i. e.* Saviour], which he ever after retained.

App. in Syr. p. 118.

Notwithstanding all this success, being sensible that the favour of the Roman senate was necessary to his firm establishment on the throne, he made application to Tib. Gracchus, then in Cappadocia, by his means to get himself recognised king by the Romans. Gracchus promised him his good offices; and Demetrius, to smooth the way for his advocate, sent an embassy to Rome with

Polyb. Leg. 120.

e M. Valerius Messala and C. Fannius Strabo, consuls. The Fannian law, so called from Fannius the proposer of it, was passed this year; enacting, That no man's daily expenses for his own eating and drinking should exceed ten asses, *i. e.* sevenpence three farthings. The senate also passed a decree for banishing from Rome the philosophers and rhetoricians, as a mischievous, pestilent set of men.

a rich present of a crown of gold. At the same time he delivered up to the vengeance of the Roman people, not only Leptines, the murderer of Octavius, but a certain grammarian, named Isocrates, who, in an oration to the multitude, had justified and commended the act. Leptines had begged of Demetrius not to proceed to any extremities against the Laodiceans, on account of the assassination, but to send him to Rome, where (he said) he would convince the senate that what he had done was with the good pleasure of the gods. As this man went cheerfully and of his own accord, and, during the whole voyage, continued surprisingly gay, he was brought from Syria to Rome without fetters. At his arrival, he frankly owned the fact to every body that asked him about it, always adding, that he was sure the senate would do him no hurt. His confidence arose from the mean opinion he had of himself and his orator: sacrifices too insignificant, in his judgment, to be accepted by the Romans in satisfaction for the offence. But the grammarian (with whom Polybius is extremely angry, for his meddling with politics), fully apprized of his own importance, ran stark mad with fear. Leptines judged rightly: the senate would not for two such victims, preclude themselves from calling the Syrians to account, when it should be thought convenient. However, they did not reject the king's gold: in return, they sent him this answer; "that he might depend upon their favour, provided he took care to be as submissive to their orders as he had formerly been."

Year of ROME 592. B.C. 160. 291st consulship.

The year following (L. Anicius Gallus and M. Cornelius Cethegus, being consuls) was concluded a treaty between the Romans and the Jews in the time of Judas Maccabæus, who had sent an embassy to Rome to ask protection against Demetrius. Justin tells us,* that the Jews were the first of the oriental nations that received liberty by gift from the Romans; who, he adds, were very liberal of what was not their own: for the Jews,

Year of ROME 593. B.C. 159. 292d consulship. 1 Maccab. c. viii. * B. 36. c. 3.

Year of ROME 593. B. C. 159. 292d consul. ship. 1 Mac. c. viii.

according to him, had revolted from the Syrians. The senate wrote to Demetrius in these terms, as we find them in the First Book of the Maccabees: "Wherefore hast thou made thy yoke heavy upon our friends and confederates the Jews? If therefore they complain any more against thee, we will do them justice, and fight with thee by sea and by land."[f]

We have hardly any thing for the years of Rome 594[g] and 595,[h] but the names of the consuls.

Year of ROME 596. B. C. 156. 295th consul. ship. Justin. l. 35 c. 1. App. in Syr. p. 118. Polyb. Legat 106. Diod. Sicul ap. Phot.

In the year 596 (the consulship of Sex. Julius Cæsar and L. Aurelius Orestes) Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, came to Rome for protection. Demetrius, partly to revenge himself on this prince, for refusing to marry his sister, and partly to earn 100 talents, had driven him from his throne, and placed upon it Holophernes, a suppositious son of the late Cappadocian king. Ariarathes pleaded his own cause before the senate; and some ambassadors from Holophernes defended that of their master. These asserted that Holophernes was the elder brother of Ariarathes, by the same father and mother; though the mother, out of partiality to her younger son, had persuaded her husband into a belief, that the elder was neither his son nor hers. It seems, this mother (who was a daughter of Antiochus the Great), thinking herself barren, because she had been several years married without having children, had imposed upon the king her husband two sons, of whom this Holophernes was one. She afterward bore a son, the Ariarathes now in question, and then repented of the cheat she had put upon the king, and discovered it to him. The supposititious sons were sent away, that they might be no obstacle to the succession of Ariarathes to the throne.

[f] Æmilius Paullus died this year. Father Catrou observes, that this Roman seems to have wanted nothing but the knowledge of the true religion (the religion of the Jews) and the graces, by God, annexed to it, to render his virtues meritorious: that, in this respect, Judas Maccabæus, who died about the same time, had greatly the advantage of him. *Gratia efficax per se* would doubtless have made Æmilius a saint; but I question whether any grace, that required the simultaneous operation, would have been effectual.

[g] Cn. Cornelius Dolabella and M. Fulvius Nobilior, consuls.

[h] M. Æmilius Lepidus and C. Popilius Lænas, consuls.

The senate, having heard both parties, ordered Cappadocia to be shared between the two competitors; following, in this, one of the steady maxims of the Roman policy, which was, to divide the strength of the kingdoms. Year of ROME 596. B. C. 156. 295th consulship. App. in Syr. 118.

CHAP. XXIV.

Cato, on his return from an embassy into Africa, whither he had been sent to terminate some disputes between the Carthaginians and Masinissa, reports to the senate, that Carthage is in a very flourishing condition, and exhorts them to destroy it. Scipio Nasica opposes him. The consul Marcius Figulus begins a war with the Dalmatians, which is finished to the advantage of the Romans by his successor Scipio Nasica. Three eminent orators being sent by the Athenians on an embassy to Rome, and the Roman youth flocking to hear their discourses, Cato prevails with the senate to give the ambassadors a speedy answer, and dismiss them. Prusias having on the death of Eumenes invaded Pergamus, the senate of Rome oblige him to make good the damage he had done, and to pay a fine. 597. 598.

The Roman armies pass the Alps for the first time, and subdue the Oxybii and the Deciatæ. The long quarrels between the two Ptolemies of Egypt are terminated by the victories and the clemency of the elder. On occasion of some commotions in Spain, the consuls at Rome enter upon their office on the first of January. Alexander Balas, an impostor, pretending to be the son of Antiochus Epiphanes, sets himself up against Demetrius, king of Syria, and is countenanced by the Romans. Demetrius is slain in battle, and the impostor is recognised king. 599. 600. 601.

MASINISSA had laid claim to a country, which Appian calls Tisca, belonging to the Carthaginians; and these made their complaints at Rome of this new encroachment. The fathers, though always resolved to favour the Numidian in his quarrels with Carthage, yet, to preserve an appearance of justice, and probably to get exact information of the strength and condition of the city, dispatched Cato, with other deputies, into Africa, to take cognizance of the matter in dispute. On their arrival, Masinissa declared himself very willing to submit the contest to their arbitration: for he thought the Romans his sure friends; but the Carthaginians refused; alleging, that the treaty concluded with Scipio Africanus did not want amending; and that nothing was more requisite than that each party should strictly observe the articles of that convention. Cato, on his return to Rome, reported that Carthage was grown excessively rich and populous; and he warmly exhorted the senate to destroy App. in Pun. p. 37. Plut. Life of Cato.

Year of ROME 596. B.C. 155. 595th consulship.

a city and republic, which, while they subsisted, Rome could never be safe. Having brought from Africa some very large figs, he shewed them to the conscript fathers, in one of the lappets of his gown: "The country (said he) where this fine fruit grows, is but a three days' voyage from Rome." We are told, that from this time he never spoke in the senate, upon any subject, without concluding with these words, "I am also of opinion that Carthage should be destroyed." Scipio Nasica, a man of great weight and authority among the fathers, steadily and strenuously opposed him in this particular. He always ended his speeches (according to Plutarch) with these words, "I am also of opinion that Carthage should not be destroyed." It is probable, says the same historian, that Nasica seeing the people's pride and insolence grown, by their victories, to such a height, that they could hardly be restrained by the senate within any bounds; and knowing their power to be such, that they could force the republic into whatever measures their caprice dictated, he was for preserving Carthage as a curb to check their audaciousness: for he thought that the Carthaginians were too weak to subdue the Romans, but yet too strong to be despised by them. Cato, on the other hand, judged, that for a people debauched by prosperity, nothing was more to be feared than a rival state, always powerful, and now, from its misfortunes, grown wise and circumspect. He held it necessary to remove all dangers that could be apprehended from without, when the republic had, within, so many distempers threatening her destruction.[1]

Year of ROME 597. B.C. 155. 596th consulship.

In the consulship of C. Marcius Figulus and L. Cornelius Lentulus Lupus the republic commenced a war against the Dalmatians, who had made incursions into Illyricum, and rudely treated some Roman ambassadors

App. in Illyr. Polyb. Leg 125. Livy, Epit. b. 47.

[1] This year, upon examination, was found in the treasury 16,810 pondo of gold, which, reckoned in the decuple proportion, is 455,971*l.* 5*s.* Of silver 22,070 pondo, 59,864*l.* 17*s.* 6*d.* And of coined money sexagies bis et 85,400 H. S. 50,741*l.* 10*s.* 2½*d.* which in all comes to 566,577*l.* 12*s.* 8½*d.* Arbuthn. p. 191. ex Plin. l. 33. c. 3.

that had been sent to them the last year. This ill treatment, Polybius tells us, was only the pretence for the war: that the senate being desirous to give the soldiers some exercise, and having neglected, ever since the times of Demetrius Pharius, that part of Illyricum now invaded, it was from these motives they ordered the expedition against the Dalmatians. Marcius conducted the war with various success;[k] but the next year P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica finished it by subduing the invaders. His colleague in the consulship, C. Claudius Marcellus, gained over the Ligurians a victory, which procured him the honour of a triumph.

Year of ROME 597. B. C. 155. 296th consulship.

Year of ROME 598. B. C. 154. 297th consulship.

The Athenians, this year, sent an embassy to Rome, begging to be discharged from a fine of 500 talents, which the Sicyonians had condemned them to pay for having ravaged the lands of the Oropians. These had, in the first instance, made complaint to the Romans; and the senate had referred the consideration of the matter to the Sicyonians. Carneades, an academic philosopher, Diogenes, a stoic, and Critolaus, a paripatetic, all three famous for eloquence, each for a different kind, were the ambassadors from Athens. Cicero says of Carneades, that he never advanced any thing which he did not prove; nor ever opposed an argument which he did not overthrow. Multitudes of the Roman youth flocking about these Athenians to hear their discourses, this greatly disturbed the spirit of Cato, who, according to Plutarch, was an implacable enemy to philosophy, and used to call Socrates a babbler. Cato advised the senate to give the ambassadors an answer in all haste, that they might return to their schools, there to tutor, as they pleased, the children of the Greeks; leaving the

Plut. Life of Cato. Aul. Gell. b. 7. c. 14.

De Orat. l. 2. c. 38.

[k] According to Pighius, were passed, this year, the Ælian and Fusian laws, which Cicero calls the walls and bulwarks of peace and tranquillity. The first forbade acting any thing with the people, while the augurs and proper magistrates were observing the heavens, and taking the auspices. The Fusian law made it unlawful to act any thing with the people on the days called fasti; that is, on such days as the courts were open, and the prætors sat to hear causes. These two laws P. Clodius got repealed in his tribuneship in the year 695.

Year of ROME 598. B. C. 154. 297th consulship.

Roman children to attend to the laws and the magistrates, their only masters, before the arrival of these eloquent philosophers. The senate complied with his humour, and dismissed the ambassadors, having first reduced the fine, imposed on the Athenians, to 100 talents.

Pausan. in Achaic. c. 11. Polyb. Legat. 128.

Prusias, that religious worshipper of the conscript fathers, had, by this time, lost much of his devotional regard for those his gods. On the death of Eumenes, the Bithynian had, without leave, invaded the kingdom of

Ib. 129. Pergamus, of which Attalus was regent; his nephew and pupil, Attalus the son of Eumenes, being a minor.

Ib. 133. Rome sent ambassador after ambassador to Prusias, commanding him to cease his hostilities, but all in vain. She

Ib. 135. at length sent ten ambassadors together to him, but neither did these succeed. However, when he found that the senate would in earnest commence a war against him and engage all her allies in the east to do the same,

Ib. 136. this terrified him into an absolute submission. He was condemned to make good all the damages he had done; to give Attalus twenty ships of war; and to pay him 500 talents in twenty years.

Year of ROME 599. B. C. 153. 298th consulship. Polyb. Legat. 131.

In the consulship of Q. Opimius and L. Posthumius Albinus, the Roman armies for the first time passed the Alps. It was to make war against the Oxybii and the Deciatæ, people originally of Liguria, but at this time inhabiting the country along the sea-coast, in the neighbourhood of Nicæa* and Antipolis. They had attacked those towns, which belonging to the people of Massilia (Marseilles), these sent a complaint of it to the senate. An embassy from Rome to the invaders having no success, Opimius led an army against them, and subdued them. He gave the greater part of the conquered country to the Massilienses; to whom also he obliged the vanquished to send hostages.

* Nice and Antibes.

Polyb. Legat. 134.

While Opimius was carrying on this war, Ptolemy Physcon came to Rome. The senate had been often pestered with the quarrels of the two Ptolemies of Egypt.

After the accommodation between them, confirmed in the year 585, by Popillius the Roman ambassador, Physcon (a monster of wickedness) had driven his elder brother Philometor from the throne. The latter coming to Rome for protection, the Romans restored him to the possession of all the dominions of Egypt, except Cyrenaica, which they adjudged to Physcon; who, not content with this division, came afterward to Rome to request that the island of Cyprus might be added to his share. The senate thinking it for the interest of the republic to make a more equal, and less equitable division of the kingdom, granted the island to the petitioner, and appointed some commissioners to put him in possession of it. Philometor refused to acquiesce in this decree; and the people of Cyrene, hating Physcon for his cruelty, took arms against him, and defeated him in battle. His brother was thought to have incited the Cyrenians to this rebellion. An attempt being afterward made to assassinate Physcon, who received several wounds, he now came to Rome, and accused his brother of having hired the assassins. As Philometor[1] had the reputation of great virtue and benignity, it was very unlikely he should give the least countenance to such a fact; yet the senate were so prepossessed by what Physcon had said [or rather so much offended with Philometor for not having obeyed their decree in relation to Cyprus], that they would not listen to any thing his ambassadors had to offer in his defence; but ordered them instantly to leave Rome. The fathers sent five commissioners with Physcon to put him in possession of Cyprus; and wrote to their Greek and Asiatic allies, giving them leave to assist the Egyptian. Physcon having by this means got together an army, landed in Cyprus, where being attacked and vanquished by Philometor, he took refuge in Lapithus, a

Year of ROME 599. B.C. 153. 298th consulship. See p. 473. Liv. Epit. b. 46. Polybius Leg. 113. Ib. 115. Ib. 132.

[1] Polybius says of him that he was a prince of great clemency and good-nature; that he never put any of his nobles to death, nor so much as one citizen of Alexandria; and though his brother had often provoked him, he as often pardoned him, and even treated him with great generosity. Excerpt. de Virt. et Vit. in fin.

Year of ROME 599 B.C.153. 298th consul-ship.

city of that island. Thither the conqueror followed him, and there took him prisoner. Philometor used his victory with great moderation; so far from taking away his brother's life, he restored to him his dominions, added some other territories to them in lieu of Cyprus, and promised him his daughter in marriage. Thus ended the war between the two brothers; at least we hear no more of it. The Romans seem not to have interposed to hinder the accommodation.

Val. Max. l. 6. c. 5. §. 4.

About this time, the tribunes of the people at Rome did an act of justice which gained them great honour. L. Cotta, one of their college, refused to pay his debts; believing himself safe in an office which made his person inviolable. But the rest of the tribunes, thinking it shameful that the majesty of the people should be made a screen for private perfidy, threatened to take the cause of his creditors into their hands, if he did not pay them, or give security.

Ever since the year 531, it had been customary for the consuls to enter upon their office on the ides of March (the 15th); but this year the necessity of sending a consul without delay into Spain, which was in great commotion, made the Romans hold their assembly for the election some months before the usual time. Q. Fulvius Nobilior and T. Annius Luscus entered on the consulship the 1st of January; which from henceforward was always the day for the two chief magistrates to take possession of the fasces. The events of the war in Spain will be hereafter mentioned.

Year of ROME 600. B.C.152. 299th consul-ship.

Liv. Epit. b. 47. Polyb. Leg. 140.

In this year, Attalus, the son of Eumenes, the late king of Pergamus, came to Rome, to recommend himself to the favour of the senate, and was kindly received and treated with honour.

Also Demetrius Soter sent his son Demetrius to Rome; but the senate considering him only as a boy, and not making those preparations for his reception which he thought suitable to his dignity, he in disgust

returned home. It has been mentioned that Demetrius banished Heraclides, the treasurer of Babylon, for his oppression of the people. This exile, to be revenged, set up against the king a man of obscure birth, named Balas, pretending that he was the son of Antiochus Epiphanes. The kings of Egypt, Pergamus, and Cappadocia, out of hatred to Demetrius, supported the impostor; and Laodice, the daughter of Epiphanes, joined in the fraud. Heraclides was now at Rome; he had brought with him Balas (who took the name of Alexander), and also Laodice, to give a better colour to the matter. He presented them both to the conscript fathers, whose assistance he implored to place the young prince on the throne of Syria. The senate readily passed a decree in his favour.

Year of ROME 600. B. C. 152. 299th consulship. Liv. Epit. b. 52. App. in Syr. p. 131. Justin. b. 35. c. 1.

And in the following consulship of M. Claudius Marcellus and L. Valerius Flaccus, Alexander Balas appeared in Syria with a formidable army, consisting chiefly of the troops which the kings of Egypt, Pergamus, and Cappadocia had furnished him with, at the solicitation of the Romans. He was also joined by Jonathan Maccabæus, with the forces of Judea. In a pitched battle, the army of Demetrius being routed, he lost both his kingdom and his life.

Year of ROME 601. B. C. 151. 300th consulship. 1 Macc. c. 10. Joseph. Antiq. b. 13. c. 5.

CHAP. XXV.

The Carthaginians are reduced very low by the arms of Masinissa; Utica withdraws herself from their obedience; and Rome lays hold of the opportunity of their distresses to declare war against them. 602. 603.

THERE seems to have been a party at Carthage who were for yielding any thing to Masinissa, rather than come to an open rupture with him. Forty of these the people banished and bound themselves by oath never to recall them. The exiles repaired to Masinissa, who sent two

Year of ROME 602.* B. C. 150. 301st consulship. App. in Pun. p. 38.

* L. Licinius Lucullus and A. Posthumius Albinus, consuls.

Year of ROME 603.* B. C. 149. 302d consulship.

of his sons, Gulussa and Micipsa, to solicit their restoration. Against these ambassadors the Carthaginians shut their gates; and Gulussa in his return was attacked by surprise, and some of his followers slain.[n] Hereupon Masinissa came at the head of a great army, and besieged a town called Oroscopa, belonging to the Carthaginians, who sent against him, under Asdrubal, an army of 25,000 foot and 400 horse. Two of the king's generals, with 6000 horse, went over to Asdrubal, who, encouraged by this accession of strength, drew near to the enemy, and in several skirmishes had the advantage. The king pretending fear, retired before the Carthaginians, and by degrees drew them to a place where the ground favoured him. A general battle ensued. The Numidians had the advantage, but not a decisive victory. Scipio Æmilianus, who had been sent by the consul Lucullus from Spain, to ask some elephants of Masinissa, was, from the top of a hill, a spectator of the action. He often declared afterward, that of all the battles he had seen (and he had seen many), none had ever given him so exquisite a delight: for it was the only time when, without any danger to himself, he had beheld 100,000 men engaged in fight. He added, that such a sight had never been enjoyed by any one before him, except Jupiter and Neptune in the Trojan war.

App. in Pun. p. 40.

Appian relates, that Scipio, at the desire of the Carthaginians, took upon him the office of a mediator between them and Masinissa; that they offered to yield the territory in dispute; to pay 200 talents down, and 800 more in a certain time; but that Masinissa demanding farther, to have the deserters delivered up to him, this was refused. Scipio returned into Spain with his ele-

[n] The epitomizer of Livy (b. 49.) reckoning up the causes of the Romans declaring war against the Carthaginians, mentions their not admitting Gulussa into their town, but says nothing of their design to assassinate him.

* T. Quinctius Flamininus and M. Acilius Balbus, consuls.

This year the senate, at the motion of Scipio Nasica, ordered a theatre for plays (which, by the direction of the censors, was building at the public expense) to be demolished, and forbade the use of seats or benches at the public shows in Rome, and within a mile of it. Val. Max. b. 2. c. 4. §. 2.

phants, and Masinissa pursued the war. He invested the enemy in their camp upon a hill, where they could receive neither provisions nor reinforcements. At this juncture arrived ambassadors from Rome.—Their pretended business was to make peace between the contending parties; but they had private orders to encourage Masinissa to pursue the war, if they found he had the advantage; otherwise, to put an end to it. Accordingly, when they saw how matters went, they suffered the king to push his enemies to the utmost extremity. The Carthaginians held out till great numbers of them perished by famine and pestilence. Compelled by necessity, they at last yielded to all the conditions of peace imposed by the Numidian. They consented to give up the deserters, restore the exiles, notwithstanding their oath to the contrary, and pay 5000 talents in fifty years. Masinissa also made them pass under the yoke unarmed, and in their tunics only. It is said that Gulussa, to be revenged for the ill treatment he had formerly met with from the Carthaginians, detached after the multitude a body of Numidian horse, who fell upon them when they had neither arms to defend themselves, nor strength to fly: of the whole number very few escaped to Carthage.

Year of ROME 603. B.C. 149. 302d consulship.

And now the Romans, taking advantage of the prodigious loss the Carthaginians had sustained, prepared in all haste for war, yet without declaring their design. Carthage suspecting it, and that the pretence for it would be her having taken arms against Masinissa, the ally of Rome, proclaimed, by a public herald, Asdrubal, and the other authors of the war, guilty of treason against the state. They also sent ambassadors to Rome, who accused Masinissa and their own generals, laying upon them the whole blame of the hostilities. "Why then (said one of the senate to the ambassadors) were you not more early in your sentence against the authors of the war?"—To this, being at a loss for an answer, they

Year of ROME 603. B. C. 149. 302d consulship.

asked "Upon what terms Carthage, if judged faulty, might be forgiven?" The fathers replied, "She must satisfy the Romans." On the return of these ministers home, the Carthaginians sent a new embassy, to desire a clear and full declaration of the means by which the Romans might be satisfied. All the answer that could be obtained was, "That the Carthaginians knew the means very well:" an answer which, when reported, threw the city into great perplexity and consternation. Their terror was much increased by the sudden defection of Utica, the most considerable place in their dependance next to their capital. The people of Utica had sent deputies to make an absolute surrendry of themselves, their city, and their territory, to the people of Rome. This event furnishing the Romans with a convenient port for landing their forces, and a place of arms within eight miles of Carthage, they deferred no longer a declaration of war in form. The reasons assigned for it were, that Carthage, contrary to her covenants with Rome, had fitted out a fleet; had gone beyond her limits to attack the king of Numidia, a friend and ally of the Roman people; and lastly, had refused to let Gulussa, the son of Masinissa, enter within her gates, though conducted by Roman ambassadors.—But Velleius Paterculus tells us, that the cause of this war was mere jealousy of the power of Carthage, and not any offence by her committed.[p]

Liv. Lpit. b. 49.

[p] This year, according to Pighius (vol. 2. p. 442.) a law was enacted, that no man should be twice consul. Cato spoke in favour of the law. It was constantly observed till the days of Marius, except in the case of Scipio Æmilianus.

CHAP. XXVI.

THIRD PUNIC WAR.

FIRST AND SECOND YEARS OF THE WAR.

The Carthaginians, by their ambassadors, surrender themselves to the Roman senate at discretion, and are promised to be continued in possession of their liberty, laws, territories, and effects, on condition of their giving 300 hostages, and obeying the orders of the consuls, then in Sicily in their way to Africa. These consuls having in Sicily received the hostages, pass into Africa. They require of the Carthaginians to deliver up all their arms; and when this demand is complied with, signify to them, that they must abandon the city of Carthage, which Rome is determined to demolish. Upon notice of this cruel injunction, the inhabitants shut their gates, and resolve to sustain a siege. By indefatigable diligence they furnish themselves with new arms; and, when attacked, repulse the Romans. 604.

Musinissa dying, leaves his kingdom to be divided among his sons at the pleasure of Scipio Æmilianus. 605.

The Romans make no progress in the siege of Carthage.

One Andriscus appears in Macedon, calls himself the son of Perses, takes the name of Philip, and is acknowledged king by the Macedonians. He defeats the Roman prætor, Juvertius Thalna, but is himself defeated by Metellus, and forced to fly into Thrace, where one of the petty kings delivers him up to the enemy. A second impostor, pretending also to be a son of Perses, is driven by Metellus into Dardania. Philip the impostor.

THE conduct of the war in Africa was assigned to the new consuls, L. Marcius Censorinus and M. Manilius, who had strict orders not to put an end to it, but with the destruction of the city of Carthage.[p] Censorinus commanded the fleet, and Manilius the army. The fleet was considerable, and had on board 80,000 foot and about 4000 horse. Setting sail, they arrived at Lilybæum in Sicily, and there stopped. Carthage did not yet know what had been resolved at Rome; but, upon the obscure answer brought from thence by her last ambassadors, had sent others with full powers to do whatever they should judge necessary; and even, if circumstances required it, to declare, that the Carthaginians surrendered themselves, and all that was theirs, to the Romans at discretion. They had never, in their former wars, entertained a thought of humbling themselves to this degree of submission. And they were sensible that even this would now appear the less meritorious, as the people of Utica had prevented them, by a more early example of the like dedition.

Year of ROME 604. B.C. 148. 303d consulship. App. in Pun. p. 42. Polyb. Legat. 142.

[p] Florus, after telling us that Cato always voted for destroying Carthage, and Nasica for preserving it, gravely adds, "That the senate chose the middle way, which was, to remove the town out of its place." B. 2. c. 15.

Year of ROME 604. B.C. 148. 303d consulship.

The ambassadors finding, on their arrival at Rome, not only that war had been declared, but that the army was actually gone for Sicily, judged that they had no time to deliberate: being therefore admitted to audience, they made the absolute surrendry according to their instructions. It was answered, "That because they had taken the right resolution, the senate granted them their liberty, laws, territories, and all the effects belonging either to the public or to private persons, on condition that in thirty days they sent 300 hostages, of their noblest youth, to the consuls at Lilybæum; and farther performed what the consuls should command." The ambassadors felt an extreme joy at hearing what the senate granted; but this joy was instantly damped by the latter proviso. They returned to Carthage, and reported the answer and orders of the Roman senate. The silence of the conscript fathers, with respect to the towns belonging to the Carthaginians, gave them extreme disquiet. However, it was necessary to obey, nor had they any hope to mollify their enemies but by the readiness of this obedience. Without delay, therefore, they sent hostages to Lilybæum. Whereupon it was signified to the deputies, who had brought them, that the consuls would let Carthage know their farther pleasure when they came to Utica. Thither they sailed with all their forces.

Diod. Sic. ap. Fulv. Ursin.

Polyb. Legat. 142.

App. p. 44

It is easy to judge of the consternation of the Carthaginians, when, after the submissions they had made, they learnt the arrival of so terrible an army in their neighbourhood. They in all haste deputed some persons to expostulate with the consuls. "What have we done (said these ambassadors), to provoke you to this sudden invasion of our country with so mighty an army? Have we not faithfully paid you the tribute? Have we built any ships of war? Have we tamed any elephants? If you are displeased with the defensive war we have made against Masinissa, consider how patiently we en-

dured his encroachments, till he resolved to set no bounds to his avarice and cruelty. But supposing it a fact to have defended our territories against the Numidian, have we not since made an absolute surrendry of ourselves and our country to the Roman people? Have we not with readiness given the hostages you demanded? And does not the decree of your senate expressly promise, that on condition of our delivering those hostages, Carthage shall remain free, governed by her own laws, and retaining her present possessions?" Censorinus answered, "You have forgot one part of the senate's decree, that part which requires your obedience to the orders of the consuls. And we told you in Sicily, that we would signify to you these orders when we came to Utica.—You have done very well with regard to the hostages: but if you sincerely desire peace, what occasion have you for arms? Bring to us all your arms, as well those of private persons as those belonging to the public." The deputies begged he would consider what must become of Carthage, if he entirely disarmed her, especially at a time when Asdrubal, in revenge for having been condemned to death, had formed an army against her of 20,000 men. Censorinus replied, that the senate and people of Rome would provide against that danger. Year of ROME 604. B. C. 148. 303d consulship.

The Carthaginians, without fraud, delivered up all their arms, 200,000 suits of armour, an infinite number of spears and javelins, and 2000 catapultæ, engines for throwing darts and stones. The long train of carriages, which brought these to the Roman camp, was followed by the most venerable of the Carthaginian priests and senators, in the hope that this appearance would excite the compassion of the Romans. When these deputies were come before the tribunal of the consuls, Censorinus rose up, and with a formal gravity said, "I cannot but praise, Carthaginians, the ready obedience you have shewn in sending us the hostages we required; and in now giving up your arms. Many words are useless

Year of ROME 604. B.C. 148. 303d consulship.

when necessity urges. You will have fortitude to bear what the senate farther commands. Yield up your city to us. Transplant yourselves to whatever part of your territory you like best, provided it be ten miles from the sea. For we are determined to demolish Carthage."

At the sound of these words the Carthaginians all broke out into lamentable cries; they became even frantic with grief, rage, and despair; they threw themselves on the ground, beating the earth with their foreheads, and tearing their clothes and even their flesh: they invoked the gods, avengers of violated faith, and in the bitterest terms reproached and reviled the Romans. The consuls calmly waited till the storm of passion was over, knowing, says Appian, that mighty calamities at first create in those who are struck with them, a boldness which necessity in a short time subdues. And thus it happened to the Carthaginians: when they had, in the manner above described, discharged their first fury and indignation, they lay silent and motionless, as if they had been dead. After a while, coming to themselves, and to a more perfect feeling of their distress, they, instead of angry words, fell to wailings and humble entreaties. Hanno, surnamed Gilla, endeavoured, in a long speech, to move the compassion of the consuls, and, in conclusion earnestly begged that they would, at least, allow the Carthaginians time to make application to the senate of Rome. The consuls, inflexible, would neither recede from their sentence, nor consent to suspend the execution of it. "Be gone (said they to the supplicants), hitherto you are ambassadors." The lictors were making them withdraw, when they, foreseeing the tumult that would be raised at Carthage by the answer they were to carry thither, begged leave once more to speak. This granted, they said: "We are sensible of the necessity of obeying. You will not suffer us to send ambassadors to Rome: nor will our people suffer us to return to you; we shall be torn to pieces before

we have fully delivered our message. We beg, therefore, not for our own sakes, who are prepared for the worst that can happen, but for the sake of the people of Carthage, you would send your fleet thither; that our fellow-citizens, while they hear your commands from us, seeing you ready to execute them yourselves, may be induced, if possible, to submit to their calamity. Hard, indeed, is that necessity which thus forces us to call for your fleet against our country." Censorinus so far complied with this request as to go with twenty ships, and hover upon the coast near Carthage. Some of the deputies, in their journey towards the city, stole aside, and disappeared; the rest, in silence, held on their way. The people, in crowds upon the walls, were looking impatiently for their return: many ran out to meet them, and, perceiving an excessive sadness in their countenances, eagerly inquired the cause. Nobody gave any answer. Much difficulty had the deputies, when they came to the city, to get through the press that choked up the gate, and all the way to the senate-house. —Here being at length arrived, and having entered the assembly, one of them reported the consul's command. The universal cry, which it instantly raised within doors, was answered by a louder and more doleful noise from the multitude without, though they knew not yet the certainty of the evil they apprehended.—The speaker continuing his discourse to inform the senate of the arguments that had been employed to move compassion, the senators, through an earnest desire to know the event, became once more silent and attentive; and their stillness caused the like abroad. But when it was understood that the consuls, inexorably cruel, refused even to respite the execution of their sentence till an embassy could go to Rome, and return, the assembly again burst out in cries and lamentations; which the multitude hearing, and no longer doubting of the intolerable calamity, furiously broke into the senate-house, reviling

Year of ROME 604. B. C. 148. 303d consulship.

Year of ROME 604. B. C. 148. 303d consulship.

and insulting all those who had counselled their giving hostages, and delivering up their arms. The whole city became a scene of the most desperate grief, and the wildest rage; and the desolation and frantic wailings of the mothers, whose sons had been torn from them for hostages, and who ran raving about the streets, assaulting those whom they accused of robbing them of their children, did not a little heighten the circumstances of the distress, the uproar, and the confusion.

App in Pun. p. 54.

However, amidst this multitude of distracted people, there were some who, less transported with passion, had the presence of mind to shut and secure the gates of the city, and to gather upon the rampart great heaps of stones, which might serve instead of other weapons. The same day the senate decreed war; proclaimed liberty, by a public crier, to the slaves; enrolled them in the militia; sent to Asdrubal, whom they had condemned, and who, with an army of 20,000 men, was not far off, praying him to forget the injury they had been forced to do him, and employ his troops for the defence of his country, in this her extreme danger; and lastly, appointed another Asdrubal, a grandson of Masinissa (by one of his daughters), to command in Carthage. These measures taken, they ordered a new deputation to the consuls, to ask a truce of thirty days, that they might have time to send ambassadors to Rome; which being denied, it was resolved unanimously that they would preserve their city, or die defending it. Instantly the temples and other spacious buildings were converted into workhouses, where men and women, old and young, employed themselves by day and by night, in fabricating arms. That no time might be lost, whilst some eat or slept, others took their places, and the work never ceased. They every day made 140 bucklers, 300 swords, 500 javelins and lances, and 1000 darts for the catapultæ. Of these machines they formed as many as they could; and, because there was a scarcity of mate-

Strab. b. 17. p. 832.

Flor. b. 2. c. 15.

rials to make cords for them, the women cut off their hair to supply that want. Year of ROME 604. B. C. 148.

In the mean time the consuls, from a persuasion that an unarmed multitude would not think of sustaining a siege, or, if they did, that the town would easily be taken, made no haste to march thither. Finding, at length, how matters went, they advanced to the place. Their chief care was to secure provisions, which they could get only from Utica, Leptis, Adrumetum, and two other towns: Asdrubal held the rest of Africa, and plentifully supplied Carthage. Masinissa did not offer the consuls any assistance. He thought himself ill used by the Romans, in that, after he had brought Carthage so low, they came to take advantage of his victory, without so much as imparting to him their design. When, therefore, to try him, they sent to ask his aid, he answered, "He would give it when he saw it was wanted." Shortly after he sent an offer of his aid, but then the consuls answered, that "When they wanted it, they would ask it." 303d consulship. App. p. 55.

Carthage, which is said to have been twenty-three miles in circuit, and to have contained 700,000 souls, was situated within a large gulf or bay, on a peninsula forty-five miles in compass, and joined to the continent by an isthmus, or neck of land, three miles broad. The city seems to have been divided into three principal parts, Cothon (sometimes called the port), Megara, and Byrsa. The last, two miles in compass, was the citadel; it stood on the isthmus, and on that very spot of ground which Dido purchased of the Africans. On the south side, towards the continent, the city was defended by three walls, each thirty cubits high, and strengthened with towers rising two stories above the height of the walls. Along and between these walls were barracks[r] for 20,000 foot, 4000 horse, and 300 elephants. Whether the

[r] Appian makes these barracks, including not only the lodgings for the troops, but the stables and granaries for the horses and elephants, to have been in the walls, which seems improbable, as it must have ruined the strength of the fortification.

Year of ROME 604. B. C. 148. 303d consulship.

harbour of Carthage was on the east or the west of the peninsula, is uncertain. Appian places it on the west: but there are passages in Polybius from which one should naturally conclude that it was on the east; and so Cellarius believes. We find it divided into two ports, having both but one and the same entrance from the sea; and this entrance only seventy feet broad, so that it could be shut up with iron chains. The inner port was for the ships of war, and in the midst of it stood an island, natural or artificial, where was the arsenal; and where the admiral resided. The outer port belonged to the merchants.

It will not be attempted here to give a satisfactory account of the operations of the siege of Carthage, or to explain all that Appian says of it. A plan of the place is wanting; nor is it easy to form one from that author's description. What we find clear and distinct, is in substance to the following effect: that the consuls attempted to scale the walls in two places, believing they had need of nothing more than ladders to become masters of the town: that, to their astonishment, they found the besieged well armed and resolute; and that, being twice repulsed, they applied themselves to make the preparations for a regular siege, which would not soon be finished: that afterward, Censorinus made a breach in the wall, but notwithstanding all his efforts to enter the place, was driven back with considerable loss, and would have sustained a greater, if Scipio Æmilianus, then a legionary tribune, had not covered his retreat: that the Carthaginians made fireships of some old rotten barks, and, the wind blowing favourably, let them drive upon the Roman fleet, which was thereby almost totally consumed: that Censorinus, after this disaster, returned to Rome to preside at the elections. We read also that his colleague, Manilius, continued the war with no better success, and would have lost the greater part of his army, in a rash enterprise against Asdrubal

App. in Pun. p. 57. et seq.

in the field, had it not been for the bravery and conduct of Æmilianus, who, with 300 horse, sustained the charge of all Asdrubal's forces, and covered the legions, while they passed a river in their retreat before the enemy. By these and many other glorious actions, during this unfortunate campaign, Æmilianus established himself in so high a reputation of courage and ability, that Cato, a great niggard of praise, is said to have applied to him a verse of Homer in the Odyssey, where the poet, comparing Tiresias with the other ghosts in the Elysian Field, says, "He alone has understanding, the rest are but shadows."[s]

Year of ROME 604. B. C. 148. 303d consulship. Plut. Life of Cato. App. in Pun. p. 65.

At Rome were chosen to the consulship Sp. Posthumius Albinus Magnus and L. Calpurnius Piso Cæsonius. The conduct of the war in Africa fell to the latter. While Manilius, in quality of proconsul, continued to act there, Himilco Phamæas, general of Asdrubal's cavalry, came over to the Romans, out of pure esteem (as it is said) for Scipio Æmilianus.—The African brought with him 2200 horse, very opportunely, when the proconsul, having led his army into a dangerous situation, was greatly at a loss how to make a retreat.

Year of ROME 605. B. C. 147. 304th consulship.

A little before this died Masinissa; the best and most fortunate king (says Polybius) of his time: fortunate in a healthy and vigorous constitution, insomuch that no labours of war were too great for his strength; and though ninety years old at his death, he left a son but four years of age: fortunate in his friendship with the Romans, which procured him an extensive dominion: fortunate in the concord which reigned among his children, and prevented all intestine commotions and seditions. His great merit (not to speak of his courage and activity) was his introducing husbandry into Numidia,

App. in Pun. p. 63. Polyb. Excerp. ap. Vales. Diod. Sicul. ap. Phot. Liv. Epit. b. 50.

[s] Τῷ καὶ τεθνειῶτι νόον πόρε Περσεφόνεια
Οἴῳ πεπνύσθαι· τοὶ δὲ, σκιαὶ ἀίσσουσιν. Hom. Odyss. κ. 494.
To whom Persephone, entire and whole,
Gave to retain th' unseparated soul:
The rest are forms of empty ether made,
Impassive semblance, and a fleeting shade. Odyss. b. 10. l. 584.

Year of ROME 605. B.C. 147. 304th consulship.

and shewing his subjects that the soil which they thought barren, was capable of bringing forth all kinds of fruits, and in as great plenty as any other country. Thus useful and beneficent to his own people, he was a very bad neighbour, as the reader must have observed.

App. loc. cit. et Zonar. t. 2.

We are told that, on his death-bed, Masinissa sent for Scipio Æmilianus, to consult with him about disposing of his dominions; that he expired before Scipio arrived, but had commanded his sons to acquiesce in whatever division the Roman should make of the kingdom: that Scipio, having, pursuant to the intention of the deceased, provided handsomely for the bastard children, decreed that each of the three legitimate sons should bear the title of king: that Micipsa, being the eldest, and of a pacific temper, should reside in the palace of Cirtha, and be treasurer; that the second, Gulussa, a military man, should be generalissimo; and that Manastabal, the youngest, who had been accustomed to hear causes, should be lord chief justice: and thus each king had the two other kings for his ministers.[t]

App. in Punic. p. 66. et seq.

The consul Calpurnius, and Mancinus (who commanded a new fleet), came into Africa in the beginning of the spring, but performed nothing to their honour. They did not so much as attempt to take Carthage, or

[t] There is a passage in Sallust which seems to contradict the whole of this story. His words are these: "Imperii vitæque ejus (Masinissæ) finis idem fuit. Dein Micipsa filius regnum solus obtinuit, Manastabale et Gulussa fratribus morbo absumptis." Bell. Jugurth. c. 5. which words are, in the new translation of that historian, rendered thus: "When death put an end to his (Masinissa's) reign, his son Micipsa succeeded him; at that time his only son, as his other two, Manastabal and Gulussa, had been carried off by distempers." Perhaps the word 'Dein' should be rendered, 'Some time after,' and then the meaning of the passage will be this: "Some time after the death of Masinissa, Micipsa reigned alone; his brothers (and partners in the government) Manastabal and Gulussa, having been carried off by distempers."

That Micipsa was not the only son of Masinissa that survived him, we have the authority of Polybius, the epitome of Livy, Appian, and Zonaras. And it is very unlikely that Sallust would contradict a fact related by Polybius, in which the latter could not be deceived. Now Polybius, who was with Scipio at the siege of Carthage, speaks of Gulussa, king of the Numidians, as present at the same siege in the third year of the war. Gulussa's title of king, implies that Masinissa was dead; and Appian relates his death as happening two years before. Besides, Polybius expressly says, that Masinissa left five sons, of which one was but four years old; and that, three days after the king's death, Scipio arrived at Cirtha, where he settled all things with great prudence; for which good office on his part there would have been no occasion, if the kingdom had fallen entirely to one only son and heir.

even to molest Asdrubal, but applied themselves to reduce Clypea and Hippogreta, on the African coast, attacking them, both by sea and land, without success. After which they retired with the army and fleet to Utica, and spent the winter there. Year of ROME 603. B. C. 147. 304th consulship.

In the mean time, the Carthaginians gathering new courage from the spiritless behaviour of their enemies, began to look abroad for allies. They not only sent into Numidia, and to the free states of Mauritania, but even into Macedon. About a year before, one Andriscus, a man of the dregs of the people, had given himself out to be the son of Perses, assumed the name of Philip, and being assisted by the Thracians, had, partly by force of arms and partly by persuasion, engaged the Macedonians to recognise him for their king. Not content with this, he invaded Thessaly. Scipio Nasica, with the assistance of the Achæans and other Greek allies, drove him from that country: but the prætor Juventius Thalna, who succeeded Nasica, and brought an army with him from Italy, lost the greater part of his troops, and his own life, in a rash enterprise to force his way through some narrow passes into Macedon; after which Andriscus easily recovered that part of Thessaly he had been forced by Nasica to abandon. The Carthaginians thinking that this usurper was grown powerful enough to make a useful diversion, sent ambassadors to encourage him to a vigorous prosecution of the war, promising to supply him both with money and ships. The historians have not told us what answer Andriscus returned to the Carthaginians. Whatever it were, it proved of no service either to him or them. For Q. Cæcilius Metellus, who succeeded Thalna in the command of the Roman forces, defeated the usurper in two pitched battles; the first in Macedon, the second in Thrace, where one of the petty kings, to whom he fled for refuge, delivered him up to the Romans. The impostor was no sooner crushed, than another started up, who called him-

Livy. Epit. b. 49.

Zonar. t. 2. Liv. Epit. b. 50.

Zonar. Flor. b. 2. c. 14. Zonar. t. 2.

Year of ROME 605. B.C 147. 304th consulship.

self Alexander; and he likewise pretended to be a son of Perses. Metellus easily drove him out of the country into Dardania.

CHAP. XXVII.

THIRD AND FOURTH YEARS OF THE WAR.

606. Scipio Æmil. 607. Carthage taken and destroyed.

Scipio Æmilianus is sent consul into Africa. He restores discipline among the soldiers. The greater part of Africa submits to him, and Carthage is straitened for want of provisions. Asdrubal, who commands in the town, proposes conditions of peace, which are rejected. Carthage is taken, the people sold for slaves, and the town demolished. Scipio, in conjunction with ten commissioners from Rome, orders all the towns which had taken part with the enemy to be razed, and reduces the dominions of the African republic into the form of a prætorian province.

App. in Pun. p. 66. 68.

SCIPIO Æmilianus had, in the beginning of the second year of the war, been sent with Phameas, from Africa, by the proconsul Manilius. The senate conferred great honours and rewards on Phameas; and promised him yet greater at the end of the war, if he continued faithfully to assist the republic. As for Scipio,[u] every body,

Polyb. Excerp. l. 31. ap. Vales.

[u] P. Cornelius Scipio Æmilianus, the son of L. Æmilius Paullus, and adopted by the son of Scipio Africanus, made his first campaign, when about seventeen years of age, under his father, Æmilius, in Macedon. After the return of the army to Rome, the chief men of Achaia being ordered into custody in several towns of Italy, Æmilianus and his brother Fabius (so called because adopted into the Fabian family) obtained leave for Polybius, one of those Achæans, to stay at Rome; and, from that time, they lived in great familiarity and friendship with him. He tells us, that Scipio one day thus spoke to him, when they were alone,—"What is the reason, Polybius, that in conversation you always address your discourse to my brother, without taking any notice of me? I am afraid you have the same opinion of me that the citizens have, who think me slow and indolent, and averse from Roman manners, for that I do not apply myself to pleading causes. They say, that the family from which I am descended requires another sort of a representative than I am. And this gives me great uneasiness." Polybius was astonished at this discourse from so young a man (for he was in his eighteenth year), and begged of him by all the gods, not to entertain any such suspicions. "I am far (said he) from despising or neglecting you. If I address myself to Fabius, and seem to consider him chiefly in what I say, it is only because he is the elder, and because I am persuaded you have the same sentiments and dispositions with him. And as it is extremely commendable in you to think laziness a crime in a man descended from so illustrious a family, I gladly promise you all the assistance in my power to make you, both by your sentiments and actions, worthy of the glory of your ancestors. As to the studies in which your brother and you are now employed, you will never want masters for them, since such sort of men are daily flocking hither from Greece. But with regard to what you have most at heart, perhaps you will not find a more fit companion and assistant than myself." At these words Scipio taking Polybius by the hand, and pressing it affectionately, "I wish (said he) I might see the day when, neglecting all other things, you would come and live with me, and make me your principal care. Then should I think myself not unworthy of my family and my ancestors." Polybius, though pleased and affected with the dispositions of the young man, was yet full of anxiety, when he considered the dignity and splendour of that family.

both at Rome and in the army, extolled his virtue and abilities. Whatever had succeeded was ascribed to his bravery and skill, and all miscarriages and disasters were Scipio, after this, never quitted him, but preferring his conversation to that of all others, there grew up between them a friendship, like that between a father and a son.

Year of ROME 605. B. C. 147. 304th consulship.

It was evident, says Polybius, that, by the conquest of Macedon, the Romans were become masters of the world. Their unbounded power, therefore, and the Macedonian wealth, which had been brought to Rome, introduced among them licentiousness and all kinds of luxury. Amidst the general corruption of the Roman youth, who ran headlong into the debauched manners of the Greeks, Scipio's first care was the study of modesty and sobriety. He had been five years famous for these virtues, when the death of Æmilia* (the wife of the great Scipio) gave him an opportunity of acquiring the reputation of generosity. He being her heir, gave her jewels, chariot, gold and silver vases she used at sacrifices, her slaves, and all her equipage, to his own mother, Papiria, who, having been divorced by her husband Æmilius Paullus, lived in narrow circumstances. She had not of a long time been seen at the public assemblies; but, soon after this, appearing at a solemn sacrifice, in her chariot, and with a great train of slaves, her equipage drew the attention of the women; who, knowing it to be the same which had been Æmilia's, lifted up their hands to heaven, and prayed for all kinds of prosperity to Scipio, the charming man who had made his mother so fine; and being naturally great praters (says Polybius), and vehement in every thing they set about, they spread his reputation far and wide. The historian adds, that this generosity was the more admired at Rome, because, in that city, nobody ever gives away any thing that belongs to him.

Diod. Sic. Excerpt. ex. l. 26. ap. Vales.

*Sister to Æmilius Paullus.

The daughters of the great Scipio, being married to Scipio Nasica and Tiberius Gracchus, had each 40 talents† for her portion. Half this money their mother had paid in her lifetime, the other half she had left to be discharged by her heir. She had also, it would seem, bequeathed to each of her daughters a legacy of moveable goods to the value of five talents.‡ By the Roman law, this last money was due in ten months after the death of the testator; but the heir had three years' time allowed him for the payment of the portions; a third part every year. At the end of ten months, Gracchus and Nasica inquiring of Scipio's banker, whether he had any money for them, he answered, that he had orders to pay each of them twenty-five talents: at first they imagined the banker mistaken; but he, persisting that he had received such orders, they then supposed that Scipio had given them, through ignorance of the laws: and in this they had reason, says Polybius, for, at Rome, nobody pays a single talent till the very day it is due; much less 50 talents§ two years before the time; so careful is every one of his money, and so diligent to make advantage of it. Gracchus and Nasica, therefore, going to Scipio, and understanding from him, that he had actually given directions for the present payment of the whole sum, they, as from a friendly concern for his interest, informed him, that the laws allowed him the use of the money for a long time to come. Scipio answered, "I know that very well; and with strangers I act according to law, but with relations and friends, more friendly and generously." His brothers hearing this, returned silently home, astonished (though they were of the chief men in the city) at Scipio's greatness of soul, and condemning their own excessive attention to make money.

†7750*l.*

‡968*l.* 15*s.*

§9687*l.* 10*s.*

Two years after this Æmilius Paullus dying, left all his effects to his sons Fabius and Scipio. The latter, to make his brother as rich as himself, relinquished to him the whole of the inheritance, which amounted to above 60 talents.‖ And when his mother died, he gave all her effects to his sisters, though by law they had no title to any of them. Thus did Scipio, says Polybius, for the sum of 60 talents (for so much of his own money he gave away) acquire the character of generosity; not on account of the greatness of the sum, but of the time and manner of giving it.

‖11,625*l.*

Many apophthegms of Scipio Æmilianus are recorded, of which the much greater part seem not worth repeating. But Cicero (in Ver. 2. c. 11.) relates an excellent answer, which that general, when going to Africa, gave to an old acquaintance of his, who was out of humour for being refused by him a considerable post in the army: "Be not surprised (said Scipio) that you do not obtain this of me: I myself have been long soliciting a man, who, I think, would have a tender regard for my reputation, to accept the employment you want; and I cannot yet prevail with him."

Year of ROME 605. B. C. 147. imputed to the not having followed his advice. Cato, who died some months before this,* is reported to have prophesied on his death bed, that Scipio was the man who would terminate the war by the destruction of Carthage; and the people universally were full of this impression; so that at the election of magistrates for the year 606, though he only stood for the ædileship, and was not of the legal age for the higher offices, yet they promoted him to the consulship, notwithstanding the opposition of the fathers. The people also assigned him Africa, without having any regard to the remonstrances of his colleague, C. Livius Drusus, who strenuously pleaded the custom of having the provinces determiend by lot. The same decree gave Scipio power to raise as many volunteers as he pleased, and to demand succour in the name of the republic, of the kings and nations, her allies.

304th consulship.

*In the year 604. Plut. Life of Cato. Liv. Epit. b. 50.

Year of ROME 606. B. C. 146.

305th consulship.

App. in Pun. p. 68. et seq.

He arrived with his levies at Utica, and very opportunely, as it is said; for Mancinus with 3500 Romans must have unavoidably perished, if they had not been speedily succoured. These troops, while Calpurnius the consul was absent on some inland expedition, had, in an attempt upon the city, lodged themselves on a rock, whence they could not retire, and where they had no provisions. Scipio hastened to their relief, and brought them off.[x]

And now his first business was to restore discipline in the army, which had been much neglected by his predecessors. The Roman soldiers were become gangs of robbers. Without order or leave of their commanders, they made inroads upon the country, plundered the farms, and sold the booty at low prices, to merchants, who flocked to the camp to make cheap purchases. Quarrels often arose about sharing the spoil, and in the scuffles many were slain. The consul in a short time

[x] According to the epitome of Livy (b. 51.) Mancinus not only took, but kept a part of Carthage, which seems to have been Megara.

reformed these abuses, and then applied himself wholly to the siege.[y] Year of ROME 606. B. C. 146.

The place was now commanded by that Asdrubal, who, the preceding year, had been general in the field. He had got rid of the other Asdrubal by accusing him of treachery. They had killed him in the senate-house. 305th consulship.

Scipio having made himself master of the isthmus, he there pitched his camp, and built a wall before it, twelve feet high, and reaching quite across the isthmus from sea to sea; so that the besieged could get no provisions from the continent that way. As, nevertheless, they still received provisions from the continent, by means of the port, he, to cut off their supplies this way, caused a huge mole to be raised in the water, near the mouth of the port; a work of infinite labour. Hereupon the Carthaginians, animated by necessity, dug a new passage into the sea, and not only so, but built fifty galleys, with which they gave battle to the enemy's fleet. The engagement lasted the whole day, with what success is not very clear. Winter soon after put an end to the operations of the siege. Æmilianus, however, did not continue inactive. He destroyed an army, Appian tells us, of 84,000 men, commanded by one Diogenes: after which all Africa submitted to the Romans, and Carthage could get no more provisions.

In this distress, Asdrubal asked and obtained an inter- Polyb. Excerp. de Virt. et Vit.

[y] The Jesuits, in their Roman history, have exhibited a map of the place; but if they had given us a picture of the moon, as it appears through a telescope, it would have agreed as well with Appian's description of Carthage, and its port; or even with their own description of them. M. Rollin has not, I think, furnished more light than the Jesuits, to make us understand what passed at this siege. In his account we find Megara to be the city, properly so called, and the habitation of the inhabitants; yet when Scipio has broken down the gates of one part of Megara, and entered it; and when those of the Carthaginians, who had been appointed to defend that quarter, are retired into the citadel, imagining the whole city to be taken, he is no nearer being master of Megara than he was before. [And, indeed, by Appian's account, Scipio abandons the quarter he had broken into.] We find him presently after encamped without the city, and looking into it from a high wooden tower, which he has erected on the wall before his camp. The next year, Scipio attacks the port called Cothon, and the citadel at the same time; yet, according to M. Rollin, the citadel was encompassed by Megara, which, for any thing hitherto related, Scipio is not master of; and he does not get to the citadel till seven days after Cothon is taken. Our author has, I grant, the authority of Appian for most of these particulars; but what does the reader learn from such an account.

Year of ROME 606. B.C. 146. 305th consul-ship.

view with king Gulussa, who, since the death of his father Masinissa, had with some forces joined the Roman army. The Carthaginian desired the king to be surety to the consul for him, that he would submit to every thing, provided the miserable city might be spared. Gulussa answered, "You talk childishly, Asdrubal. Can you now expect, when almost reduced to extremity, what was refused you, even before your town was invested?" He replied, "The Carthaginian affairs are not desperate; we have allies abroad, and an army in the field (for he did not yet know of the defeat of that army); but, above all, I confide in the assistance of the immortal gods, who undoubtedly will not be regardless of the injuries we have suffered contrary to the faith of treaties, but will afford us various means of preserving ourselves. Admonish the Roman general, therefore, that in piety to the gods, and in consideration of the variableness of fortune, he would spare the city. And assure him, that if we cannot obtain this, we are, to a man, determined to die rather than surrender." Polybius adds, that upon Gulussa's report of what the Carthaginian had said, Scipio smiled,[a] both at the conditions demanded by Asdrubal, after treating his Roman prisoners with the greatest cruelty (for he is said to have put them to death by torture), and at his confidence in the gods, after such a violation of all laws, human and divine.

[a] It would seem that Polybius might well enough have omitted this circumstance of his hero's *smiling* at Asdrubal's *confidence* in the gods; when the hero himself was engaged in an enterprise as impious as ever general was charged with, and in breach of public faith and the law of nations. If the historian had put something plausible into the mouth of Scipio, in answer to that part of Asdrubal's discourse which accused the Romans of injustice and perfidy, it would have been more pertinent. And as to Asdrubal's cruelty (supposing the story to be true), Scipio, as we shall see hereafter, acted, in Spain, a cruelty towards 400 young men, his prisoners, which was much less excusable, the difference of circumstances considered.

Many things are said by Polybius and Appian, to make Asdrubal appear both odious and ridiculous: but their character of him does not very well suit with this part of his conduct, where he refuses no submissions, provided the city may be spared, and without that condition, will listen to no preliminaries, how advantageous soever to himself and his particular friends. And if he were really such a monster as he is represented, and had so cruelly butchered the Roman prisoners, it seems not much for the honour of Scipio, that, through fear of a successor, he should consent to spare that monster and his favourites, and them only, of all the miserable multitude of Carthaginians.

Nevertheless, as Gulussa represented to the general how much it concerned him to put an end to the war, lest a successor coming from Rome should rob him of that glory, Scipio commissioned the king to return to Asdrubal, with an offer of life and liberty to him, and any ten families of his friends whom he should name, together with ten talents and six slaves for himself. The Carthaginian having heard the message, replied, "The day will never come when the sun shall see Carthage destroyed and Asdrubal alive." Year of ROME 606. B. C. 146. 305th consulship.

Early the next spring (in the consulship of C. Cornelius Lentulus and L. Mummius) Scipio renewed his attacks upon Carthage, on the side of Cothon (or the port), and made himself master of the wall. Thence, with a large body of soldiers, he forced his way into the great square of the city, where he continued all the following night. From this square three streets led up to the citadel—the ascent pretty steep. As the tops of the houses, which lined these streets, were covered with men, who stood ready to shower darts and stones upon the Romans, it was necessary, before these advanced, to clear the houses of the enemy.[b] Having broken into those that were nearest, and got upon the roofs, a desperate fight began there, while another more bloody was carried on in the streets below. When the Roman soldiers, with dreadful slaughter, had, both above and below, driven the Carthaginians before them, quite to the citadel, they, by the general's orders, set fire to all the houses of the three streets. Then followed such a scene of misery as is not to be expressed. Wounded men, old women and children, who had hid themselves in holes and secret corners of the houses, came tumbling, from the upper stories, upon the pavement below, whither they threw themselves to avoid the flames. The air rang with their shrieks and lamentations. The bodies Year of ROME 607. B. C. 145. 306th consulship. App. p. 79.

[b] They might have cleared the houses of the enemy by setting fire to them, but perhaps they were willing to plunder them first.

Year of ROME 607. B. C. 145. 306th consul-ship.

of these miserable wretches, the living as well as the dead, were with hooks dragged away together, into ditches and pits, that they might not choke up the streets, by which the Romans were to pass and repass. In this bloody toil, and removing the rubbish of the houses so as to form an area, where the army might be drawn up, were spent six days and six nights; the soldiers, employed in the work, being relieved from time to time by fresh men. Scipio was the only person who took no sleep, nor hardly any refreshment. Fatigued at length with moving from place to place to give orders, he sat down on a high ground, whence he might see the tragedy to its conclusion. Once, it seems, the tears came into his eyes, and he repeated two lines of Homer,[c] where Hector foretells the destruction of Troy. Carthage, that once mighty city, in flames, brought to his mind, not only the fall of Troy, but of those widely-extended empires of the Assyrians, Medes, and Persians; and, from the instability of human things, he feared that Rome would one day undergo a fate like to that which now overwhelmed Carthage. It was thus that he explained himself to Polybius, who was then near him. On the seventh day, and before the rubbish was quite removed, some persons from the citadel in the garb of suppliants, appeared before the Roman general, offering, on the part of the besieged, to surrender themselves if he would but spare their lives. He granted their petition; only the Roman deserters were excepted. Hereupon there came forth 50,000 persons,[d] whom Scipio immediately sent away under a good guard, and afterward sold for slaves. The deserters, to the number of 900, despairing of mercy, retired with Asdrubal into the

Oros. b. 4 c. 23. App. p. 81.

[c] Ἔσσεται ἦμαρ, ὅτ' ἂν ποτ' ὀλώλῃ Ἴλιος ἰρὴ,
Καὶ Πρίαμος, καὶ λαὸς ἐυμμελίω Πριάμοιο.
Yet come it will, the day decreed by fates;
(How my heart trembles while my tongue relates!)
The day when thou, imperial Troy, must bend,
And see thy warriors fall, thy glories end. Iliad, b. 6. l. 570.

[d] According to Orosius (b. 4. c. 23.) there came out first, in a body, 25,000 miserably-looking women, and then 30,000 worse-looking men.

temple of Æsculapius; which standing on a rock, they might have defended it for a considerable time, if they had not been pressed by famine. The Carthaginian general came away privately, and bearing an olive branch, surrendered himself to the proconsul. Scipio, having made Asdrubal sit down at his feet, shewed him to the deserters, who, when they had reviled and cursed him [nobody knows why] set fire to the edifice;[e] choosing rather to perish that way, than to meet the vengeance of the conqueror. Year of ROME 607. B.C. 145. 306th consulship.

Carthage thus taken, Scipio gave the plunder to the soldiers, excepting the gold, the silver, and the offerings found in the temples. After this, and when he had distributed the rewards of valour among his men, he sent advice to the senate that he had finished the war in Africa, desiring farther instructions. The fathers named ten commissioners, who, in conjunction with Scipio, were to regulate every thing relating to the conquered country. They brought orders to him to demolish what yet remained of Carthage; and they decreed that nobody for the future should dwell there, adding dire imprecations on whoever should disobey; and especially on those who should rebuild Byrsa or Megara.[f] They farther decreed, that all the towns which had taken part with the enemy, should be razed, and their territories given to the allies of Rome: that Utica, in particular, should have all the lands as far as Carthage on the one

[e] While the fire was kindling, the wife of Asdrubal, having decked herself in the best manner she could, is said to have appeared with her two children on the top of the temple, whence calling out to Scipio, she begged him to punish her husband, according to his desert, that traitor to his god, his country, and his family. Then directing her speech to Asdrubal, "Thou wicked, perfidious wretch, the most cowardly of men: this fire will quickly consume me and my children: but thou, ruler of mighty Carthage, what a triumph shalt thou adorn! And what punishment wilt thou not suffer from him at whose feet thou art now sitting!" This said, she cut the throats of her children, threw them into the flames, and herself after them. App. in Pun. p. 81.

This story seems to carry an internal proof of its being a fable, the charge of treachery on Asdrubal being manifestly absurd; unless, by treachery, he meant his not killing himself when he could no longer make any defence.

[f] Notwithstanding these imprecations we shall find, that, about twenty-four years after, C. Gracchus undertook to raise a town upon the ruins of Carthage. The work indeed was not perfected. But the emperor Augustus, or, according to some, Julius Cæsar, built a city near the place where Carthage had stood.

Year of ROME 607. B. C. 145. 306th consulship.

side, and Hippo on the other: and that the whole country, which had been under the domination of the African republic, should be reduced to the form of a prætorian province. After Scipio had seen these regulations executed; and, to the honour of the gods, had celebrated games, wherein his soldiers were amused with seeing all the deserters, that had fallen into his hands, torn in pieces by wild beasts, he returned to Rome, had a splendid triumph, and took the surname of Africanus.

Liv. Ep l. 51.

"The elder Scipio (says Velleius Paterculus[s]) had opened a way to the power of the Romans, the younger opened a way to their luxury. For, when the fear of Carthage, that rival of Rome for empire, was totally removed, the Romans did not gradually depart from virtue, but ran precipitately into vice."

Polyb. Excerp. ap. Vales. See p. 527. 505, 506.

Polybius gives an earlier date to this precipitate hurrying of the Romans into luxury and debauchery; the conquest of Macedon. And Cato makes use of the corruption of Roman manners as his argument for the expediency of destroying Carthage. Nay, before the war against Antiochus the Great, Cato speaks of covetousness and luxury as reigning vices at Rome. But, whatever was the true date of the introduction of luxury among the Romans, certain it is, that, from the time of the elder Scipio's conquest, they ran precipitately into shameless dishonesty, perfidiousness, and cruelty: I speak of their senate, their generals, and their ambassadors.

ee p. 310.

If the reader recalls to mind their faithless treatment of king Philip, the Bœotians, and the Spartan Nabis; Flaminius's errand to Prusias; the knavery and hypocrisy of Marcius in his transactions with Perses; the perfidy and cruelty of Æmilius Paullus; the tyranny exercised over the Achæans and other Greeks, by the senate, after pretending to set Greece at liberty; their

s Potentiæ Romanorum prior Scipio viam aperuerat, luxuriæ posterior aperuit. Quippe remoto Carthaginis metu, sublataque imperii æmula, non gradu, sed præcipiti cursu a virtute descitum, ad vitia transcursum. Vell. Patero. b. 2. c. 1.

cruel usage of the Rhodians, for only desiring to mediate a peace between Rome and Macedon; their anger against Attalus, because he would not ask of them a part of his brother's dominions; the series of their injustices to the African republic, on occasion of her disputes with Masinissa; and, lastly, their fraudful methods the more easily to effect that iniquitous and inhuman resolution of utterly destroying Carthage: if the reader, I say, recalls to mind these facts, he will think, that what (Livy tells us) was the sentiment of the oldest senators concerning the artifices of Marcius,[h] would have been equally just with regard to the public proceedings in general;[i] and that the whole conduct of the Romans, from their victory at Zama to the end of the third Punic war, there was scarce any thing worthy of ancient Rome.

Year of ROME 607. B. C. 306 — 306th consulship.

[h] Veteres, et moris antiqui memores [senatores], negabant "se in ea legatione [Marcii] Romanas agnoscere artes." Liv. l. 42. c. 47.

[i] The reader will presently see, that the Romans had, for some time past, behaved themselves as infamously in Spain, as in Greece and Africa.

BOOK VI.

FROM THE END OF THE THIRD PUNIC WAR IN THE YEAR OF ROME 607, WHEN CARTHAGE WAS DESTROYED, AND THE ROMAN POWER BECAME IRRESISTIBLE, TO THE DEATH OF THE YOUNGER GRACCHUS, IN 632, THE TRUE DATE OF THE DESTRUCTION OF ROMAN LIBERTY.

CHAP. I.

The imprudent behaviour of the Achæans draws upon them a war with Rome. They are defeated in battle by Metellus, and afterward by Mummius, who demolishes Corinth, Chalcis and Thebes. Greece is reduced into the form of a Roman province.

Year of ROME 607. B. C. 145. 606th consulship.

THE Romans, in the pursuits of their boundless ambition made no distinction between ancient friends and ancient enemies, states from which they had received the most important services, and those by which they had suffered the most terrible losses and calamities. In that very year when they totally destroyed the city and republic of Carthage, they, with the like deliberate cruelty, subverted the commonwealth of Achaia, and delivered up Corinth, its capital, a prey to the flames.

Pausan. Achaic. c. 12. etseq.

What gave occasion to this final overthrow of the liberties of Greece, was a new quarrel between the Lacedemonians and the rest of the Achæan confederacy, about rights and privileges. Both parties made application to the senate of Rome, who, having heard the pretensions of both, commissioned Aurelius Orestes, with some other senators, to go into Peloponnesus, and there terminate the dispute by a peremptory sentence. The Achæans, nevertheless, impatient of all delay in humbling their adversaries, had immediate recourse to arms; and, regardless of the admonitions of Metellus, proconsul in Macedon, who pressed them earnestly to forbear

war, and to wait the coming of the Roman commissioners, began hostilities against the Lacedemonians, and vanquished them in battle. Damocritus was at that time prætor of Achaia and general of the forces. His successor, Diæus, paying more deference to the repeated remonstrances of the proconsul, granted the Lacedemonians a truce, and during this truce the commissioners from the senate arrived at Corinth. Having there convened the diet of Achaia, they declared, "That it was the will of the senate and people of Rome, that Lacedemon, Corinth, Argos, Heracleum, near Mount Oeta, and Orchomenus in Arcadia, not having been anciently of the Achæan body, should now be dismembered from it, and become independent." Polybius says,[a] that the Romans did not intend actually to dismember the Achæan state; that their design was only to alarm the Achæans, and curb the high spirit that then appeared among them. Be that as it will, the multitude were so provoked, that they not only assaulted all the Lacedemonians they met with in the streets, but tore out of the houses of the ambassadors those who had taken refuge there. Orestes and his colleagues, at their return to Rome, reported, in the strongest terms, the insult they had suffered. Nevertheless, the fathers thought it advisable to try another embassy before they came to extremities with the Achæans. Sextus Julius, a man of prudence and temper, was ordered, with two more, into Peloponnesus. They repaired to Ægium, where the diet of Achaia assembled. Julius spoke with great moderation, and palliated the insult upon the Roman ambassadors more than the Achæans themselves would

Year of ROME 607 P. C. 145. 3d consulship.

Polyb. Leg. 145.

Ib. 141.

[a] May it not be reasonably questioned, whether what Polybius writes of these times deserves an equal credit with the other parts of his history. He was an intimate friend and companion of Scipio Æmilianus, and caressed, honoured, distinguished from all his countrymen, by Mummius, the destroyer of Corinth, and by the ten commissioners, who, with that general, were appointed to settle Achaia in the form of a Roman province. With this historian, therefore, Mummius was a person of great humanity, notwithstanding his proceedings at Corinth: and so Æmilius Paullus, and his son Scipio, were both gentle and tender-hearted, in spite of all the proofs they give, by their actions, of a contrary temper.

Year of ROME 607. B. C. 145. 306th consulship.

have done; that they might see it was easy to satisfy the senate, if, for the future, nothing injurious were offered to the Romans or the Lacedemonians. The sober part of the assembly heard Julius's discourse with pleasure; but the multitude being under the influence of Diæus and Critolaus, the latter of whom was now prætor, imagined that this courtesy and condescension of the ambassadors proceeded from their fears; the Roman arms not having prospered of late in Africa nor in Spain. However, the Achæans answered, That they would send deputies to the senate to apologize for what had happened to the Roman commissioners; and proposed that a congress should be held at Tegea, where the disputes between them and the Lacedemonians might be accommodated in an amicable manner. To that town the Romans repaired, accompanied by deputies from Lacedemon. But, on the part of the Achæans, only Critolaus came. He had contrived that the rest of those who had been summoned should not appear; and now in the conference, he pretended that he could conclude nothing without the consent of his nation, but promised to report what passed to the next general diet. This was not to be held till six months after. Julius seeing through the artifice of the prætor, and highly offended with his arrogance and disingenuous conduct, dismissed the Lacedemonians, and returned to Rome.

After his departure, Critolaus, during the whole winter, went about from city to city, convening the people, under colour of imparting to them what had passed in the conference at Tegea, but, in reality, to excite in them a hatred to the Romans. To conciliate to himself the affections of the populace, he engaged the magistrates to suspend all prosecutions for debt, till the war with the Lacedemonians should be terminated. By this means the unthinking multitude were drawn away to be entirely at his devotion.

Metellus was still in Macedon, at the head of the

army, with which he had vanquished the two impostors, Andriscus and Alexander. Receiving advice of the commotions in Peloponnesus, he dispatched thither four Romans, men of distinction, to endeavour a pacification. They arrived at Corinth when the diet was actually assembled there. After the example of Julius, they spoke with temper and moderation, earnestly exhorting the Achæans not to suffer their quarrels with the Lacedemonians to alienate their minds from the Romans. The Achæans (says Polybius) were at this time out of their senses, and especially the Corinthians. The latter treated the Roman deputies with derision; and with clamour and tumult drove them out of the assembly. Critolaus took advantage of the present disposition of the multitude to declaim against those of the magistrates who did not enter into his views; and he used great freedoms in speaking of the Romans; "whom he was content to have for allies, but would never own for lords of Achaia. If you are men (said he to the people), you will never want friends and allies; if you are but half men, you will never want masters." And he insinuated to them, "that his present measures had not been undertaken rashly, but in concert with kings and republics." By such discourses he engaged the assembly to decree a renewal of the war against the Lacedemonians: a war (says Polybius) indirectly declared against Rome.

Year of ROME 607. B. C. 145. 306th consulship.

If Critolaus and the Achæans were mad, they found other states as mad as themselves. The Thebans, in resentment for some fines imposed upon them by Metellus and the Chalcidians, from what passion is not known, lost their reason so far as to imagine that they, in conjunction with the Achæans, should be able to withstand the Roman power.

Pausan. in Achaic. c. 14.

Liv. Epit. b. 52.

Metellus, hearing that L. Mummius, the consul, was coming from Italy with an army against the Achæans, and being ambitious of quieting them himself, sent a new deputation to them, with a promise that the Roman

Pausan. in Achaic. c. 15.

Year of ROME 607. B. C. 145. —— 306th consulship.

people should pardon their past faults, if they would consent to the dismembering from their body, Lacedemon and the other cities before mentioned. To add weight to his message, he advanced with his forces by the way of Thessaly. The Achæans not listening to his overture, he continued his march, and came up with their army near Scarphea in Locris, where he routed it with great slaughter, and made 1000 prisoners. What became of Critolaus is uncertain; some say he poisoned himself, others that he was drowned in a marsh. Diæus took the command enlisted the slaves (whom he set free), and drained Achaia and Arcadia of their men to recruit his army. Metellus marched to Thebes in Bœotia, and found it almost deserted. He forbade his soldiers to rifle the temples or the houses, or to do violence to any of the inhabitants, whom they should find either in the city or the fields. Only Pithyas, the chief magistrate and author of the defection, being taken, was put to death. From Thebes, Metellus proceeded to Corinth, where Diæus had shut himself up. The Roman, still earnestly desirous to finish the war before Mummius could arrive, employed three of the principal men of the Achæan state, to persuade their countrymen to an acceptance of the peace offered them. The inhabitants of Corinth would have complied; but Diæus and his faction were the masters; and these cast the deputies into prison; yet for the bribe of a talent, they were soon after released by Diæus himself.

B. 2 c. 16. Pausan. in Achai c. 16.

When Metellus had fought (says Florus), Mummius came to the victory. On his arrival at the isthmus he sent Metellus and his army back into Macedon. The besieged soon after made a sally upon an advanced guard of the consul's troops, killed many of them, and pursued the rest to their camp. Diæus, flushed with this success, came out of the town, and offered the consul battle. It was fought just at the entrance of the isthmus. The Achæan horse were broken at the first onset and ran

away; their foot, though much inferior in number to the enemy, behaved themselves resolutely, till being attacked in flank by a body of chosen troops, they were thrown into confusion, and could no longer make resistance. Had Diæus retired into Corinth, a place of great strength, he might probably have obtained some tolerable conditions from Mummius, who would be in haste to finish the war: but the Achæan, instead of turning his thoughts to the preservation of the town, or its inhabitants, fled straight to Megalopolis, his native city, where he set fire to his house, killed his wife (that she might not fall into the enemy's hands), and put an end to his own life by poison. Year of ROME 607. B. C. 145. 306th consulship.

The consul, when the next day he advanced to Corinth, found the gates open. All who had fled thither from the battle, and most of the citizens, had quitted the place in the night. Of those who had stayed there, he put the men to the sword, and sold the women and children; and having plundered the city of its statues, paintings, and most valuable effects, he set fire to it,[b] and reduced the whole to ashes. The walls were afterward demolished, and the lands of the Corinthians given to the Sicyonians: such was the decree of the senate. The pretence for this severity was, the insult offered to the Roman ambassadors: the true reasons, according to Cicero, the strength and situation of the place, which might one day encourage the Achæans to rebel. Mummius afterward got into his power those of the Corinthians who had fled out of the city, and sold them all for slaves. Liv. Epit. l. 52. De Offic. l. 1. Liv. Epit l. 52. Pausan. loc cit.

Thebes (which Metellus had spared) and Chalcis, were both razed to the ground by the consul, who also disarmed the inhabitants and demolished the walls of the other towns that had taken part with the Achæans in this war. All this he performed before the arrival of ten

[b] Florus and others pretend that the famous Corinthian brass was formed at this conflagration, by the mixture of gold, silver, and copper, which being melted, ran together into one mass.

Year of ROME 607. B.C. 145. 306th consulship.

commissioners, whom the senate had appointed to settle, in concert with him, the affairs of Achaia. These commissioners abolished, in all the cities of Greece, the popular government, and placed over them magistrates chosen from among the richest of the citizens. They likewise suppressed all national assemblies; but these were restored not many years after. Greece became now a Roman province, under the name of the province of Achaia, whither Rome sent a prætor annually to govern it.[c]

Plut. Life of Philopœmen.

Polybius the historian came at this time into Peloponnesus, opportunely to defend the memory of his father's friend, Philopœmen. Some base, foolish fellow, to make his court to Mummius and the ten commissioners, had moved to have all the honours, formerly done to Philopœmen, in the several cities of Greece, abolished. He accused the deceased of having shewed himself, in all his actions, an enemy to the Romans.

Polyb. Excerp de Virt. et Vit.

Polybius, on the other hand, represented that Philopœmen, though he had indeed sometimes opposed the measures of the Romans, had proceeded only in the way of remonstrance and dissuasion; that when the war was breaking out between them and Antiochus, and before the Roman armies came into Greece, he had advised and engaged his countrymen to declare against the Syrian and his allies the Ætolians. In a word, Polybius made so good a defence, that Mummius and the commissioners would not suffer the honours of Philopœmen, to be in any degree abrogated. Polybius farther requested and obtained, that some statues of Achæus, Aratus, and Philopœmen, already carried out of Peloponnesus into Acarnania, might be brought back: by which he so greatly pleased and obliged his countrymen, that on this account they erected a marble statue to him; and the commissioners, as a mark of their esteem, of-

[c] It is thought that Macedon, in this year, took the form of a prætorian province. Ruf. Fest.

fered him whatever he should choose of the effects of Diæus, before they were exposed to sale. The Greek not only declined the offer, but exhorted all his friends to follow his example. Year of ROME 607. B. C. 145. 306th consulship.

The commissioners being sensible of the abilities and noble spirit of the man, gave him in charge, at their departure for Italy, to make a progress through the several cities of Greece, judge controversies among the inhabitants, and make them acquainted with the new constitution and laws. He happily executed this commission, put an end to all private contests among his countrymen, and brought them to acquiesce in the established form of government. In gratitude for these services, they in many places erected statues to him, on the base of one of which was an inscription to this effect: "That Greece would not have erred, if, from the beginning, she had followed the counsels of Polybius; and when, through error, she came to need assistance, she found it in him." Pausan. in Arcad. c. 37.

Polybius (as quoted by Strabo) tells us, that he saw some of the Roman soldiers playing at dice upon a picture of Bacchus, by Aristides; a picture esteemed one of the finest in the world. King Attalus afterward bought it at the price of 600,000 sesterces, at the sale of the plunder of Corinth; which when Mummius understood, he was beyond measure astonished, and concluded that the picture had some magical virtue. He would not, therefore, let the king have it, but carried it to Rome, and placed it in the temple of Ceres. If we may believe Velleius Paterculus, Mummius was so little of a virtuoso, that he covenanted with the masters of the ships, whom he hired to convey from Corinth to Italy, a great number of exquisite pieces of painting and statuary, that, "If they lost any of them, they should furnish others in their stead." L. 8. p. 381. Plin. l. 35. c. 4. 4 811. 15s. Arbuthnot. L. 2.

The conqueror raised no fortune to himself out of the spoils of the country he had conquered. At his death, Cic. de Offic. l. 2. c. 22.

Year of ROME 607. B. C 145.

he did not leave enough to portion his daughter; the senate gave her a portion. After his triumph, the chief ornaments of which were the pictures and statues he had brought from Corinth, he employed them to embellish Rome and the neighbouring cities. Yet, that he made use of none of them to adorn his own house, as one historian says, and Cicero seems to say, cannot well be reconciled with what Strabo tells us, of Mummius's being cheated of some of them by Lucullus.—This man, being about to dedicate a temple of his own building, borrowed a certain number of the pictures to hang up in it during the ceremony, promising to return them as soon as it should be over. After the dedication, he told Mummius that he might fetch away his pictures if he pleased; intimating probably, at the same time, that he would be guilty of sacrilege if he did. He bore the loss with patience; for which he was much applauded.

306th consulship.

Flin. b. 34. c. 7. Frontin. Stratag. b. 4. c. 3. s. 15. Auct. de Vir. Illust. in Mum. Strabo. b. 8 p. 381

Mummius took the surname of Achaicus; as Metellus, who, about this time, triumphed for his conquest in Macedon, took that of Macedonicus. In the triumph of the latter was led in chains the impostor Andriscus.

CHAP. II.

A summary account of the actions of the Romans in Spain, from the year 558 to the year 600. The Roman senate forbid the Segedenses, a people of Celtiberia, to enlarge their town, and they not obeying, a consular army under Fulvius Nobilior is sent against them; whereupon they take refuge among the Arvaci, another people of Celtiberia, whose capital was Numantia. The two nations jointly carry on the war with advantage. The consul Marcellus [in 601] permits the Arvaci to send deputies to Rome to ask a peace; and, though their petition is rejected by the senate, yet he concludes a treaty with them. His successor Lucullus, without any provocation, invades the country of the Vaccæi, and there behaves himself cruelly and perfidiously. In Farther Spain, the Lusitanians [in 602] rout the forces of the Roman prætor Galba. He afterward treacherously massacres many thousands of them, who had submitted to him on conditions. Vetilius, the successor of Galba [in 604] having gained some advantage over the Lusitanians, and forced them into a place whence they could not easily retreat, Viriatus, then a private soldier, saves them by a stratagem, and is declared their general. He soon after defeats Vetilius, who is taken prisoner, and slain. Viriatus is victorious over the Roman generals in every action, for three years successively.

Viriatus.

SPAIN was now the chief object of the senate's attention. Nothing has been said of the transactions in that

country, since the settling of the tranquillity there, by Cato, in the year 558.* * See p. 315.

The year following, Scipio Nasica began to extend the Roman conquests in Farther Spain.[d] He took about fifty towns, or rather castles. Next year the Lusitanians[e] fell upon that province, and pillaged it; but, in their return, Nasica stripped them of their booty near Ilipa, on the north of the Bætis. His successor, M. Fulvius Nobilior, defeated in battle the Vaccæi,[f] Vettones, and Celtiberians, at Toletum, on the north of the Tagus. The following campaign (year of Rome 561), Fulvius took several towns, and last of all Toletum. His successor, L. Æmilius Paullus, who afterward conquered Perses, conducted the war in Spain for three years with various success. The Romans seem to have extended their conquests but little farther in this province, till the year 573, when L. Posthumius Albinus subdued the Lusitanians and Vaccæi, and triumphed over them. Yet these nations were far from being totally reduced, as we shall find hereafter. C. 7. C. 22. B. 37. c. 57. Liv. Epit. b. 41.

In the Hither Province, C. Flaminius Nepos, the prætor for the year 560, took Ilucia, a city of the Oretani, near neighbours to the Celtiberians.[g] The latter made war against the Romans in the year 566; and in Livy, b. 35. c. 7.

[d] By the conquests of Scipio Africanus in Spain, during the second Punic war, the Romans became masters of almost all the country between the Pyrenees and the Iberus, and perhaps of a small territory beyond that river. This, for a considerable time, made the Hither Province. In the same war, they became possessed of the sea-coast from the mouth of the Iberus to Gades; but seem to have gone only a little way up into the country; for all the towns which Scipio reduced in those parts, lay not far from the sea. This long tract got the name of the Farther Province.

For several years after the Romans made no new acquisitions in Spain. All their battles there were fought against the nations already conquered, but often rebelling. To reduce these rebels were employed Lentulus and Acidinus, Sempronius Tuditanus and M. Helvius, Q. Minucius Thermus and Cato. Hist. vol. 3. p. 209. 309. 315.

[e] The boundaries of Lusitania are mentioned in vol. 3. p. 57. note.

[f] The Vaccæi were situated on the north of the Durius, the Vettones, between that river and the Tagus. Strabo relates, that certain of the Vettones (after this nation was subdued) seeing some Roman centurions walking to and fro, for air and exercise, imagined that they were mad, and, in kindness, offered to conduct them to their tents.

[g] Celtiberia, according to Strabo, (b. 3. p. 162.) was bounded on the north by the Berones; and on the west by the Vaccæi, Vettones, Carpetani, &c.; on the south, by the Oretani and the nations on the Sucro; and on the east, by the mountains called Idubeda, which stretch along the south side of the Iberus from the Cantabri to the Mediterranean sea. In this country rose the Durius, the Tagus, and the Anas.

568, with the assistance of the Lusitanians, routed the joint forces of Crispinus and Calpurnius (the prætors of both provinces) in Carpetania, not far from Hippo and Toletum. All these places were near the head of the Tagus; on the banks of which river, the same prætors afterward obtained a victory over the enemy, quieted the provinces, and triumphed over the Celtiberians and Lusitanians.

Livy. b. 40 c. 30 33. The Celtiberians, in the year 572, rebelled once more, and were defeated by Q. Fulvius Flaccus, the pro-prætor of Hither Spain, who then took Contrebia, at the head of the Tagus; and the greatest part of Celtiberia submitted. Nevertheless, the prætor Tib. Sempronius Gracc. 43 chus was sent against them next year. After taking Munda by surprise, he sat down before Certima. The inhabitants of this place sent a deputation to him, to tell him that "Had they forces sufficient, they would fight him; and to desire, he would permit them to go and ask assistance of their countrymen, encamped not far off: adding, that if they were refused assistance, they would then consider what was best for them to do." Their demand astonished Gracchus; yet he consented. The Spaniards went straight to the Celtiberian camp, and soon after, with ten deputies from thence, returned to the Romans. It was in the heat of the day. They began with asking the general to order them some drink; drink was given them. They called for more, and more they had; the soldiers being greatly diverted with the simplicity of these Spaniards. When the deputies had quenched their thirst, the eldest of them thus addressed himself to the prætor: "We are sent by our nation to know what it is you depend upon, that you bring war into this country." "I depend upon a good army (said Gracchus), which if you please you shall see;" and instantly he ordered his troops to arm, and pass in review before the deputies.[h] This sight deterred them from

[h] From all this it appears that the Romans had never been in this part of Celtiberia before.

assisting the people of Certima; and the town surrendered to the prætor.

After this, he marched against the Celtiberians that were in the field. These, though they had refused to fight for their neighbours, stood upon their own defence. Gracchus, by parties which he detached to skirmish with the enemy, drew them towards his camp; whence his legions, ready for action, sallied out on a sudden, and entirely routed them. He then took Alce, their capital: after which, Ergavia and 103 other towns[1] surrendered to him in a few days. Before he left the province, he made a treaty with the Celtiberians. The substance of it will be presently mentioned.

From this time we find nothing of moment done in Spain, till the Lusitanian war, of which that with Viriatus was a continuation. In the year 599, the prætor of the Farther Province, L. Calpurnius Piso, was defeated by the Lusitanians, whom Appian calls (αὐτονόμοι) a people governed by their own laws. Next year, L. Mummius,* who succeeded Calpurnius, was vanquished in battle by the Lusitanians: yet he afterward fought prosperously against them in several engagements. App. in Iber. p. 286. Afterward Achaicus.

In the same year (600 of Rome) began the Celtiberian, sometimes called the Numantine, war. The occasion of it was this: the people of Segeda, a city of the Belli, a nation of Celtiberia, were going to enlarge their town, bring new inhabitants into it, and build a wall round it. To put a stop to this work, the senate of Rome signified to the Segedenses that it was contrary to the treaty concluded with Gracchus; and ordered them at the same time to send auxiliary soldiers to the Roman armies in Spain, and pay the tribute stipulated by the above-mentioned treaty. They replied, that Gracchus App. in Iber. p. 279.

[1] Polybius says, Gracchus took 300 towns. But Posidonius blames the Greek historian for calling castles towns, in flattery to Gracchus. Strabo joins with Posidonius, and finds fault with those authors who affirm that there are 1000 towns in Spain; and he asserts that there are few towns, but many villages in that country. Strab. b. 3. p. 163.

had indeed forbid them to build new towns, but that no mention had been made of repairing or enlarging old towns; and that, as for the quota of soldiers and the tribute, the senate had formerly remitted both. This was true: but Appian tells us, that the Romans always reserved to themselves a power of resuming such grants. It would seem that the Segedenses were like to be powerfully supported, or that the Romans were in great haste to make a conquest of this country; for they ordered that the consuls elect should enter upon their office, not the 15th of March, as usual, but the 1st of January:* and one of them, Q. Fulvius Nobilior, received directions to go immediately into the Hither Province. Upon his arrival there, the Segedenses, not having finished their wall, took refuge amongst the Arvaci, people of Celtiberia, whose capital was Numantia, at the head of the Durius.

* See p. 510.

App. in Iber. p.

Under the command of a general named Carus, a citizen of Segeda, an army was formed of 25,000 men, probably the united forces of the two nations. He laid an ambush for the consul, fell upon him by surprise, slew 6000 of the Romans, and put the rest to flight. But pursuing the runaways too far, and in disorder, he was charged by the Roman horse that had been left to guard the baggage; and in this action he lost 6000 men with his own life.—Night put an end to the conflict. The same night the Spaniards rendezvoused at Numantia, and created two new generals, Ambo and Leuco. Fulvius came three days after, and encamped within three miles of the city. A second battle was fought, in which the Romans had the advantage in the beginning, by means of some elephants they had received from Masinissa (the Arvaci, according to Appian, having never

[k] Florus gives a different account of the cause of the Numantine war. "If (says he) we may speak the truth, there hardly ever was a war more unjust. The Numantines had received into their town the Segedenses, their relations and allies, who had escaped out of the hands of the Romans: no regard was had to the excuses and entreaties of the Numantines; and as the price of peace they were required to give up their arms." B. 2. c. 18.

seen any before).[l] But the consul bringing those elephants near the walls of Numantia,[m] whither the enemy had fled, one of the beasts, wounded in the head by a great stone, turned in a rage upon the Roman troops; and the rest of the beasts following his example, the whole army was thrown into confusion. The Numantines took advantage of the accident, made a sally, and slew 4000 of their enemies. After this and some other disasters, Ocilis, a town where the Romans had their money, and a magazine of provisions, revolted to the Celtiberians. Fulvius, quite discouraged, durst not separate his troops to put them into winter-quarters. He kept them encamped in the field all the winter; which proved so severe, that many of his soldiers died of distempers caused by the extremity of the cold; and the army suffered much for want of provisions.

The consul, M. Claudius Marcellus, in the year of Rome 601, succeeded Fulvius in Hither Spain, and brought with him 8000 foot and 500 horse. He laid siege to Ocilis, the inhabitants of which obtained pardon on paying thirty talents and giving hostages. The fame of the consul's clemency engaged the Arvaci to sue for peace. They offered to submit to a moderate penalty, on condition the treaty they had made with Gracchus might be renewed. Marcellus, desirous of the honour of finishing the war, gave them leave to solicit the senate upon the affair. At the same time some petty nations of Spain, enemies to the Arvaci, and in confederacy with Rome, sent deputies thither to oppose their demands. The allies were first heard. These, pretending to be in fear of the Arvaci, prayed "That Rome would either keep a standing army in Spain or protect their friends, or, that before she recalled her legions, the Arvaci might be so severely punished, as to

Polyb. Leg. 141.

[l] Appian must only mean that this generation had not seen elephants, or else we must suppose that the Carthaginians had never brought their armies into this country, for they seem always to have made use of elephants.

[m] Florus says Numantia had no walls.

be deterred from all future rebellion: for that, if neither of these were done, the Spaniards in friendship with the republic, would be treated by the rest as traitors to their country."

When the Arvaci were admitted to audience, they spoke like men of spirit, sensible of their inability to contend with Rome. In mentioning the battles fought, they insinuated that the advantage had been on their side: nevertheless they offered to submit to a fine, provided it were something fixed and ascertained, and provided they might hereafter be upon the same foot as by the treaty of Gracchus. The fathers gave one and the same answer to the deputies from both parties, which was only this: "That Marcellus should let them know the senate's pleasure." To him they sent private orders to prosecute the war with a vigour becoming Romans. But as the fathers doubted of his courage from the inclination he had shewn to peace, one of their first cares was to provide him a successor. Licinius Lucullus, who had entered upon the consulship for the year 602, received orders to prepare for an expedition into Hither Spain. When the levies came to be raised for this service, it was found that none of the Roman youth would give in their names to be enrolled:[n] nay, nobody would accept of the office either of tribune or lieutenant. The fear which Marcellus had betrayed, and the reports spread by Fulvius and his soldiers (who had passed the winter in tents), of the hardships and losses they had suffered in the Celtiberian war, and of the invincible courage of the enemy, were the causes of this backwardness. Polybius reports, that in this critical conjuncture, when the senate and consuls were at a loss what measures to take, Scipio Æmilianus,[o] who had not yet acquired any military renown, extricated them out of

[n] According to Livy's Epitome (b. 48.) both the consuls were sent to prison by the tribunes of the people, for refusing to exempt from the service some of their friends.

[o] If, as Plutarch reports, Scipio was about seventeen at the battle of Pydna, which happened in 585, he must have been at this time about thirty-four years of age.

their perplexity. In an harangue to the multitude, he told them, that though he was invited into Macedon, to discharge there an employment that would be less dangerous and more profitable to himself, he was ready, at the pleasure of the senate, to go either as lieutenant or tribune into Spain; whither he thought the exigencies of the republic called all those who had any ambition of true glory. The generous zeal for his country, which Scipio expressed, both by words and example, had the effects proposed: for he got much applause, and the republic many soldiers for the war in Spain. They came in crowds to be enrolled.

In the mean time, Marcellus having advice that Lucullus was coming to succeed him, and being determined to leave him nothing to do, negotiated and concluded a peace with the Arvaci and other Celtiberians, they giving hostages and 600 talents. Lucullus, at his arrival, found all quiet in the province; but coveting both glory and money (for he had very little of either), he, without any provocation, and without orders from the senate, invaded the country of the Vaccæi, a people bordering upon the Arvaci. Crossing the Tagus, he laid siege to Pauca, one of their towns. The inhabitants, after some sallies and skirmishes, sent out the most venerable of their citizens, to ask upon what conditions they might purchase his friendship. He answered, "By giving hostages, paying 100 talents, and sending their cavalry to serve in his army." To all this they consented. Lucullus then desired them to admit a garrison into the town. This also they agreed to, and received 2000 soldiers; who, when they had possessed themselves of the walls, let in the rest of the army. Presently he gave the signal to put all the inhabitants to the sword, and plunder the town. Of 20,000 very few escaped, and these by making a shift to get over the walls. After this glorious and gainful exploit, he marched to Intercatia, where 20,000 foot and 2000

App. in Iber. p. 283.

Posidonius ap. Strab. b. 3. p. 162.

App. in Iber. p. 283.

horse had assembled to defend it. Finding the place so well guarded, he would have made a treaty with the Intercatians; but they reproached him with his perfidy at Pauca, and would not trust him. He, therefore, besieged the town in form, and, after some time, made a breach in the wall.—However, when he attempted to enter the place, he was repulsed, and the Intercatians repaired the breach. Famine distressing both parties, they came to an accommodation. The besieged agreed to supply the consul with 6000 coats for his soldiers, and some cattle, and to give fifty hostages. As for gold and silver (the thirst after which had been the cause of this war) he could have none. This people were poor, and if we may believe Appian, gold and silver were not in esteem among them. But now the question was, what security the besieged should have for the performance of covenants on Lucullus's part. And it seems, that though they would not take his word, they confided in Scipio's, who promised that they should not be treated with fraud or treachery. How Scipio came to have so much credit with them does not appear; for we find nothing recorded of him, for which he could be distinguished by them, but that he had killed one of the stoutest of their countrymen in single combat.

From Intercatia, Lucullus marched to Palantia, a town famous for the bravery of its inhabitants, and whither many people from the neighbouring countries had retired. Some of his officers, therefore, advised the consul to pass by this place; but he, having been told that it was rich, would needs try what could be done. The Palantines quickly drove him from before their town, and pursued him in his retreat as far as to the river Durius; whence, without much glory (whatever money he may have got), he stole away into Turdetania, and there wintered.

App. in Iber. p. 287. In Farther Spain, the prætor M. Atilius Serranus had succeeded Mummius, who went to Rome to demand a

triumph. Atilius made a successful expedition in Lusitania; but, upon his going into winter-quarters, there was almost a general insurrection of the several nations of that country. They attacked some cities in alliance with Rome. The prætor Ser. Sulpicius Galba, who in 602 succeeded Atilius, hastened to the relief of the Roman allies; but was entirely routed by the enemy, and lost 7000 men. Having fled with the horse to a city called Carmelis, he there gathered about him what remained of his broken forces, and, when he had raised 20,000 men among the allies, bravely marched into winter-quarters.

In the mean time, the Lusitanians invaded that part of the Roman province which lay between them and Turdetania, where Lucullus wintered. Hearing that they were in the neighbourhood, he sent out against them his best troops, which falling upon them by surprise, slew 4000. And when the enemy made a second irruption, he cut off 1500 of them, near Gades, and took many prisoners; after which he entered Lusitania, and ravaged it. Galba, encouraged by the success of Lucullus, now came forth again, and plundered the country on his side. The Lusitanians of that quarter sent to him, offering to submit upon conditions. He received their deputies kindly, and said, "He knew that poverty and the barrenness of their country had compelled them to have recourse to rapine for a subsistence; that he pitied their condition; and that if they would keep in friendship with Rome, he would assign them a better country than their own: but then he must divide them into cantons, because he had not lands lying together sufficient for all." The Lusitanians, believing what he said, came to him in great numbers on a day he had appointed. He divided them into three companies, ordering each to repair to a different place, and there wait his farther directions. When these companies were got to such a distance from each other as was sufficient for his purpose,

he led his troops to the nearest, and having prevailed with the Spaniards to give up their arms (for which he told them they had no farther use), he let loose upon them his soldiers, who put them to the sword. In like manner he massacred the second and third companies, before they could have notice of what happened to their fellows. The number of the slain some authors make to be 30,000, others only 9000. A few escaped; among whom was Viriatus, who became soon after general of the Lusitanians. Galba, surpassing Lucullus in avarice, gave but little of the booty acquired in his expedition to the soldiers, or his friends; the rest he converted to his own use. Though he were one of the richest men in Rome, yet he never scrupled to lie or to perjure himself, if any thing was to be got by it. And what rendered him a complete pest to society, he was, with all these vices, a great orator: insomuch, that though prosecuted at Rome for the massacre above related, and though Cato was his accuser, yet by his eloquence he obtained absolution by almost all the suffrages of the people.

Liv. Epit. b. 49.

App. in Iber. p. 289.

In the year 604 (when the third Punic war began), the prætor C. Vetilius came from Rome into Spain with a new army, and took the place of Galba. The Lusitanians had assembled about 10,000 men, and were ravaging Turdetania. Vetilius fell upon them when dispersed about the country, slew many, and drove the rest into a place whence they could not easily retreat, and where, if they stayed, they must perish with hunger. In this distress, they sent deputies to Vetilius, offering to become faithful subjects to Rome, if he would only grant them lands where they might settle, and which would be sufficient to subsist them. The prætor readily consented; and a treaty was upon the point of being concluded, when Viriatus admonished his countrymen to put no trust in Roman faith. "Remember (said he) the perfidiousness of Lucullus and Galba. If you will but follow my directions, I engage to bring you safe out

of this place." Hope reviving in their breasts, they instantly chose him general. Viriatus drew up his troops as if he meant to give battle. Then, having selected 1000 of his best horse to remain with him, he commanded the rest of his forces, upon a signal given, to disperse themselves, and, by different ways, fly to the city of Tribola, and there wait for him. Every thing being ready for the execution of his stratagem, he mounted his horse, for that was to be the signal, and the soldiers all at once broke their ranks and fled. Vetilius, surprised and disconcerted, and not daring to order his men to the pursuit, lest Viriatus should fall upon them in the rear, bent all his forces against him, who seemed to offer battle. The Lusitanian, by keeping his cavalry in continual motion, one while retreating, and then making a feint as if he would fight, eluded all the efforts of the enemy. When he judged that his men were got safe to the place of rendezvous, he followed them in the night, by ways unknown to the Romans. The success of this stratagem acquired him great reputation, and not only established his authority, but augmented his strength; numbers flocking from all quarters to serve under his command.

According to Livy, Viriatus from a shepherd became a hunter, and from a hunter a robber, living by his sword, a method of life which inured him to dangers and fatigues. But when he is said to have been a robber, perhaps nothing more ought to be understood by it, than that he helped to rob the Romans of what they had got by rapine in his country: or, perhaps, that he and his companions made war after the manner of robbers, falling upon their enemies by surprise, and disappearing immediately after the action. For Appian calls a regular army of 10,000 Lusitanians, 10,000 robbers. But with such robbers we shall find that the senate and people of Rome did not disdain to conclude a treaty of friendship and alliance. Liv. Epit. b. 52.

App. in Iber. p. 290. Vetilius having advice that the enemy were rendezvoused at Tribola, resolved to march thither. The Lusitanian had laid an ambush in the way; so that the Romans found themselves on a sudden attacked in front and rear. Of 10,000 men scarce 6000 escaped to Carpessus; the rest were slain or taken prisoners. Vetilius himself fell alive into the enemy's hands; but the Spaniard who took him, seeing him old and unwieldy, and thinking he would not sell for much, slew him. The quæstor, now general of the Roman army, keeping his own troops within the walls of Carpessus, sent into the field 5000 men of his Spanish allies. Viriatus cut them all off, not a man escaping: after which the quæstor not daring to stir abroad, continued quiet in the town, and waited for assistance from Rome.

C. Plautius Hypsæus succeeded Vetilius (in the year 605). He brought with him 10,000 foot and 1300 horse. On the arrival of this new army, Viriatus, who was pillaging the country about Carpessus, pretended fear, and made a feigned flight. Plautus detached 4000 men to pursue him. The Spaniard suddenly facing about, fell upon them, and put the greater part to the sword. Eager to repair his honour, the prætor followed Viriatus over the Tagus, and fought a pitched battle with him, but was so entirely routed, and with such destruction of his men, that, not daring longer to keep the field, he went, says Appian, into winter-quarters in the middle of summer.[p]

Flor. b. 2. c. 7. Oros. Auct. de Vir. Illustr. in Viriat. The Lusitanian had the like success the two following years (606 and 607) against the prætor C. Unimanus, and his successor, Nigidius Figulus.[q]

[p] Plautius, at his return to Rome, being accused of having suffered these losses through his ill conduct, was banished by a decree of the people. Dio. Sic. Excerpt. l. 26 ap. Vales.

[q] According to one author, the victories of Viriatus had so intimidated the Romans, that 1000 of them were vanquished by 300 Lusitanians. It is added that, after this victory, a foot-soldier, who had pursued the enemy too far, was encompassed by a body of their cavalry, that with his lance he killed the horse of one of the Romans, and with a stroke of his sword, cut off the rider's head.—After which he walked away at his leisure, and with an air of contempt; the Romans remaining astonishment, and not daring to approach him. Claud. ap. Oros. b. 5. c. 4.

CHAP. III.

The consul Fabius (brother to Scipio Æmilianus) being sent into Farther Spain, leaves his quæstor to discipline the army, and makes a journey of devotion to Gades. In the mean time, Viriatus vanquishes the Romans in battle. 608.

A regulation is made at Rome, that the six prætors shall continue in the city during the year of their office: two of them to take cognizance of civil causes, as formerly; and the other four to try criminal causes: and that, after the expiration of their year, they shall repair to their respective provinces abroad. 609.

Fabius obtains a victory over Viriatus; who afterward defeats Quinctius, the successor to Fabius.

The consul Appius Claudius contrives to kindle a war with the Salassi, and gains a victory; but having lost a battle before, the senate refuse him a triumph. He nevertheless triumphs, and during the procession his daughter, a vestal, protects him from being insulted by a tribune. 610.

His colleague Metellus renews the war in Celtiberia. 611.

Next year by a remarkable act of humanity, he engages several towns to submit to the Romans.

The consul Servilianus loses a battle against Viriatus in Farther Spain.

A third Macedonian impostor prevails with the people of that country to take arms in his cause. Tremellius, a Roman quæstor, by one victory finishes the war.

THE Lusitanian war being grown a very serious affair, and the republic, by the destruction of Carthage and Corinth, being now at leisure effectually to provide for the support of her authority in Spain, she resolved to send thither a new army, under the command of a consul.

Q. Fabius Æmilianus (brother of the younger Scipio) was, with L. Hostilius Mancinus, raised to the consulship for the year 608. Mancinus had, two years since, in quality of prætor, commanded the Roman fleet before Carthage; and after his return home, having made a plan of the city and its fortifications, had explained to the multitude the operations of the siege, as carried on by Scipio: a condescension so agreeable to them, that for this merit chiefly they now honoured him with the consular fasces.[r] Year of ROME 608. B. C. 144. 307th consulship. Flm. b. 35. c. 4.

Fabius, either by lot or by special appointment, had Farther Spain for his province. He landed Bœtica (the App. in Iber. p. 291.

[r] At the election of ædiles for this year, there happened an event which shews how much it imported the greatest men of Rome not to offend the meanest. P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica (son of a president of the senate, and grandson of the famous Nasica, who, for his eminent probity, had been judged the most worthy of all the Romans to receive the statue of the goddess Cybele) was one of the candidates. Nasica, to pay the usual civility to one of the citizens, took him by the hand, and finding it extremely hard and callous, pleasantly asked him "Whether he used to walk upon his hands?" a jest which so much offended the rustic tribes, that they refused the candidate their votes. Val. Max. b. 7. c. 5. §. 2.

Year of ROME 608. B. C. 144. 307th consulship.

present Andalusia) with 15,000 foot and 2000 horse. As his troops consisted wholly of raw men (it being thought reasonable that the soldiers who had served in Africa and Greece should have repose), he would not hazard a battle, till by exercise and discipline he had prepared them for it. Leaving this care for a while to his lieutenant, he went by sea to Gades, there to perform his devotions to Hercules, from whom the Fabian family pretended to derive their lineage. At his return, he found that his army had been vanquished by the enemy. Nor was he at all disposed to attempt revenge by a general battle; to which Viriatus frequently challenged him. The Roman, nevertheless, from time to time, detached small parties to skirmish, that his soldiers might thereby become acquainted with the enemy, and gradually lose all dread of them.

Year of ROME 609. B. C. 143. 308th consulship.

The choice made at Rome of supreme magistrates for the new year, seems a strong proof of the degeneracy of the people from the virtue of their forefathers. They placed at the head of the republic Sulpicius Galba, the cruel, perfidious, rapacious, eloquent miser, spoken of above; and they joined with him a very suitable colleague, L. Aurelius Cotta, that tribune of the commons, who would have taken advantage of the privilege of his office to cheat his creditors.

Val. Max. B. 6. c. 4. §. 2.

These consuls had a warm struggle in the senate for the province of Farther Spain. Scipio's opinion being asked, "I think (said he) that neither of them ought to be sent thither, because the one has nothing, and the other nothing can satisfy." These few words had such effect, that both candidates were disappointed of their pretensions: the consequence of which was, what Scipio perhaps had chiefly in view, the continuance of his brother in the command of the army.

It is thought to have been about this time, that the republic made a considerable change with regard to the functions of the prætors. Hitherto criminal causes had

been tried either by the people, or by judges specially commissioned for the occasion: the prætor urbanus and the prætor peregrinus had cognizance of all civil causes. It is now decreed, that the other four prætors, instead of going, immediately after their election, to govern the provinces, should reside at Rome the whole year of their prætorship, have separate tribunals, and try criminal causes; which were exceedingly multiplied at Rome, since her conquests in Greece, Asia, and Africa. The people, however, still retaining their right of judging in the last resort, and of appointing, when they thought proper, judges extraordinary. The six prætors, after spending the year in the functions above mentioned, repaired to their respective provinces abroad with the title of pro-prætors.

Year of ROME 609. B. C. 143. 308th consulship.

Fabius, having well disciplined his men, during the winter, led them into the field in the spring, and (if flattery did not invent the tale) vanquished Viriatus in battle, and took some towns: after which he put his troops into winter-quarters at Corduba.

App. loc. cit

Appian briefly reports, "That Viriatus, after his defeat by Fabius [which doubtless never happened], thinking himself no longer secure, drew off from the Roman alliance the Arvaci, Belli, and Titthi;" nations of Celtiberia, who are supposed to have continued quiet since the peace with Marcellus. No other author mentions this peace with Marcellus, or the defection of these allies at the solicitation of Viriatus. Nor do we find in Appian, that their defection occasioned any diversion of the Roman troops employed against the Lusitanian, or that he received any assistance from those nations, or that he wanted any to enable him to beat the Romans. Thus much seems certain, that the consul Q. Cæcilius Metellus Macedonicus (colleague of Ap. Claudius Pulcher) had, in the year 610, commission to make war upon the Celtiberians. The particulars of his exploits during his consulship are not related by the historians; we

App. p. 292.

Year of ROME 610. B.C. 142. 309th consulship.

Year of ROME 610. B.C. 142. only know in general that he made a fortunate campaign.

309th consulship. In the Farther Province, Viriatus gained a victory over Quinctius, the successor of Fabius, and forced him into winter-quarters in the middle of autumn.

Liv. Epit. App. p. 292. The consul Appius Claudius had, for his province, Cisalpine Gaul: where, because there was nothing to do, he contrived to kindle a war with the Salassi,[a] that he might have the honour of a triumph. In his first engagement with them they defeated him, and killed 5000 of his men; in a second, he gained the victory, and slew 5000 of the Salassi. This slaughter of 5000 enemies gave him a legal title to a triumph; yet, on account of the loss of so many Romans as were cut off when he was vanquished, the senate refused him the honour he aspired to; and they forbade the quæstor to furnish the usual money for the expense of the show. A triumph, nevertheless, he resolved to have, though at his own charge. During the procession, a certain tribune of the people came fully determined to pull him out of the chariot. Appius had a daughter, who, being a vestal, was a personage no less sacred than the tribune. She perceiving his intended affront to her father, nimbly threw herself between them. The tribune, out of respect to the holiness of her character, desisted from his purpose; and the victorious vestal, mounting the chariot, rode, with her father, in triumph to the Capitol.

Strab. l. 4. p. 205. P. Oros. b. 5. c. 4.

Val. Max. b. 5. c. 4. §. 6. Cicer. pro Cæl. c. 14.

Sueton. in Tiber. c. 2.

Year of ROME 611. B.C. 141. The same Appius Claudius, the next year, when Q. Fabius Servilianus and L. Cæcilius Metellus Calvus (brother of Metellus Macedonicus) had the consular fasces,

310th consulship. stood candidate for the censorship, in competition with Scipio Africanus and Mummius Achaicus. Appius came to the field of Mars conducted by a numerous body of the chief men of Rome; Scipio (who is censured by Plutarch for paying his court to the populace, contrary to the example of his father Æmilius) was attended by a

Plut. Life of Æmil.

[a] A people inhabiting the country now called the valley of Aoste.

multitude of freedmen and plebeians of the meanest condition. His competitor, seeing him enter the assembly in such company, cried out, "O manes of Æmilius Paullus! If in the shades below you know any thing of what passes here, how grieved must you be, that your son is thus presented as a candidate for the censorship, by the crier Æmilius, and by Licinius, ringleader of the mob!" Nevertheless Scipio's cabal carried the election in his favour. The people joined with him, in the same office, Mummius, an easy indolent man, of whom Scipio afterward, in a speech to the people, complained, as having obstructed his designs of reformation. He told them, "That he should have discharged his office in a manner worthy of the majesty of the republic, if they had either given him a colleague, or given him no colleague."[t] Year of ROME 611. B.C. 141. 310th consulship.

The consul Servilianus had the conduct of the war in Farther Spain against Viriatus: his colleague stayed in Italy. Metellus Macedonicus continued at the head of the army in Hither Spain, in quality of proconsul. While he was besieging Contrebia, a town of the Celtiberians, he commanded five cohorts, who had been driven from their post by the enemy, to return thither immediately; giving public orders at the same time to the rest of the army, to put to the sword every man of the detachment that, turning his back to the Spaniards, should fly to the camp for safety. The soldiers of the five cohorts, thinking themselves going to certain death, made each of them one of those verbal wills which the Romans called testaments *in procinctu*, a term taken from their manner of girding round their waists the lappets Val. Max. b. 6. c. 4. §. 2. Vell. Paterc. b. 2. Val. Max. b. 2. 7. §. 10. Frontin. Stratagem. b. 4. c. 1. §. 23. Fast.

[t] It is reported that C. Licinius Sacerdos, a Roman knight, presenting himself to the censors, Scipio said aloud, "I know that Licinius is guilty of perjury; and if any one will accuse him, I offer myself to be a witness." No accuser appearing, Scipio would not degrade the knight, lest it should be said, that the censor had been accuser, witness, and judge. (Plut. in Apophthegm.) He changed the prayer used at the lustration after the census. Instead of an address to the gods to augment the prosperity and extend the dominion of Rome, he prayed, that they would continue to her her present happiness. And this became afterward the common form used by the censors. (Val. Max. b. 5. c. 1. §. 10.) The number of citizens polled at this census was 328,342. (Mar. Capitol. Liv. Epit. l. 54.)

Year of ROME 611. B.C. 141.

of their coats when they were going to fight. Thus, with the courage of despair, they advanced against the enemy, and recovered the post.

310th consulship.

Flor. b. 2. c. 17. Val. Max. b. 5. c. 1. §. 5.

Metellus, so rigid in discipline, gave a remarkable instance of humanity at the siege of Nertobriga. A breach was like to be made in the wall, when the besieged, to be revenged of Rhetogenes, one of their principal citizens, who had deserted the Romans, exposed his young children to the strokes of the rams. The father desired Metellus to continue the battering; but the proconsul, in pure compassion to him, quitted a certain conquest, and raised the siege. He lost nothing by this action: on the fame of his humanity, several cities of Celtiberia had recourse to it, and submitted.

App. p. 292.

In the mean time Servilianus with 16,000 foot and 1600 horse, from Italy, and 300 horse and ten elephants sent him by Micipsa, king of Numidia, was engaged in the war against Viriatus. This mighty army the Spaniard, with only 6,000 men, overthrew in the plain field.[w] He pursued them to their camp, and would have taken it, if night coming on had not favoured the Romans. After this he so harassed and distressed them, that they were forced to retire to Ituca, a town in Bœtica; but, in a short time, scarcity of provisions constrained Viriatus to return into Lusitania.

Liv. Epit. b. 53. Eutrop. b. 4.

During the present consulship, a third impostor appeared in Macedon, who called himself Philip, and pretended to be a son of Perses. He got together a body of 17,000 men, and with this army advanced to assault the Roman camp, where, in the absence of the prætor Licinius Nerva, the quæstor L. Tremellius commanded.[x]

[w] It may be proper to inform the reader, that Appian (from whom alone we have any account of these campaigns) seldom gives Viriatus a victory without first making the Romans rout him; but then the latter never fails to face about on a sudden, and vanquish the pursuers. Perhaps Viriatus's feigned flights were mistaken for real ones.

[x] "The quæstor (says Varro, de re Rustic. l. 2. c. 4.) got the surname of Scrofa [sow], from his telling the soldiers, in a speech, that he would scatter the enemy as a sow scatters her pigs." Macrobius finds another origin of this surname. Some of Tremellius's slaves having found a stray sow, killed it and brought it home. The owner, a neighbour, came to demand it. Tremellius who had learned the fact

A battle ensued, in which the Romans gained a victory so entire, that it put an end to the war.

CHAP. IV.

The consul Pompeius, in Hither-Spain, successively besieges Numantia and Termantia, but quits both enterprises with loss and dishonour. 612. Numantia.
In the Farther Province, Servilianus, now proconsul, concludes a treaty of peace with Viriatus, which is confirmed at Rome. Servilius Cæpio, one of the consuls of the next year, obtains leave of the senate to break this peace, and afterward hires assassins to murder Viriatus. They dispatch him in his sleep. The Lusitanians choose another general, but he is soon obliged to yield up himself and his army to the consul. 613.

At Rome, the *comitia* raised to the consulship Cn. Servilius Cæpio and Q. Pompeius. The latter, who was the first of his family that arrived at this dignity, procured his advancement by a trick, which, at the election, he put upon Scipio Æmilianus and his friend Lælius, surnamed Sapiens [the Wise], one of the candidates: for at their desire he undertook to solicit votes for Lælius, and while they, trusting to his industry, used little pains themselves, he engaged the people's voices for his own promotion. Year of ROME 612. B. C. 140. 311th consulship. Plut. in Apoph.

Pompeius was appointed to succeed Metellus in the province of Hither Spain. This proconsul, who had till now conducted himself so worthily, is said by one writer, who deals much in strange stories,[y] to have acted on this occasion, through passion and pique, the part of a madman. To disable his successor, who was his particular enemy, from carrying on the war with advantage, he dismissed all those of the soldiers who claimed a discharge from the service, granted leave of absence to all who asked it, and fixed no time for their return. He also withdrew the guards of his magazines, that they Val. Max. b. 9. c. 3. § 7.

from his steward, put the sow under his wife's bed-clothes, and made his wife lie down upon them. When his neighbour, to whom he had given leave to make a search, came in that room, Tremellius, pointing to the bed, swore he had no sow in the house but what was in that bed. Macrob. Saturn. l. 1. c. 6.

y The learned and ingenious writer of the Life of Cicero remarks, that it seems to be the view of Valerius Maximus, in the collection of his stories, to give us rather what is strange than true; and to dress up facts as it were into fables, for the sake of drawing a moral from them. Dr. Middl. Life of Cic. vol. 1. p. 517.

Year of ROME 612. B. C. 140. 311th consulship. In Iber. §. 297.

might be plundered; forbade any food to be given to the elephants, and caused the bows and arrows of the Cretan auxiliaries to be broken, and thrown into the river. Appian says nothing of all this, but reports that Metellus delivered up to Pompeius a well-disciplined army of 30,000 foot and 2000 horse.

Diod. Sic. Excerp. l. 34. Florus, b. 2, c. 18.

Numantia and Termantia were the principal cities that remained unsubdued in Celtiberia. The inhabitants of these places sent deputies to the consul to treat of peace. He demanded that they should clothe 9000 of his soldiers, furnish him with 3000 ox hides, and 800 horses, give 300 hostages, and deliver up to him their cities and their arms. At this last demand, the deputies, in each other's faces, read the indignation which so shocking a proposal excited. Turning to the consul, "Is it thus, (said they) that you treat brave men? They never quit their arms but with their lives." Their report of the consul's demands, to their respective cities, filled every breast with resentment and rage. Even the women declared, that they would never own for their husbands, men who should be so base and cowardly as to suffer themselves to be stripped of their arms.[a]

App. in Iber. p. 298.

Pompeius led his army successively to the siege of these two places, but quitted both enterprises with loss and dishonour. He had better fortune in his attempt upon Matia, a small town garrisoned by Numantines. The inhabitants, upon the consul's approach, slew the garrison, and surrendered the place. He then marched into the country of the Sedetani, and vanquished a gang of robbers, as they are called. The prisoners he sold for slaves, little to the profit of the purchasers; for some of these slaves killed themselves, some killed those that had bought them, and others, in their passage to Italy, contrived to bore holes in the ships, and sink them.

[a] An obscure fragment of Diod. Siculus, which does not mention the name of any commander, or afford any circumstance for fixing the time, is the foundation of this story. The passage, as given by Fulvius Ursinus, and transcribed by Freinshemius, contains much absurdity: but it seems to mean something like what is said in the text.

The consul seems to have finished this campaign with the taking of Lanci. Numantia had sent 4000 men to the assistance of the inhabitants. These, nevertheless, offered to surrender their town, upon condition their lives might be spared. Pompeius would hearken to no proposals unless the Numantines were delivered up to him. This the Lancians at first refused, but being afterward reduced to great extremities, they signified to the consul their consent to his demand. On discovering the secret, the Numantines, to prevent the townsmen, fell upon them in the night, and made a great slaughter. During the confusion hereby occasioned, Pompeius, who had notice of it, scaled the walls, and put all the Lancians to the sword; but spared the Numantines, now reduced to 200 men, and set them at liberty. Diodorus supposes that the consul acted thus, partly out of compassion for men so unworthily treated by those they had come to defend, and partly from a view to conciliate to him the good will of the people of Numantia.

Year of ROME 612. B.C. 140. 311th consulship. Diod. Sic. Excerpt. ap. Vales.

In Farther Spain, Fabius Servilianus, who had been continued in the command as proconsul, made some expeditions, in which he shewed himself extremely treacherous and cruel; and then led his army to besiege Erisane. Before he had finished his lines, Viriatus got into the town in the night, whence, next morning, sallying out, he briskly attacked the Romans, and drove them to seek refuge in a place full of rocks and precipices, out of which they could no way escape. The Lusitanian, whose chief object, both in good and bad fortune, was the welfare of his country, thought this a favourable opportunity to procure for her a peace upon reasonable conditions. By a treaty now concluded with the consul, and afterward confirmed at Rome, it was agreed, that Viriatus should be held the friend and ally of the Roman people, and that the Lusitanians should retain the lands they then actually possessed.[b]

P. Oros. b. 5. App. p. 293. Liv Epit. b 54 Auct. de Vir. Illust. in Viriat. Diod. Sic. in Eclog. 1. 32.

[b] In this consulship Hostilius Tubulus was prosecuted by one of the tribunes

A year that brought so much dishonour to the Roman name was followed by another that made it yet more infamous. The consular fasces having passed into the hands of C. Lælius Sapiens and Q. Servilius Cæpio, the latter went into Farther Spain. Highly dissatisfied with the peace his predecessor had concluded with the Lusitanians, he made repeated applications to the senate for leave to break it. The conscript fathers allowed him to do clandestinely whatever mischief he could to Viriatus, their new friend and ally. But Cæpio, not satisfied with this permission, and still pressing his first request, they at length passed a decree for an open declaration of war against the Lusitanian. Thus authorized, the consul marched his forces towards Arsa, the residence of Viriatus; who, not being in a condition to defend the place, abandoned it, and retired towards Carpetania. Cæpio pursued him, and came up with him near the confines of that country: but though the Spaniards were much too weak to fight, their able commander saved them by a stratagem like that which he had formerly practised against Vetilius.

Year of ROME 613. B.C. 139.

312th consulship.

App. p. 294.

As Viriatus had made no preparations for a war, which, till he was attacked, he had no reason to apprehend, he deputed three of his friends to negotiate an accommodation with Cæpio.[c] These men the Roman en-

Liv. Epit. b. 54. Vel. Pat. b. 2. Flor. b. 2. c. 17.

named Scævola, for having in his prætorship taken bribes to give unjust judgments. The people referred the matter to the senate, and the senate to the consul Cn. Servilius Cæpio. Tubulus, finding that he should be condemned, went into banishment; and being commanded home, he poisoned himself to avoid dying by the hand of an executioner. C. del finib. 1. 2. c. 16. Pædian. in Orat. pro Scaur.

[c] Freinshemius has cooked up a strange story (which father Catrou and M. Rollin have adopted) of a negotiation previous to the deputation mentioned in the text; and the brave Viriatus is made, through excess of fear for himself, to sacrifice his wife's father, his best friends, and the chief men of his allies, to the consul, on his demanding this sacrifice as a condition of peace. Viriatus himself murders one half of the victims, and delivers up the other to Cæpio, who causes their right hands to be cut off, and then requires the Spanish general and his troops to give up their arms: but this demand they will not comply with, and so the treaty breaks off.

The only foundation for this story, which Freinshemius has adorned with set speeches, is a very few lines, a fragment of Dio Cassius, according to which the transaction passed, not in the time of Cæpio, but of Popilius, who did not come into Spain till the year after the death of Viriatus. And had there not been this objection, the story is entirely void of probability. So perfidious, so cowardly, so cruel, an action, must naturally have lessened the love and esteem which Viriatus's followers had for him: yet we find that he sleeps securely in the midst of them, and,

gaged, by large bribes and many promises, to undertake the murder of their general. Viriatus frequently slept in his armour, that in all exigencies he might be ready for action; and his friends had access to him at all hours of the night. The three traitors, entering his tent when he was in his first sleep, cut his throat, the only part of his body then unarmed. Having perpetrated their villany without noise, no alarm was taken, and they stole away to the Roman camp to ask the promised reward. Cæpio answered, "They should continue to hold what they already possessed, but for any farther recompense, he must refer them to the senate."[d] Year of ROME 613. B.C. 139. 312th consulship.

Thus fell Viriatus, whose life and death will be an eternal reproach to the memory of the Romans of that age. One would imagine, from what is said of him by Diodorus, Appian, Dio Cassius, and other writers, that all the virtues which were called Roman had forsaken Rome, to pass into the breast of that one Spaniard. They speak of him as free from every vice; nor is there any virtue or talent, ascribed to the best of the Roman generals, which Viriatus is not said to have possessed in the highest degree: veracity, justice, prudence, moderation, humanity, contempt of riches and show, strict temperance, patience of the severest hardships and fatigues, intrepid courage and consummate skill in the art of war. Though a man of low birth, and raised to command by soldiers, his equals and companions, he kept them in exact discipline without losing their affection. No mutiny or sedition ever happened in his army. His ruin seems to have been brought upon him by the honesty of his own heart; which would not permit him to sus- Diod. ap. Vales. App. in Iber. p. 297. Dio Cass. fragm.

when he has been basely murdered by hired assassins, the army mourn his death as of a common parent to them all.

There is another fragment of Dio Cassius, containing matter no less extraordinary concerning Cæpio and his cavalry: that, in anger, he sent them to cut wood on a hill, where Viriatus being encamped, they must be exposed to the utmost danger: that they performed his orders; but, at their return, would, in revenge, have burnt him with the wood they had brought, if he had not hid himself.

[d] Eutropius (l. 4.) makes Cæpio answer that the Romans never approved of soldiers killing their generals.

Year of ROME 613. B. C. 139. pect that the senate of Rome could be as void of all honour as Galba, and some of the other generals they had sent into Spain.

312th consulship. Diod. Sic. Excerp. l. 34. ap. Vales. App. p. 296. The Lusitanians having performed the most magnificent obsequies they could to their deceased general, whose death they lamented as if he had been their common father, chose one Tantalus in his room: but this man not having the talents of his predecessor, was soon obliged to yield up himself and his army to the consul, who stripped them of their arms. They seem, however, to have capitulated on the terms of being transplanted from their own country to some other, where they were to have lands assigned them for a settlement.

CHAP. V.

614. Pompeius having again laid siege to Numantia with no better success than before, concludes a peace with the Numantines, but afterward denies the fact. The matter being brought before the senate of Rome, they resolve to continue the war.

Gabinius, a tribune of the people, gets a law passed for ballotting in the election of magistrates: a method of voting, that was afterward introduced in civil and criminal causes, and in making and repealing laws.

615. The Romans, under the proconsul Popillius, are routed by the Numantines. These,
616. the next year, gain a signal victory over the consul Mancinus, who, to save the remains of his army, enters into a treaty with the enemy. The conscript fathers
617. refuse to adhere to the treaty, and order Mancinus to be delivered up to the Numantines, by way of satisfaction.

Brutus, who had come into Farther Spain, in 615, reduces several nations of the Lusitanians, and afterward the Gallæci. He joins his forces to those of Æmilius, the successor of Mancinus. Both armies are defeated by the Palantines. The consuls Furius and Calpurnius, who are successively sent against the Numantines, perform nothing memorable. Fulvius subdues the Ardæans, a maritime people of Illyricum.

App. p. 293. In Hither Spain the war still continued, where Pompeius, now proconsul, had again laid siege to Numantia. The Numantines made frequent sallies, and always with success; so that the Roman army became greatly diminished. But Pompeius, having received from Italy a reinforcement that was brought him by some senators, commissioned to be his council, resolved to continue the siege during the winter, in order to recover his reputation. Of this hope he was disappointed; for he not only suffered a great loss of men by cold and distempers, but the

Numantines continued to have the ascendant, and beat him in every conflict. So many misfortunes compelled him at length to raise the siege, and go into quarters for what remained of the winter. Fearing to be called to account at Rome for his conduct, he thought it advisable to clap up a peace with the enemy upon the best terms he could; and he contrived to engage the Numantines to make the first overtures. It was privately agreed that they should in public surrender at discretion, this being necessary to save the proconsul's honour; but that he should insist on nothing more than their delivering up their prisoners with the Roman deserters, giving hostages, and paying thirty talents, part down, and the rest in a short time. A peace was concluded on these terms, in presence of his council and the chief officers of his army.[c] Year of ROME 613. B. C. 139. 312th consulship.

When the Numantines brought to Pompeius the second payment, according to the stipulation, M. Popillius Lænas (colleague of Cn. Calpurnius Piso in the consulship) was come to take upon him the command of the army. The proconsul, who had made peace lest he should be called to account for his conduct in the war, was now afraid of being called to account for the peace. Year of ROME 614. B. C. 138. 313th consulship.

[c] C. Memmius Gallus obtained a law this year, forbidding any criminal action to be commenced against those who were actually employed on public affairs, in the provinces. (Val. Max. b. 3. c. 7. §. 9. Cic. in Vatin. c. 14.) It is thought that this law also directed, that every informer, convicted of calumny, should be marked in the forehead with the letter K, the first letter of the word kalumniator, according to the way of spelling in those times; and that whoever received this mark, should never be admitted as a witness. (Cic. pro. Rosc. Amerin. c. 19, 20.) The emperor Trajan ordered, that the punishment of calumny should be according to the lex talionis; that is to say, the same which the accused was to have suffered had the false accuser made good his charge. Plin. Panegyr.

The same year T. Manlius Torquatus gave an instance of the severity and rigid justice for which his family was remarkable. His son D. Junius Silanus Manlianus [adopted into a branch of the Junian family, whose surname was Silanus] had, when prætor of Macedon, been guilty of great oppression in his province, and the Macedonians had complained of him at Rome. Torquatus desired the senate would appoint him judge in the affair; which being granted, he heard the cause and examined it with great attention for two days; the third he pronounced the following sentence: "Since it has been proved that Silanus, my son, has [unjustly] taken money from the allies, I judge him unworthy of my family, or to serve the republic, and forbid him ever to appear in my sight." This sentence so affected the criminal, that the next night he strangled himself; at which his father shewed no manner of concern, nor would be present at his funeral. Val. Max. b. 5. c. 8. §. 3. Cicer. de finib. l. 1. c. 7. Liv. Epit. b. 54.

Year of ROME 614. B.C. 138. He, therefore, confidently denied that he had made a peace, notwithstanding the many witnesses of dignity and weight that had been present at the treaty. Popillius referred the Numantines to the senate of Rome, there to dispute the matter with the proconsul; and in the mean time, led his army into the territory of the Lusonæ, a people in the neighbourhood of Numantia, against whom he performed nothing.

313th consulship.

Cic. de finib. l. 2. c. 17. App. p. 300.

Liv Ep. b. 55 Cic. de Offic. l. 3. c. 30. Vell. Pat. l. 2. Cic. de Leg. l. 3. c. 16.

The senate having heard the cause between Pompeius and the Numantines, decreed that the war should be carried on against the latter. It seems, however, that it was referred to the people whether Pompeius should be given up to the enemy; and that by his solicitations and entreaties he obtained pardon.

This year a tribune of the people, named Gabinius, got a law passed for balloting in the election of magistrates: hitherto, in the *comitia*, the people had given their suffrages by pronouncing aloud the name of the person for whom they voted. Gabinius pretended that the people would be more free from undue influence, if it were not known for whom each man gave his voice. His law, therefore, enacted that, for the future, every citizen should put into a box, prepared for that purpose, a tablet, on which was written the name of the candidate he favoured.

[Two years after, L. Cassius, another tribune, introduced the same method of voting in trials before the people, and perhaps in trials by the judges.[f]

In the year 622, Papirius Carbo extended the use of tablets to the case of making or repealing laws.

And Cælius, in 646, to judgments on accusations of treason, which had been excepted in Cassius's law.][g]

[f] It is said that Antius Briso, one of the tribunes, opposed for some time the passing of this law, but that Scipio Æmilianus at length prevailed with him to cease his opposition. Cic. in Brut. c. 25.

[g] Cicero, in an oration before the people, (2 Agrar. c. 2.) calls the tablets "the silent assertors of liberty;" and, in another, spoken the year before he stood for the consulship, (pro Cornel.) "a source of most reasonable liberty." But, in other parts of his writings, he condemns this method of voting and all the authors of it. Cic. de Amicit. c. 12. de Leg. l. 3. c. 16. et Orat. pro Sext. c. 48.

In the next election of magistrates, P. Scipio Nasica and D. Junius Brutus obtained the consulship. Italy fell by lot to the former, Farther Spain to the latter: Popillius was continued in the Hither Province in quality of proconsul. Year of ROME 615. B. C. 137. 314th consulship.

While the consuls were making the levies, one C. Matienus being tried before the tribunes of the people for having left the army in Spain without a discharge, and being found guilty, was severely whipped in sight of the recruits, and then, as a creature of less value than the vilest of slaves, was sold for about seven farthings.* According to Frontinus, several other deserters underwent the like punishment. Liv. Epit. b. 55. * A sesterce. B. 4. c. 1. §. 19. Liv. Epit. b. 55.

These tribunes, so zealous for the preservation of military discipline, arrogated to themselves a power of exempting ten citizens, such as they should choose, from serving in the war. This the consuls strenuously opposed; upon which the tribunes threw them both into prison. Nasica, however, lost nothing of his weight and authority, for having been thus insulted. Some time after, there being a scarcity of corn at Rome, one of the tribunes, in an assembly of the people, called upon the consuls to move the senate, that commissioners might be sent into the provinces to buy corn. When Nasica began to speak against the proposal, he was interrupted, but not daunted, by the clamours of the multitude: "Romans (said he), I pray you, be silent; I know better than you what is expedient for the republic." The people instantly became still and attentive. Cic. de Leg. l. 3. c. 9. Val Max. b. 3. c. 7. §. 3.

The consul Brutus made great progress this year in quieting Lusitania For the remains of Viriatus's army he built a town, and called it Valentia, which some authors suppose to be the present capital of the province that bears that name.

Popillius following his instructions, renewed the war against the Numantines; who (according to Frontinus) not only beat him but outwitted him. By seeming to Stratag. b. 3. c. 17. §. 9.

Year of ROME 615. B. C. 137. 314th consul-ship.

desert the defence of their walls, they drew him to attempt an escalade. His soldiers had planted their ladders, and many of them were mounting, before he suspected any stratagem on the part of the besieged. But no enemy yet appearing, he began now to be afraid, and sounded a retreat. In that moment the Numantines made a sally, and routed his whole army. He seems to have been disabled from fighting any more during the campaign.

Liv. Epit. b. 55.

Year of ROME 616. B. C. 136. 315th consul-ship.

C. Hostilius Mancinus (raised to the consulship with M. Æmilius Læpidus) came the next year to complete the disgrace of the Romans before Numantia. His misfortunes had been foretold; for not only a foal came into the world with five legs, but the chickens, consulted at the consul's inauguration, instead of falling greedily to their meat, flew away into a wood, and were never seen more.

Jul. Obseq. de prodig. c. 83.

App. in Iber. p. 300.

At his arrival in Spain, he found the Roman legions extremely disheartened by their ill success; and he himself being worsted in every action, great or small, he thought it advisable to retire to a place of safety at some distance from the town. While he was stealing off in the night,[h] the Numantines getting notice of it, sallied out, fell upon his army in the rear, slew 10,000 of them, and shut up the rest (it does not appear how or where) in such a manner as they had no hope to escape. Mancinus, therefore, sent a herald with an overture for an accommodation. As peace with Rome, and independence, were all the Numantines aimed at, they did not refuse to treat, but required that Tib. Gracchus, then quæstor in the Roman army, and whose father had formerly made a peace with them, and maintained it inviolate, should

[h] Our author gives us the following account how the besieged came to discover that the Romans were retreated. The Numantines, it seems, used to celebrate their marriages at certain stated times, one of which happened to be the day before that night when the Romans decamped. A young woman of great beauty was courted by two men, and her father agreed to bestow her upon him of the two rivals who should first bring the right hand of a Roman. The lovers being abroad upon this enterprise, perceived that the besiegers had left their camp, and gave notice of it in the town. Auct. de Vir. Illust. in Mancin.

be sent to them. The particular articles of the treaty are not mentioned, but it was concluded upon equal terms, and confirmed by the oaths of the consul, the quæstor, and the other principal officers. Year of ROME 616. B. C. 136. 315th consulship.

This wonderful success of the Numantines against enemies so superior in number (for they were 30,000 strong), would hardly gain credit, if all the writers who gave any account of this war did not agree in the fact. We are told that the forces of the Numantines never exceeded 10,000 men; Appian* says 8000; Florus and Orosius 4000; two other authors affirm, that in the action just related they were but 4000.† Val. Ant. ap. A. Gell. l. 7. c. 9. Vell. Pat. b. 2. *Iber. §. 310. †Liv. Epit. b. 55. et Auct. de Vir. Illust.

The Numantines had taken the Roman camp, and among the spoil, Gracchus's book of accounts. As it imported him greatly to recover it, he went to Numantia with two or three of his friends in that view. The Spaniards received and entertained him with much civility, and not only returned him his book, but offered him any part of the spoil he should desire. He accepted of nothing but a box of incense, which he employed in the public sacrifices. Plut. in Grac.

On the first news of the defeat of the Roman army, the conscript fathers determined to recall Mancinus, and send his colleague Æmilius in his stead. Mancinus arrived at Rome accompanied by deputies from Numantia; and when P. Furius Philus and Sex. Atilius Serranus had entered upon the consulship, the affair was brought before the senate. The Numantine deputies insisted upon the treaty so solemnly concluded, and so much to the advantage of the Romans. App. in Iber. p. 300. Year of ROME 617. B. C. 135. 316th consulship

Mancinus, in excuse of his many defeats, pleaded that Pompeius had left him an army so dispirited and cowardly, that not a man of them had courage to look a Numantine in the face. He added, that it was no wonder the Romans had been so unsuccessful in a war, which they had decreed contrary to all justice; and that by the peace concluded with the enemy, he had saved Flor. l. c. 13. App. in Iber. p. 302. Plut. in Grac.

Year of ROME 617. B. C. 135. 316th consulship.

the lives of 20,000 citizens, who could not otherwise have escaped.

The conscript fathers were too proud to acquiesce in a treaty by which they thought the republic dishonoured. And having a precedent of an infamous proceeding of the senate in the case of the treaty made at the Caudine Forks,* they determined [*more majorum*] not to abide by the peace, but to give up Mancinus by way of satisfaction to the Numantines. It is not clear whether Tib. Gracchus, and the other officers who had sworn to the treaty, were involved in the same sentence. Be that as it will, the people, when the matter came before them, pardoned, out of regard to Gracchus, all but Mancinus, who voluntarily offered himself to be the victim; not that he thought this devotement would be a reparation to the Numantines for the infringement of the peace (for he seems to have been an honest man), but because it was all he could do to convince them he had meant honourably in that transaction.

* See vol. 2. b. 3. c. 10. App. loc. cit. Oros. l. 5. c. 4. Plut. in Grac. Vell. Pat. b. 2. Cic. de Offic. l. 3. c. 30. Liv. Epit. b. 55. Auct. de Vir. Illust. Cic. de Orat. l. 1. c. 40.

Brutus, whom we left, in the year 615, settling the remains of Viriatus's army in Valentia, proceeded to reduce the rest of the Lusitanians, who, in flying parties, made war after the manner of the modern Miquelets of Catalonia. When they had surprised and plundered a village, or defeated a Roman detachment, they retired hastily amongst the rocks and mountains to divide the spoil. The proconsul judged that the best way to quell them was to march into the countries where they were born, and where they left their wives and children; to defend whom, he doubted not they would return thither. They did as he expected, and he met with some difficulty in subduing them; the woman universally becoming soldiers to assist the men. In the end, all the Lusitanians on the south side of the Durius submitted. He then passed that river and ravaged the country as far as the Lethe, or River of Oblivion. This stream bearing the same name with one of the rivers which the poets

App. in Iber. p. 295.

Liv. Epit. b. 55.

placed in their map of Hell, the soldiers, through superstition, refused to pass it, till the general, snatching a tandard from the bearer, led the way, and removed their apprehensions. He afterward crossed the Minius, and marched against the Bracari, a people on the banks of the Alestes, now Rio di Braga, in the north part of Portugal. Here also he found the women in arms as well as the men, and of so desperate a courage as to choose rather to die in battle than run away, or be slaves: and if by chance any of them were taken captive, they killed themselves and their children. He, however, reduced this fierce nation, and penetrating into the country of the Gallæci, subdued it quite to the ocean on the west; for which he got the surname of Gallæcus or Callaicus. Year of ROME 617. B. C. 135. 316.h consulship. Oros. b. 5. c. 5. Strab. b. 3. p. 152. Vell. Pat. l. 2. App. p. 300.

Æmilius was come into Hither Spain to succeed Mancinus in the command of the forces. Not knowing what turn the affair of Numantia would take, he did not assail that city. Yet, that he might be doing something, he resolved upon an expedition against the Vaccæi, neighbours of the Numantines. His pretext for the war was, that this people had given assistance to the enemy. The better to succeed in his enterprise, he engaged the proconsul Brutus (whose daughter he had married) to join him. They entered the territory of the Vaccæi, and ravaged it. While they were besieging Palantia, the capital, two senators arrived from Rome with a decree of the senate, forbidding Æmilius to make war upon the Vaccæi. The consul answered, "That the senate were ignorant of the true situation of things; they did not know that Brutus with his forces had joined him, nor that the Vaccæi had aided the Numantines with men, money, and provisions." He added, "That the war being actually begun, should he quit the enterprise, it would be imputed to fear, and make the Roman arms contemptible in Spain, and perhaps occasion a general revolt." For all these wise reasons he continued the siege; but the Palantines, by the resolution with which

Year of ROME 617. B.C. 135. they defended themselves, made him, in some time, weary of his undertaking; and at length famine constrained the two generals to decamp.

316th consulship. They went off in the last watch of the night, in such hurry and confusion, that it was rather a flight than a retreat. The Palantines perceived it, and sallying out to the pursuit, made havoc of them all the next day. One author says, the Romans lost 6000 men; and another makes the slaughter as great as that which Mancinus's army suffered by the Numantines.[1]

Oros. b. 5. c. 5. Liv. Ep. b. 56.

Not long after, the consul Furius arrived to take the place of Æmilius, who was recalled to Rome, where the people laid a fine upon him for his misconduct.

App. in Iber. p. 302. Cic. de Orat. l. 2. c. 40. Vell. Pat. l. 2. Plut. in Grac. P. Oros. b. 5. c. 5.

Furius had brought with him Mancinus, whom he was to deliver up to the Numantines. The pater patratus, or chief herald, led him, naked to the waist, and with his hands tied behind his back, to the gates of Numantia; but the Numantines would not receive him; they said, "That the manifest breach of faith by the Romans could not be expiated by the blood of one man; that the senate must either abide by the treaty, or deliver up all the troops that had escaped under the shelter of it." The Romans, on the other hand, would not suffer Mancinus to return to the camp; so that this man, who not long before had appeared there at the head of a great army, and in all the pomp of the consular dignity, remained a whole day in the condition that has been described, abandoned by his countrymen, rejected by the enemy, and a melancholy spectacle to both. At night, the consul thinking that the decree of the senate and people, with regard to Mancinus, had been sufficiently executed, and having consulted the chickens, received him into the camp.

At his return to Rome, he made no scruple to take his place in the senate; but P. Rutilius, a tribune of the

[1] It is not clear whether Brutus's conquest of Gallæcia was before or after this unfortunate expedition with his son-in-law against the Palantines. But he did not return to Rome (where he had a triumph) till some years after this.

people, ordered that he should leave the assembly, alleging that he was no Roman citizen: that, according to tradition, whoever had been sold by his father, or the people, or delivered up to an enemy by a pater patratus, had no claim to a *postliminium*, that is to say, was incapable of being reinstated in the rights he before enjoyed. The matter being brought before the people, they decided in favour of Mancinus; because, without acceptance, there could be neither donation nor dedition; and Mancinus had not been accepted by the Numantines.

Year of ROME 617. B.C. 135. 310th consulship.

Auct. de Vir. Illust. in Man. Cic. de Orat. i. 1. c. 40. Orat. pro Cæcin. c. 34. Cic. Topic. c. 8.

It is recorded as a merit in Furius, that he chose for his lieutenants, Q. Metellus and Pompeius, who were his personal enemies. He would shew that he was not afraid to have his enemies for witnesses of all he did; which happened to be nothing. His successor Calpurnius Piso, who was raised to the consulship with Ser. Fulvius Flaccus, did no more. Fulvius subdued the Ardæans, a people of Illyricum.[k] One victory finished the war; and the vanquished, a seafaring people, were transplanted into an inland country.

Year of ROME 618. B. C. 134. 317th consulship.

App. in Illyr. Strabo, b. 7. p. 315.

CHAP. VI.

Scipio Æmilianus (a second time consul) commands the army in Spain, and brings it under good discipline. The next year he invests Numantia. The besieged, reduced to the utmost extremities by famine, set fire to their town, and destroy their wives, their children, and themselves. 619. 620.

At the next election of magistrates, Scipio Africanus presented to the assembly his nephew Fabius, as a candidate for the quæstorship. Shough Scipio asked no office for himself, yet the people, weary of the Numantine war, and thinking him the best qualified of all men to bring it to a happy issue, elected him consul, dispensing, in his favour, with the law, which forbade any man to be twice raised to that dignity. And he had Hither

Year of ROME 619. B.C. 133. 318th consulship.

Val. Max. b. 8. c. 15. §. 4. Livy, Epit. b. 56. App. in Iber. p. 303.

[k] Pighius (in An. U. C. 619.) thinks that Illyricum was this year reduced to the form of a prætorian province.

Year of ROME 619. B.C. 133. 318th consulship.

Spain assigned him for his province, without drawing lots with his colleague, C. Fulvius Flaccus. But the senate having other wars upon their hands at this time, particularly that with the slaves in Sicily, of which notice shall be taken hereafter, and thinking that the army in Spain wanted an able general more than recruits, would not grant him any new levies of Roman citizens. They suffered him, however, from other cities, and from kings in alliance with the republic, to get what auxiliaries he could. He raised in all about 4000 men, of which 500 were his clients and dependants, whom being formed into one troop, he called "The squadron of his friends." He also by letter requested of Micipsa, king of Numidia, to send him a reinforcement into Spain.

Jul. Obseq. c. 86.

These measures taken, Scipio (notwithstanding any thing that a certain ox had said to dissuade him, and though somebody had seen the sun in the night) embarked without delay for his province. At his arrival, he found the legions ruined by sloth, discord, and luxury. His first work, therefore, was to restore discipline in all its rigour. He drove from the camp a whole crowd of merchants, suttlers, and useless servants; and, together with them, 2000 disorderly women. He also cleared the camp of a great number of carts and beasts of burden, employed by the legionaries to carry their persons, or at least those loads which the Roman soldiers had themselves been wont to carry.—No utensils of the kitchen, except spits and boiling pots; no beds, but such as were stuffed with leaves or straw, were allowed to be used. When the general had thus banished intemperance and luxury, he inured his men to fatigue, by frequent and painful marches in bad weather, fording rivers, digging trenches, and then filling them up again; in a word, by all the labours that soldiers undergo in a difficult and perilous war.

Val. Max. b. 2. c. 7. §. 1. Livy, Epit. b. 57. App. p. 303.

Frontin. Stratag. b. 4. c. 1.

App. p. 305.

But though in a few months he brought his army under tolerable discipline, he would not venture yet to

lead them to the formidable Numantia. He passed by the town at a good distance, and entered the territory of the Vaccæi, who sold provisions to the Numantines. While he was ravaging the country, a party of his horse, detached to cover the foragers, had like to have perished in an ambush laid by the troops of Palantia. His vigilance and activity rescued the party out of this danger. After which, being informed that the enemy, to cut off his retreat, waited for him upon the banks of a river, he would not attempt to return the way he came, but made a long march about, in which his men suffered extremely by the excessive heats, and for want of water. To complete the work of hardening his soldiers for the toils and dangers of war, he resolved to pass the winter in tents; and pitched his camp in the neighbourhood of Numantia. It was at this time he received a reinforcement of archers, slingers, and elephants, which Micipsa sent him from Numidia, under the conduct of his nephew, Jugurtha, a young warrior, of whom there will be frequent occasion to speak in the course of this history.

Year of ROME 619. B.C. 133. 318th consulship

The people at Rome transferred the consular fasces to P. Mucius Scævola and L. Calpurnius Piso, but continued Scipio in the command of the army in Hither Spain, with the title of proconsul. His view from the beginning was to starve the Numantines, not to fight with them. When, therefore, his foragers had been attacked by surprise, and he with timely succours had repulsed the assailants, he would not pursue them, thinking it a sufficient advantage that his troops had seen what, Florus says, no man had expected ever to see, a Numantine turn his back to a Roman. According to Plutarch, the Numantines being reproached at their return to the city by the old men, for having quitted the field to an enemy they had so often vanquished, answered, "That the Romans were indeed the same sheep, but had got a new shepherd."

Year of ROME 620. B.C. 132. 319th consulship. App. p. 306

Flor. b. 2 c. 18. Oros. b 5 c. 6. Plut. in Apoph. App. p. 306.

Scipio having received large supplies of men from the

Year of ROME 620. B.C. 132. 119th consulship.

Spanish cities in alliance with Rome, and his army now consisting of 60,000 men, he invested Numantia. The enemy frequently offered battle, and the Roman always laughed at the challenge: for he thought it would be acting a very foolish part, should he fight with desperate men whom he was sure to conquer by starving them.

Numantia was about three miles in compass, and stood on the side of a hill, at the foot of which ran the Durius. The Roman general drew a trench six miles in circuit,[1] quite round the town, except where the river interrupted the work. And he took such effectual methods, with chains and beams, to hinder the besieged from having any communication abroad, by means of the river, that neither by boats, nor swimmers, nor divers, could they get relief or intelligence. Behind his first ditch he drew a second at no great distance, and behind this he built a wall eight feet thick and ten feet high, without reckoning the parapet. On this wall, throughout the whole extent of it, were raised towers, distant 120 feet one from another. Appian observes, that Scipio was the first general that ever drew a circumvallation round a town, the inhabitants of which did not decline a battle in the field. The besieged frequently sallied out, to hinder the carrying on the works, and to force the lines after they were finished. But Scipio had established such excellent order, for giving notice to the whole army, by signals, whenever the enemy made a movement on any side, that all their efforts proved ineffectual. Appian relates a strange tale of one Rhetogenes, a brave Numantine, who, in a dark night, with five friends, as many servants, and six horses, by the help of some portable bridges, got over the Roman lines; having slain the guards posted at those places where he made his passage. The difficulty surmounted, Rhetogenes and his friends sent home their servants, and, separating, went to several towns of the Arvaci to implore succour.

[1] By consequence this trench must be about half a mile from the town.

Few would so much as hear these ambassadors; none would give them any assistance: so great was the dread of the Roman power. Only at Lutia, a city about thirty-seven miles from Numantia, the younger sort, having more spirit and generosity than discretion, urged their fellow-citizens to aid the Numantines. The old men, who did not approve the design, gave Scipio private intelligence of what was in agitation. With a body of light-armed troops he immediately hastened thither, appeared before the place at sunrise, and demanded that the most considerable of the young men should be delivered up to him. It was at first answered, that they had made their escape; but he threatening to pillage the town if he were not obeyed, they gave up to him 400 of their youth, whose right hands he caused to be cut off, and then returned to his camp. Year of ROME 620. B. C. 132. 319th consulship.

The Numantines (when the siege had lasted six months), pressed by famine, sent five ambassadors to the proconsul, to ask him whether, in case they surrendered, he would treat them with humanity. The chief of the embassy extolled the bravery and noble spirit of his countrymen. He added, "That the Numantines, though unfortunate, were guilty of no fault in fighting for their wives, their children, and the liberty of their country.—It is, therefore, but what justice requires from you, Scipio, who are a man of singular bravery, that you should spare the brave. We are ready to surrender, if you will grant us such conditions as are fit for men to submit to: if you will not, give us at least an opportunity of fighting, that we may die like men." Scipio answered, "That they must yield up their arms, their city, and themselves,"[m] The Numantines, though they suffered the extremest miseries that are ever suffered in a town besieged, yet would not surrender at App. in Iber p. 309. Flor. b. 2. c. 18. Oros. b. 5. c. 6.

[m] According to Appian, the Numantines were provoked to such madness of rage by Scipio's answer, that they fell upon the ambassadors at their return, and slew them for being the bearers of ill tidings: a very unlikely tale, and not consistent with the character of the Numantines.

Year of ROME 620. B. C. 132. 319th consulship.

discretion. In despair of preserving, by capitulation, both life and liberty, they warmed themselves with a sort of beer called celia, sallied out at two gates, and made a furious assault upon the enemy's lines. After an obstinate fight (in which many of them perished), finding it impossible to force the Roman intrenchments, they retired to their town in good order. Scipio offered them leave to bury their dead; a favour which they rejected. In conclusion, they burned all their arms and effects, set fire to their houses, and, all dying by famine, by the sword, by poison, or by fire, left the victor, says Florus, nothing of Numantia to triumph over but the name.[n]

Flor. loc. cit. Oros loc. cit.

The proconsul, however, had the walls, and, according to Appian, many of the houses yet to destroy; all which he levelled with the ground; without being authorized, says the same author, by a decree of the Roman people, as he had been for the demolition of Carthage: "Whether he believed it for the good of the republic; or was actuated by rage and revenge; or rather, as many think, that he sought to raise to himself a great name upon the foundation of mighty mischiefs done."[o]

App. in Iber. p 311.

Scipio having divided the territory of Numantia among the neighbouring Spaniards, and punished some cities which had befriended her during the war, returned to Rome, where he was honoured with a triumph, and the surname of Numantinus: a most glorious appella-

[n] Appian reports, that in the extremity of the famine, the besieged fed upon the bodies of those that died; and afterward, that the stronger murdered the weaker, to eat them. He adds, that after many of the Numantines had been thus destroyed, and many had killed themselves, the remainder surrendered at discretion, of whom Scipio reserved fifty to grace his triumph, and sold the rest for slaves. A story not much to the honour of the victor. But the epitome of Livy, (b. 59.) and Frontinus (Stratag. b. 4. c. 5. §. 23.) seem to agree with the account given in the text, from Florus and Orosius.

[o] Appian's words are, Τὴν δόξαν ἡγούμενος διώνυμον ἐπὶ τοῖς μεγάλοις γίγνεσθαι κακοῖς. Some think that διώνυμος signifies *double named*, and that the historian alluded to Scipio's two surnames of Africanus and Numantinus. But H. Stephens contends, that the word should be rendered *famous*; as in another passage of Appian, where he says, that Gracchus [who had acquired no surname from any military exploit] became διώνυμος, *famous* both in Spain and in Rome.

tion![p] A name which imported, that the bearer of it had, with the help of 60,000 soldiers, cooped up and starved 4000 brave men, for only refusing to be slaves; and that he had performed this exploit, in execrable violation of a peace, which those generous Spaniards had purchased with the grant of life and liberty to 20,000 Romans.[q]

Year of ROME 620. B. C. 132. 319th consulship. See p. 573.

[p] Pighius thinks that Scipio never assumed this ridiculous *nom de guerre*.

[q] M. Rollin, in his panegyric on Scipio says, "That in him was an assemblage of all the virtues which make a soldier, a statesman, and an honest man. And what is peculiar to him, history has not taken notice of any one stain upon his excellent life; history-praises him without an exception to any of his actions; there is no part of his whole conduct that needs an apology." Vol. 9. p. 74.

This excellent writer and most worthy man, seems to form his ideas of Scipio by the fine things said of him by Cicero; in whom, nevertheless, he observes (vol. 9. p. 51, 52) the spirit of party to reign with such absolute sway, as to make him speak of *une action inexcusable* (the inhuman murder of Tiberius Gracchus by Nasica), as an exploit that filled the world with its glory.

But as to Scipio's unexceptionable conduct, M. Rollin seems to have overlooked a passage in Plutarch, where the historian, speaking of the affair of Mancinus, tells us, "That Scipio, who, of all the Romans, had, at that time, the greatest authority and sway, was blamed for not making use of his influence to save the consul, and get the treaty with the Numantines confirmed." Doubtless, this hero had then in view the glory he afterward acquired, of utterly destroying, contrary to public faith, and the obligation of benefits to the republic, that handful of brave men, who, by their virtue, dishonoured the Romans. And I cannot imagine what Christian divines mean, by exhibiting as patterns of consummate [pagan] virtue, men proud of being the instruments of the basest and most cruel iniquities. And if what M. Rollin says (in the preface to his Roman History, p. 85, 86.) be true, "That the finest actions of the Romans were done from the sole motive of vain-glory," I do not conceive that those finest actions deserve even the smallest portion of praise.

CHAP. VII.

The Agrarian law of Licinius Stolo, forbidding any Roman to possess more than 500 acres of the public lands, being fallen into neglect, to the great detriment of the commonwealth, Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus, a tribune of the commons, undertakes to cure the evil by a new law. His design, though approved by some of the most virtuous men in Rome, is much disliked by the generality of the great and the rich, who prevail upon M. Octavius, one of the tribunes, to oppose the proceeding of his colleague. The people, at the instigation of Tiberius, depose Octavius from his office, and then pass the new law. Triumvirs are appointed to make the distribution of the lands in question. The Romans, in consequence of the last will of Attalus Philometor, king of Pergamus, having laid claim to his dominions, Tiberius proposes, that the king's treasures be divided amongst the poorer citizens of Rome, and declares, that his towns and territories shall be disposed of by the *comitia*. In a speech to the people, he vindicates his proceedings against Octavius. He stands candidate for a second tribuneship. On the day of election, Scipio Nasica and the senate, in a body, followed by a multitude of clients and slaves, armed with clubs, fall furiously upon the tribune and his adherents. He is slain in the tumult, together with above 300 of his followers. Their dead bodies are thrown into the Tiber, many of the friends of Tiberius are banished, and many put to death without a trial. The senate, to pacify the people, permit Caius Gracchus's father-in-law, to be chosen one of the triumvirs for dividing the lands, in the room of Tiberius. To screen Nasica from a trial before the people, they send him into Asia, where he dies. Some reflections on the conduct of Tiberius Gracchus.

Tiberius Gracchus.

Year of ROME 620. A. C. 132. 610th consulship.

WHILST Scipio was employed in the reduction of Numantia, there happened at Rome a commotion that terribly shook the state, and introduced arms and bloodshed into the assemblies of the people; the prelude to successive tragedies, of which the final catastrophe was the utter ruin of Roman liberty.

An event so memorable, as this commotion, demands some previous account of the family and character of Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus, whose warm and vigorous efforts to save his country, unhappily proved the occasion of those violences that hastened its destruction.

The Sempronian family, though plebeian, had raised itself to be among those of the greatest distinction in the commonwealth. The father of Tiberius, twice consul, had obtained two triumphs, and was afterward honoured with the censorship. He married Cornelia, the daughter of the first Africanus, a woman of excellent understanding, renowned virtue, and great spirit. Of twelve children which he left at his decease, nine died in infancy, or in early youth. The three that re-

Plut. in Grac.

mained were a daughter (married to the second Africanus), and two sons, Tiberius and Caius, the latter nine years younger than his brother. Tiberius acquired the reputation of virtue so early, that for his merit chiefly he was chosen into the college of augurs, as soon as he had put on the manly gown.[r] He made his first campaigns, with distinguished courage, under his brother-in-law Scipio, in Africa. After his return home, he applied himself to the study of eloquence; in which he attained to so great perfection, as to surpass all the orators that Rome had, to his time produced. "He was a man (says Paterculus[s]) of the finest parts, the greatest innocence of life, the purest intentions; in a word, adorned with all the virtues of which human nature, improved by industry, is capable." And Cicero confesses,[t] "That Tiberius Gracchus came nothing short of the virtue of his father, or of his grandfather Africanus, but in this, that he forsook the party of the senate."

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We have already seen the share he had in the treaty which Mancinus concluded with the Numantines; who granted, for the sake of Tiberius, more favourable conditions than they had at first intended. According to Cicero[u] and Paterculus,[x] who follows him, the severity

See p. 572.

r Plutarch records, as striking proofs of the great esteem Tiberius was in at Rome, the offer which, at an augural feast, Appius Claudius, then president of the senate (and who had been consul and censor), made him of his daughter in marriage; and the answer which Appius received from his wife, when he acquainted her, at his return home, with what he had done. As soon as he entered his house, he called out, "Antistia, I have promised our daughter Claudia in marriage." "Why in such haste (said the mother greatly astonished), have you promised her to Tiberius Gracchus?"

s "Vita innocentissimus, ingenio florentissimus, proposito sanctissimus, tantis denique adornatus virtutibus, quantas perfecta et natura et industria mortalis conditio recipit." Vell. Pat. l. 2. 2. 2. Krause. p. 67.

t "Ti. Gracchus convellit statum civitatis: qua gravitate vir! qua eloquentia! qua dignitate! nihil ut a patris, atque Africani præstabili insignique virtute, præterquam quod a senatu desciverat, deflexisset." Or. de Harusp. resp. c. 19. Beck. t. 4. p. 581.

u "Ad quem [tribunatum] ex invidia fœderis Numantini bonis iratus [Tiberius] accesserat. (Cicer. Brut. c. 27.) Nam Tiberio Graccho, invidia Numantini fœderis, cui feriendo, quæstor C. Mancini consulis quum esset, interfuerat, et in eo fœdere improbando senatus severitas, dolori et timori fuit, istaque res illum, fortem et clarum virum, a gravitate patrum desciscere coegit." Id. de Harusp c. 20. Beck. t. 4. p. 584.

x "Immanem deditio Mancini civitatis movit dissensionem. Quippe T. Gracchus,—quo quæstore et auctore id fœdus ictum erat, nunc graviter ferens aliquid a

Year of ROME 620. B. C. 132. 319th consulship. Plut. in Grac.

of the senate, on occasion of that treaty, not only grieved, but terrified Tiberius Gracchus, and was the cause of his alienation from the nobles. Some say, that his designs were suggested to him by Diophanes, a rhetorician of Mitylene, and Blosius, an Italian philosopher. Some ascribe them to a desire of rising, in the esteem of the people, above one Sp. Posthumius, an eloquent speaker, and in great credit. Others again, to Tiberius's mother Cornelia, who, fond of glory, and willing to excite ambition in her son, reproached him, that she was usually called at Rome, the mother-in-law of Scipio, and not the mother of the Gracchi. But Caius, in some memoirs of his, quoted by Plutarch, wrote, that his brother was himself the author of his project, and that he conceived it before his expedition against the Numantines. For, crossing Hetruria, in his way to Spain, he observed, that there were no other husbandmen or labourers in the country, than slaves and foreigners. And (according to Plutarch) the people, by writings affixed to the porticos, walls, and tombs, daily exhorted Tiberius to procure the restitution of the public lands to the injured poor.

From the earliest times of Rome, it had been the custom of the Romans, when they subdued any of the nations in Italy, to deprive them of a part of their territory. A portion of these lands was sold, and the rest given to the poorer citizens; on condition, says Appian, of their paying annually a tenth of the corn and a fifth of the fruits of trees, besides a certain number of great and small cattle. In process of time, the rich, by various means, got possession of the lands destined for the subsistence of the poor. This gave occasion to the law obtained by Licinius Stolo, about the year of Rome 386, forbidding any Roman citizen to hold more than 500 acres of land, or to have, upon his estate, more than 100 great and 500 small cattle; and requiring that a certain number of

App. de Bell. Civ. l. 1 p. 353.

se factum infirmari, nunc similis vel judicii vel pœnæ metuens discrimen, tribunus plebis creatus—descivit a bonis." Vell. Pat. l. 2. 2. 1. Krause. p. 67.

freemen, natives of the country, should be employed to cultivate the farms: which law, confirmed by oath, subjected the transgressors of it to a fine, besides the forfeiture of all their lands beyond the proportion allowed. But notwithstanding the precautions, the Licinian law (observed for some time to the great benefit of the public) fell at length under a total neglect. The rich and the mighty contrived to possess themselves of the lands of their poor neighbours. At first they held these acquisitions under borrowed names; afterward, openly, in their own. To cultivate the farms, they employed foreign slaves; so that Italy was in danger of losing its inhabitants of free condition (who had no encouragement to marry, no means to educate children), and of being overrun with slaves and barbarians, that had neither affection for the republic, nor interest in her preservation.

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Tiberius Gracchus, now a tribune of the people, undertook to remedy these disorders.[y] He communicated his project to some of the most virtuous and respectable men in Rome, and had their approbation. Among these were his father-in-law Appius Claudius, who, according to Plutarch, surpassed all the Romans of his time in prudence; Crassus, the pontifex maximus; and the consul Mucius Scævola, esteemed a wise man and an able civilian. The same historian reports, that, to soften the matter, Tiberius proposed, not only to remit the fines hitherto incurred by the transgressors of the Licinian law, but also, out of the public money, to pay to the present possessors the price of the lands that were to be taken from them.[a]

Plut. in Grac. Cicer. Acad. Quæst. l. 4. c. 5.

Never, says Plutarch, was proposed a law more mild and gentle, against iniquity and oppression; yet the rich

[y] Plutarch tells us, that Lælius, the friend of Scipio, made some efforts [in his tribuneship] to cure the evils occasioned by the breach of the Licinian law, but dropped the design, fearing the prosecution of it would raise a sedition.

[a] Appian says nothing of this compensation; nor does Plutarch take notice of an article mentioned by Appian, that each [emancipated] son of a family might hold 250 acres of land, though the father possessed 500.

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made a mighty clamour about the hardship of being stripped of their houses, their lands, their inheritances, the burial-places of their ancestors; the unspeakable confusion such innovations would produce, the estates in question [acquired by robbery] being settled upon the wives and children of the possessors. And, to raise an odium against Graçchus, they gave out, that ambition, not a view to the common good, had put him upon this project; and exclaimed against him, in all places, as a disturber of the public peace. The poor, on the other hand, complained of the extreme indigence to which they were reduced, and of their inability to bring up children: they enumerated the many battles where they had fought in defence of the republic; notwithstanding which, "they were allowed no share of the public lands; nay, the usurpers, to cultivate them, chose rather to employ foreigners and slaves, than citizens of Rome." Gracchus's view was not to make poor men rich, but to strengthen the republic by an increase of useful members, upon which he thought the safety and welfare of Italy depended. The insurrection and war of the slaves in Sicily, who were not yet quelled, furnished him with sufficient argument for expatiating on the danger of filling Italy with slaves.

App. de Bell. Civ. b. 1 p. 355.

Plut. in Grac.

On the day when the tribes met to determine concerning the law, the tribune maintaining his cause, which was in itself just and noble, with an eloquence that would have set off a bad one, appeared to his adversaries terrible and irresistible. He asked the rich, whether they preferred a slave to a citizen; a man, unqualified to serve in war, to a soldier; an alien to a member of the republic; and which, they thought, would be more zealous for its interest? Then, as to the misery of the poor: "The wild beasts of Italy have caves and dens to shelter them; but the people, who expose their lives for the defence of Italy, are allowed nothing but the light and air: they wander up and down with their wives and children,

App. p. 356.

Plut. in Grac.

without house and without habitation. Our generals mock the soldiers, when, in battle, they exhort them to fight for their sepulchres and their household gods; for, amongst all that great number of Romans, there is not one who has either a domestic altar, or a sepulchre of his ancestors. They fight and die, solely to maintain the riches and luxury of others; and are styled the Lords of the Universe, while they have not a single foot of ground in their possession." Year of ROME 620. B.C. 132. 319th consulship.

The discourses of this tenor, delivered with great spirit and a warmth unfeigned, and heard by the people with uncommon emotion, his adversaries durst not attempt to answer. Nor was it necessary; for they had, with much solicitation, engaged M. Octavius Cæcina, one of the tribunes, a grave and modest man, and hitherto the friend of Tiberius, to oppose his measures. So that, when, by order of the latter, the law was going to be read to the people for their acceptance, Octavius stood up and forbade the reading it. Tiberius made no farther effort to carry the law in question, but in the place of it proposed another, more severe against the rich; for it expressed, that whoever held above 500 acres of the public lands should be deprived of the overplus; and it contained no clause of compensation. Liv Epit. b. 58.

Before the day appointed for taking the suffrages of the tribes with regard to this new law, Octavius and Tiberius had many sharp disputes in the assemblies of the people, each maintaining his opinion with much warmth and vehemence, yet not a word escaping from either which could give the other offence.[b] Plut. in Grac.

[b] Plutarch imputes this moderation and politeness of the disputants to a happiness of nature, and a good education: yet immediately adds, that Tiberius, knowing, "how nearly the law affected his colleague, as possessing a great deal of land, offered out of his own private fortune (which was not very great) to compensate him (if he would desist from his opposition) for what he should lose by the execution of the law." An offer, which one would naturally think, could have no place in an intercourse between two men so polite, and so careful to avoid saying any thing offensive.

The same historian tells us, that when the people met to give their suffrages with regard to the law, it was found that the rich had conveyed away the urns; which caused a great confusion and tumult, threatening dangerous consequences. Whereupon two men of consular dignity, throwing themselves at the feet of the tribune,

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Tiberius published an edict, suspending all magistrates from the exercise of their functions, till the law should be either passed or rejected by the people; and subjecting to large fines those who should disobey his edict. And that the quæstors might not have access to the public money, he shut up the temple of Saturn, where it was kept, and put his own seal upon the door. The faction of the rich appeared in public, in their dirtiest clothes, and with dejected countenances, to move compassion; in secret, they laid snares for Tiberius, and hired people to murder him; which he being apprized of, carried a dagger under his robe, but so that every body might see it, and thereby know that he apprehended an assassination.

Of the ten tribunes, Octavius alone took part with the insolent and oppressive nobles, to obstruct the reformation of their abuses of power. Tiberius, in presence of an assembly of the commons, earnestly entreated him to concur with their desires, and to grant, as a favour to the Roman people, what they had so much right to demand; and which, if obtained, would be but a small recompense for the fatigues they underwent, and the dangers to which they exposed themselves for the safety of the republic. Finding the dissentient tribune immoveably fixed in his resolution, he then loudly declared, that he saw no way of putting an end to the important dispute between them, but by deposing the one or the other from the tribuneship. He added, "Do you, Oc-

begged of him with tears in their eyes, to desist from his undertaking. Tiberius, well aware of what mischiefs might happen from the present disorder, and having a great respect for these two persons, asked them, what they would have him do. They answered that they were not qualified to give advice in an affair of such importance; and pressed him to consult with the senate, to which he readily agreed. But when he found that the fathers came to no determination, because of the ascendant which the rich had in that assembly, he formed the resolution of deposing Octavius from his office.

If Plutarch here means the urns that held the tablets for voting, he must be mistaken; for the people did not vote by tablets in enacting or abrogating laws, till the tribuneship of Papirius Carbo, (Cic. de Legib. l. 3. c. 16.) which was not till two years after this time. And what temptation could there be to convey away the urns, if Octavius was ready to interpose?

Plutarch is the only author who mentions this affair of the urns.

tavius, first gather the votes of the people with regard to me: if it be agreeable to them, I am ready to resign my office, and become a private man." Octavius rejecting the expedient, the other replied, "If you persist in your opposition, I will certainly move the *comitia* to depose you. I give you till to-morrow to consider of what part you will act." Year of ROME 620. B. C. 132. 319th consulship.

Accordingly, the tribes being assembled the next day, Tiberius mounted the rostra; and, having once more, in vain, exhorted his colleague to a compliance with the people's desire, put the question to them, Whether Octavius should be removed from the office of tribune?[c] Of the five, and-thirty tribes, when seventeen had given their voices against him, Tiberius, who would fain have avoided these extremities, interrupted the voting: he embraced him, he conjured him, in the most pressing terms, not to expose himself, by his obstinacy, to so great a dishonour, nor to bring upon him the reproach of having degraded his colleague and his friend. Octavius is said to have been so far moved, that tears came into his eyes, and he continued for some time silent; but casting a look towards the rich, there present, and, probably, thinking he should be despised if he failed them, he at length answered Tiberius, that he might proceed, and do as he pleased.

The deposed tribune was instantly compelled to leave the rostra; the angry multitude insulted him, and, perhaps, would have gone greater lengths, if the grandees (whose victim he had made himself), and even Tiberius, had not protected him, and favoured his retreat.

No obstacle now remaining, the law passed: and it being resolved that triumvirs, or three commissioners, should be constituted for the execution of it, the people Liv. Epit. l. 58

[c] This example, given by T. Gracchus, was afterward imitated by the tribune A. Gabinius, when his colleague, L. Trebellius, opposed the passing a decree for committing to Pompey the conduct of the piratic war, with exorbitant powers, unknown to the laws. Gabinius moved to have Trebellius deposed from his office; and seventeen of the thirty-five tribes had already voted against him, when he withdrew his opposition.

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named, to that employment, Tiberius himself, his father-in-law Appius Claudius, and Caius Gracchus, who at this time was in Spain, serving under Scipio in the Numantine war. These triumvirs were to examine and judge what lands belonged to the public, as well as to make the intended distribution of them. Into the place of Octavius the people chose one Mummius, a client of Tiberius.

Plut. in Grac

The senate, highly exasperated by these successes of the tribune, put upon him all the affronts in their power. They refused him, as triumvir, a tent; a favour usually granted to those who executed much slighter commissions for the public: and (at the instigation of Scipio Nasica) they would allow him for his expenses, no more than nine oboli a day.

Vell. Paterc. Flor. Eutr. Aurel. Vict. Plut. loc. cit.

Attalus Philometor, king of Pergamus, a madman, dying at this time, left the Roman people heir of all his goods.[d] Tiberius laid hold of this occasion to propose a law, importing, that the king's treasure should be divided among the poorest of the citizens to enable them to stock their new farms. As to the cities and territories of Pergamus, the tribune declared, that to dispose of them did not belong to the senate; but was the prerogative of the people.

This was a mortifying stroke to the conscript fathers. One of them, named Pompeius, rising up in the assembly, said, "He was Tiberius's neighbour, and knew, for certain, that the deputy from Pergamus had brought Attalus's diadem and purple robe, and privately given them to the tribune, as to a man who would soon be king in Rome." Q. Metellus reproached Tiberius with suffering himself to be lighted home by poor citizens, when he supped abroad; whereas his father used modestly to have the torches put out on such occasions, that it might not be known he kept ill hours. These

[d] By virtue of this heirship the Romans seized the kingdom of Pergamus, as a part of Attalus's goods. Mithridates of Pontus, in a letter to Arsaces, king of the Parthians, calls the will an impious and a forged will. Sallust. Fragm. l. 4.

were idle discourses. Of all the actions of Tiberius, that which had given his enemies the greatest advantage against him, and is said to have displeased many of his own party, was his deposing Octavius.[a] The tribune, therefore, thought it proper to vindicate this part of his conduct in a set speech to the people. Year of ROME 620. B. C. 132. 319th consulship.

The chief heads of his justification were these: "A tribune is indeed a sacred and inviolable magistrate, because he is consecrated to the protection of the people, and the support of their interest. But if, forgetting the design of his institution, he injures the people, instead of protecting them; if he weakens their power, and hinders them from giving their suffrages, he then forfeits the honours and privileges conferred upon him; because he acts contrary to the end for which he received them. Must a tribune be suffered to demolish the Capitol, and burn our arsenals? And yet, if he did these things, he would still be a tribune; whereas he ceases to be such, when he destroys and overturns the power of the people.—The regal dignity, comprehending the authority of all other magistrates, was made sacred by the most august ceremonies of religion; nevertheless, the Roman people, to punish the lust and violence of a single man, not only expelled the king, but suppressed that sovereign power, under which Rome was founded. What is more sacred and venerable in Rome, than the vestals? Yet if any vestal transgress, she is buried alive, without mercy; because, by her impiety she loses the sacred character which she acquired by being dedicated to the gods. In like manner, a tribune, when he sins against the people, forfeits that inviolable character with which he was vested solely on their account. If the majority of the tribes have a power to create a tribune, it surely can never be a question, whether all the tribes have a power to depose him.—And, that a tribune may lose his sacred character, even before the expiration of his year,

[a] Cicero imputes the ruin of Tiberius to this alone. Cic. de Leg. l. 3. c. 10.

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is evident from the example of those, who, at their own request, have been permitted to divest themselves of it."

319th consulship.

Plut. in Grac.

The friends of Tiberius judging, from the menaces and cabals of the great, that his life would be in danger, as soon as he should become a private man, put him upon the project of getting himself continued in the tribuneship for another year. To dispose the people to favour his pretensions, he gave them a prospect of several new laws, much to their advantage. One was for diminishing the number of years the soldiers were obliged to serve. Another established the right of appeal to the people from the judgments of all the magistrates. By a third he proposed that the judges in civil causes should be one half knights, and not all senators, as hitherto. Velleius Paterculus adds, that Gracchus promised the freedom of Rome to all the Italians.[f]

De Bell. Civ. l. 1. p 358.

Appian relates, that on the day of election, when the two first tribes had given their votes for Tiberius, the partisans of the rich made a mighty uproar, crying out, it was against law for the same person to be a tribune two years together. These clamours so terrified Rubrius Varro, who presided in the *comitia*, that he would have resigned his place to Mummius (the successor of Octavius), but the other tribunes opposed it, alleging that since Varro had resigned, it ought to be determined by lot who should be president in his room. The contention growing high, and Tiberius finding his party the weaker, put off the election to the next day.[g]

Early in the morning, when he was about to repair to the Capitol, he is reported to have had some unlucky omens, which made him doubt whether he should go or not: but several messengers coming to him from his

[f] According to Dio Cass. ap. Vales. p. 622 Tiberius promised to get his father-in-law, Appius Claudius, chosen to the consulship, and his brother, Caius Gracchus, to the tribuneship.

[g] Plutarch makes no mention of this contest among the tribunes for the presidentship, but says that Tiberius and his party, finding themselves the weaker, because all the people were not present [it being harvest-time], began to quarrel with the other tribunes, in order to gain time; and that Tiberius at length adjourned the assembly.

friends, who pressed him to hasten to the assembly, where they assured him, he would have the majority, he went without farther hesitation. The people, the moment they saw him, broke out into shouts of joy and applause. Soon after he had got to his place, a senator, his friend, passing with much difficulty through the crowd, gave him notice, that the great and rich of the senate (then assembled in a temple hard by) had used all their efforts to draw the consul into their party; that not succeeding, they had resolved, without his assistance, to murder the tribune; and that, for this purpose, they had drawn together a great number of their friends and slaves, all armed. Tiberius having communicated this advice to those that were nearest him, they girded up their gowns; and prepared to defend him in the best manner they could. They had no arms, but what they could hastily provide themselves with, by breaking the long staves of apparitors or serjeants into short truncheons. Those of the multitude who were at a distance, astonished at this motion, called out to know the reason of it. Tiberius, not being able to speak loud enough to be heard, touched his head with his hand, in order to make them conceive that his life was in danger. Instantly some of his enemies ran to the senate, and reported that the tribune openly demanded a crown; in proof of which, they alleged, that he had put his hand to his head. On these important tidings, Scipio Nasica, who possessed much of the public lands, and was extremely unwilling to part with them, addressing himself to the consul, Mucius Scævola, urged him to give immediate assistance to the state, and destroy the tyrant. Scævola answered with great calmness, that he would not be the first author of a tumult, nor would he put any citizen to death before legal condemnation. Hereupon Nasica, flaming with wrath, turned to the senators, and said, "Since the chief magistrate betrays and abandons the republic, let those, who have any regard

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for the laws, follow me." At the same time he gathered up his robe, and, with the senate at his heels, together with that multitude of clients and slaves, who, armed with clubs, had held themselves ready for action, ran furious to the Capitol. Few among the people had the boldness to withstand the venerable rage of the conscript fathers; who, snatching up the feet and other pieces of benches, broken by the crowd in their hasty flight, and dealing blows to the right and left, pushed on towards Tiberius. Those of his friends who had ranged themselves before him being partly slain, and the rest scattered, he himself fled; and, when somebody laid hold of his gown, left it in his hand, and continued to run; but, in his hurry, he stumbled and fell upon others who had fallen before him. As he was recovering himself, P. Satureius, one of his colleagues, gave him a mighty blow on the head with the foot of a bench; and a second blow, which probably dispatched him, he received from a man named L. Rufus, who afterward gloried in the action. Above 300 of Tiberius's friends and adherents died with him in this tumult; and, what is observable, not one of them was killed with a sword, but all with stones or clubs. The murderers threw the dead bodies into the Tiber. Caius Gracchus,[h] according to Plutarch, earnestly begged permission to bury his brother, but was refused: and the historian gives this as a proof, that the nobles acted more from rage and personal hatred to Tiberius, than from any of their pretended motives. Nor was the fury of the faction yet assuaged: they made search after his friends: those of them, whom they could not apprehend, they banished; and those who fell into their hands they put to death, without so much as the form of a legal process.

All the public dissensions, which had hitherto arisen in Rome since the birth of the republic, had been ter-

[h] As Caius Gracchus is said to have been with the army in Spain, when he was elected one of the triumvirs for dividing the public lands, we must suppose that he was sent home upon that occasion.

minated by mutual concessions, and without effusion of blood; the people respecting the senate, and the senate fearing the people: but, upon this last occasion, the conscript fathers took the fatal resolution of having recourse to arms and slaughter; and, to end the dispute, assassinated, before the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, a magistrate, whose person, by the laws, was sacred and inviolable. Year of ROME 620. B. C. 132. 319th consulship.

When the people were recovered from their fright, the senate, having cause to dread their anger, quietly suffered a new commissioner, for the execution of the Agrarian law, to be elected in the room of Tiberius; and the choice to fall on P. Crassius, who had given his daughter in marriage to Caius Gracchus: a temporizing of the fathers, not sufficient to appease the indignation of the multitude for the cruel violence done to their protector. Scipio Nasica, principal author of the late massacre, was the chief object of their resentment. The poorer citizens, whenever they met him in the public streets, reproached him with murder and sacrilege, and threatened to bring him to a trial. Fearing, therefore, for his life, the senate commissioned him to go into Asia, on pretended business, the disguise of a real banishment.

And there, after a short time, oppressed with vexation and despair, he died.

CONCERNING the merits of this famous cause, various are the opinions of those who have written on the subject.

Appian, after relating the tragical death of Tiberius Gracchus, concludes with words to this effect. Thus Gracchus—"Pursuing with too much violence the best designs for his country's good, was, while a tribune, slain in the Capitol."

Plutarch approves of Tiberius's Agrarian law, but condemns, as illegal and unjust, his deposing Octavius, in order to get the law enacted.

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According to Cicero, and his worshippers, both ancient and modern, Tiberius's cause was unjust: he was a seditious man, and the criminal author of that tumult in which he lost his life.

I presume not to think myself a competent judge of the matter; but, as I have not yet been able to perceive any solid foundation for charging Tiberius with sedition, I shall here offer, under leave of the reader, what occurs to me, as if counsel for the accused.

It is beyond dispute, that the nobles had, contrary to law, possessed themselves of the lands in question. The author of certain Political Discourses,* lately published, though he takes part against Tiberius, does, in the fullest and strongest terms, confess the injustice done to the people.

* Prefixed to the new translation of Sallust. Pol Disc. p. 80.

"The provocation given by the nobles was indeed very great, and their oppressions shocking; as they were, in the face and defiance of all law and compassion, possessed of all that portion of the conquered lands, which was appointed for the subsistence of the poor plebeians, who had earned them with their swords. The usurpers were rioting in overgrown wealth, pomp, and luxury; whilst the poor Romans, who daily exposed their lives for the safety and aggrandizing of these their oppressors, by being deprived of their property, wanted bread."

This author seems to have overlooked one article, in which the provocation given by the nobles was no less shocking than in those he has mentioned. Not content with robbing the people of their lands, they would not suffer them to earn their bread by their labour, in cultivating those lands. To make the most of their immense estates, the rich had peopled Italy with foreign slaves, men useless in war, and, by their numbers, dangerous in peace. So that the poor natives having no encouragement to marry, because no means to educate children, there must, in a few years, be such a diminution

of the people as would make it difficult to find Italian soldiers for the armies. Add to this the temptation, which a people, so oppressed and insulted, were brought under to sell both their own and their country's liberty. Is it any wonder that men, thus robbed and beggared by the nobles, should sell the nobles as soon as they could get money for them? In the second epistle (supposed to be from Sallust) to Cæsar, concerning the regulation of the commonwealth, the writer ascribes the venality of the people to the wrongs they suffered.—"Men of the lowest rank, whether occupying their farms at home, or serving in the wars, were amply satisfied themselves, and gave ample satisfaction to their country, so long as they possessed what was sufficient to subsist them. But when, being thrust out of possession of their lands by a gradual usurpation, they, through indigence and idleness [having nothing to do] could no longer have any fixed abodes, then they began to covet the wealth of other men, and to put their own liberty and the commonwealth for sale.

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But though it be granted that the people had been illegally dispossessed of their lands, was it just, and, if just, expedient, to reclaim them at this time?

I know not whether prescription would, by any legislature, be allowed as a good plea for detaining a possession unquestionably usurped. Appian speaks of prescription and long possession in Licinius Stolo's time; yet this objection did not hinder the execution of his Agrarian law. Nor does it appear, that the nobles of Rome had any ground to offer the plea of prescription, when Tiberius Gracchus was tribune. From a passage in the elder Cato's speech to the senate, in behalf of the

A. Gell. b. 7. c. 3.

[1] "Sed ubi eos paullatim expulsos agris, inertia, atque inopia incertas domos habere subegit: cœpere alienas opes petere, libertatem suam cum republica venalem habere." I insert these words of the original, because the ingenious translator of the fragments of Sallust has, as I conceive, entirely perverted through inattention, the meaning of the author in this passage. His translation runs thus: "But when once they degenerated from these courses; when, stripped of their inheritances through sloth and poverty, they had no longer any fixed abode," &c. Haverc. t. 2. p. 188.

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Rhodians, one may fairly conclude, that the Licinian law, concerning estates, was at that time observed; or, at least, not grossly violated with impunity. "We all wish (says Cato) to have more than 500 acres of land: yet we are not punished for wishing." And this was but thirty-four years before Tiberius's tribuneship. So that when Cicero speaks of possession[k] for ages past, he seems to have no more foundation of truth, then when he calls Nasica, and his band of assassins, the republic.[l] The nobles had not the wealth to purchase, nor the power, by means of wealth, to usurp those large tracts of country which they peopled with slaves; till, by the late conquests of Macedon and the Carthaginian dominions, there came a flow of riches to Rome. And agreeable to this is what Sallust says (in his history of the Jugurthine war) of the late birth of that distinction of the people and senate into opposite factions. He makes it commence from the destruction of Carthage [about twelve years before Tiberius's tribuneship] and adds, that the faction of the nobles prevailing, "The commonalty were oppressed with penury and with serving in the armies, where all the plunder of the foe was purloined by the generals, and a few grandees. Nay, the parents and little children of these very soldiers were, at the same time, driven out of their rightful settlements, if they chanced but to border upon any man of sway." And this being the case, the expediency of applying, without delay, the proper remedy to an evil so dreadful, and that was every day increasing and taking deeper root, can require no words to evince it.

Transl. of Sall. by Mr. Gordon, p. 199.

I conclude, therefore, both as to the right of the people's claim, and as to the seasonableness of it at this time, "That there could be nothing more just, nothing more equitable, or more conducing to mutual peace

Pol. Disc. p 80.

[k] Quam autem habet æquitatem, ut agrum multis annis, aut etiam seculis, ante possessum, qui nullum habuit, habeat? qui autem habuit, amittat? Cic. de Offic. 2. 22. 14. Hens.

[l] Ab ipsa republica est interfectus [Tiberius Gracchus]. Cic. in Brut. c. 27.

amongst fellow-citizens, and to the equality so necessary in a free state, where the overgrown riches, and consequently power of one, or a few, tend directly to the enthralling of all, than the ascertaining the Agrarian law, and restoring the usurped lands to the injured and necessitous proprietors." Year of ROME 620. B. C. 132. 319th consulship.

It will not, I suppose, be questioned, whether it belonged to Tiberius, a tribune of the people, a defender of their rights, to attempt the cure of a disorder directly tending to the ruin of public liberty.

But did he proceed in a legal and justifiable method of curing the dangerous disease? Yes; it was by acts of the legislative authority that he sought to restore the baffled laws to their former force, and cut up daring oppression by the roots. He employed no force, no bribes. These were not then in use; and, if he had employed bribes, the author of the Discourses assures us, that "what sounds like corruption may not be corruption; and it is not so much the act, as the characters of men that constitute it." The same, I suppose, might be said of force; what sounds like force may not be force, &c. But they are both out of the present question. Pol. Disc. p. 97.

The deposing of Octavius was an act of that authority, upon which there can be no control. Cicero justifies the like design, in a case, where the whole senate were against the project, for the sake of which a tribune was going to be deposed, at the motion of one of his colleagues; I mean, the project of vesting Pompey with an unnecessary, and most enormous power, for conducting a war against the pirates.[m] See Pol. Disc. on this head, p. 201.

[m] That Cicero's authority, with regard to party questions, ought to be of no weight with us (unless where he makes concessions to the advantage of the opposite party), is abundantly manifest from many passages in his writings; but never does he expose his partiality more, than on some occasions, when he mentions the Gracchi.

In his oration for Milo, he speaks of Tiberius's deposing his colleague Octavius as a seditious act, so dangerous to the state, that the persons who slew him for it, acquired thereby an incredible deal of glory. Non. Sp. Mælium, &c. non Ti. Gracchum, qui collegæ magistratum per seditionem abrogavit: quorum interfectores implerunt orbem terrarum nominis sui gloria. Pro Mil. c. 27.

The laws which Tiberius (a person of undisputed integrity at that time) proposed, being, by their nature, salutary remedies for the evils of the state; remedies against which there was no plausible objection, but the indisposition of the patient to make

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I cannot, therefore, but wonder at the following passages in the Discourses above quoted:

use of them, the tribune had unquestionably the appearance, at least, of aiming at a very great public good, in deposing his colleague. Yet, according to Cicero, he was deservedly slain for that act, and his murderers were heroes of the first class. The unprecedented commission, desired for Pompey, had a manifest tendency to destroy all the remains of liberty and equality in the republic: yet (according to the same Cicero), Gabinius (whom he sometimes inveighs against as one of the most consummate knaves of his time) was a brave and excellent patriot, when, to carry that point, he undertook to depose his only dissentient colleague, Trebellius, and (as the orator expresses it) would not suffer the opposition of a single man to prevail against the will and voice of the whole state. And it is worthy to be observed, that this whole state does not include the senate; for the senate were against the Gabinian law: and Trebellius had promised them, that he would die rather than suffer it to pass.—Vir fortis Aulus Gabinius, in re optima fecit omnia; neque, cum salutem populo Romano, atque omnibus gentibus finem diuturnæ captivitatis, turpitudinis et servitutis afferret, passus est, plus unius collegæ sui, quam universæ civitatis, vocem valere et voluntatem. Cic pro Cornel. 1.

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Asconius's note upon this passage is as follows:—

"Manifestum est de ea lege Ciceronem nunc dicere, quâ Cn. Pompeio bellum adversus piratas datum est. L. autem Trebellius tribunes plebis quem non nominat, quo perseverante intercedere (nam senatui promiserat, moriturum se ante quam illa lex perferretur) intro vocare tribus Gabinius cœpit, ut Trebellio magistratum abrogaret, sicut quondam Tib. Gracchus tribunus M. Octavio collegæ suo magistratum abrogavit. Et aliquandiu Trebellius ea re non perterritus aderat, perstabatque in intercessione, quod omnia magis, quam perseveraturum esse Gabinium, arbitrabatur. Sed postquam X. et VII. tribus rogationem acceperunt, et una mens esset populi, qui supererat, ut jussum conficeret, remisit intercessionem Trebellius, atque ita legem Gabinius de piratis persequendis pertulit."

See the note in p. 591.

After this instance of Cicero's Plowden-justice, it is pleasant to observe the seriousness with which M. Rollin, on the present occasion, produces a sentence of Cicero, as if it was oracular.

"All that Tiberius had done hitherto (says M. Rollin) had at least the appearance of justice. But by an unprecedented, unheard of enterprise, to depose a magistrate, whose person was sacred and inviolable, and this merely because he had made use of a privilege annexed to his office, was an action which immediately shocks the mind of every man. It is very obvious that Tiberius, thereby, entirely enervated the authority of the tribuneship, and deprived the commonwealth of a resource infinitely useful in times of trouble and division. For, as Cicero observes, what college is so desperately mad, that, of ten persons who compose it, not one is in his right senses? ['Quod enim est tam desperatum collegium, in quo nemo e decem sana mente sit?] Now the opposition of a single tribune was sufficient to frustrate the evil intentions of the other nine. This right of opposition, therefore, was the safeguard of the republic, and Tiberius, by annihilating it, gave a mortal wound to the state."

Vol. 9. p. 27.

De Leg. 3. 10.

It would be affronting the reader, to expose, by a long comment, the weakness of what is here said. But it should be observed,

1. That Octavius cannot properly be said to have been deposed, merely for making use of a privilege annexed to his office, but for traitorously abusing that privilege. It is obvious to every one, that there is no magistrate who may not so use the privileges annexed to his office, as to make it necessary to depose him.

2. That by the words "enervating the authority of the tribuneship," our reverend author cannot mean enervating the authority of the college of tribunes: for that was rather strengthened and augmented by the act of deposing Octavius. Nor can our author, by the words "annihilating the right of opposition," mean any thing more, than that the people, at the motion of Tiberius, made a solemn declaration (enforced by an example) against the indefeasibleness of a tribune's right to hold his office a whole year. For that the right of a tribune (while a tribune) to oppose and obstruct his colleague's measures, still remained, and was occasionally used with effect, we have not only the example above mentioned, of Trebellius, but a notable instance in the affair of Jugurtha, when the tribune Bæbius had the matchless impudence to make himself a screen to the corrupt nobles, who had sold the troops and the honour of their country to the African king. Bæbius made use of the privilege an-

"I dread all such reformations as are only to be effected by the arbitrary will and unaccountable humour of one man, by a power, too, not delegated, but taken. I would rather see many abuses subsist, than a Cromwell, a Pisistratus, a Cæsar, or (if you will) a Gracchus, assuming lawless power to redress them. Year of ROME 620. B.C. 132. 319th consulship. Pol. Disc. p. 79. Ib. p. 78.

"Is it not more eligible to suffer certain, diseases in the body politic, even certain great diseases, than to attempt to remove them by an expedient, much more likely to destroy than to reform it; or which, if it reform one abuse, yet tends to introduce the most horrible of all evils and abuses, even tyranny and servitude? Now what is it that introduces this greatest of all corruptions and calamities, but the power of one man to do what he pleases? And was not Tiberius Gracchus that man?

I answer, No; he was not that man. He had not the power to do all the good he pleased; and it does not appear that he had the power to do any public evil whatsoever. If he assumed the supreme power in effect; if he was king for some months, as Cicero pretends, yet it is plain, from the history of his tribuneship, that he Ib. p. 79. De Amic. c. 12.

nexed to his office to hinder the king from declaring the persons with whom he had trafficked; though the whole assembly of the people expressed their earnest desires of a discovery. And, by this instance, we see in what sense we are to understand Cicero, when he speaks of a single tribune's right of opposition to the measures of his colleagues united, as useful to the republic. It was very useful to the aristocratical faction. for it would not often happen that the college of tribunes should be so universally honest, that not one of the ten could be corrupted. Now the opposition of a single tribune was sufficient to frustrate the good intentions of the other nine.

It may not be improper, while I am justifying the conduct of Tiberius, to take notice of the clamour raised by the nobles, when he stood for a second tribuneship. Had Tiberius been re-elected to that office, it would have been just and constitutional, though it be granted that a law was subsisting against such re-election. The Romans, without repealing their laws, frequently dispensed with them in the election of magistrates. They had done it twice, within a few years, in favour of Scipio the younger. They had a natural and indefeasible right so to do; and the senators themselves approved of such dispensing with the laws, when they thought it for the good of the state, or when it would serve any purpose of their own ambition. When, in the year of Rome 597, the *comitia*, through the influence of the senate, were choosing two patricians to the consulship, in violation of the Licinian law, which required, that there should be always one plebeian consul; and when the tribunes, for that reason, opposed the proceeding, the inter-rex, who presided in the assembly, answered, "That by a law of the twelve tables, whatever the people decreed last, was law; and the votes of the people were their decree.—Ut quodcunque postremum populus jussisset, id jus ratumque esset, jussum populi et suffragia esse." (Liv. b. 7. c. 17.) The tribunes acquiesced, and the two patricians were declared consuls. See p. 584.

Year of ROME 620. B.C. 132. had no subjects to fight for him; and his supreme power was not acoercive one.

319th consulship. Doubtless it required great authority to effect so great good as Tiberius had in view: "Because the evil was far spread; all the great men in the commonwealth were engaged in pride and interest to support it, and to oppose every remedy: since what removed *that*, mustre-duce *them;* and terribly shorten their property, their figure, and authority."

Pol. Disc. p. 80.

Yet Tiberius, to cure this far-spread evil, assumed no lawless power. Except the legal power annexed to his office of tribune, he had no power but what his eminent virtue, and manifest zeal for the public good, acquired him over the minds of the people. This, indeed, was great.

But, surely, no power can be more lawful, more salutary to a state, or less to be dreaded. "A virtuous man can never endanger liberty, nor hurt society.—Morality, with sense, is the only true standard of popularity, and the only just recommendation to it."

Ib. p. 11.

Now, that Tiberius was a virtuous man,[u] and had morality with sense, we have the testimony of the warmest advocates for the aristocratical faction. Both Cicero and Paterculus extol the talents and virtue of this tribune; nor has either the one or the other of those

Cic. de Harusp. Resp. c. 19.

Vel. Pat. l. 2.

[u] To what has been already mentioned (p. 585.) in proof of the high esteem in which Tiberius was held, for sound judgment and integrity of heart, may be added the story concerning his intimate friend, Blossius of Cumæ, as related by Plutarch.

After the death of the tribune, Blossius, who had been one of his agents, was seized, carried before the consuls, and examined. He readily confessed that he had done whatever Tiberius had directed him to do. "But (says Nasica) what if he had ordered you to set fire to the Capitol?" Blossius answered, "Tiberius was not capable of giving me such an order." All present persisting to press him with the same question, he at length boldly said, "If Tiberius had commanded me to set fire to the Capitol, I should have thought it my duty to obey him; being firmly persuaded that he would not have given me that command but for the good of the people."

Cicero, in his discourse de Amicitia, makes Lælius relate the same story, with some difference of circumstances, respecting Blossius not as judicially examined by the consuls, but as privately interrogated by Lælius, whose protection he was come to ask. Lælius, upon the mention of Blossius's answer (Paruissem), cries out, "What a wicked answer!" [Videtis quam nefaria nox.] Yet, if Blossius had expressed the like implicit confidence in the wisdom and virtue of Scipio Æmilianus, it is possible that Cicero would not have inferred any thing from it to the disadvantage of Blossius, and would have inferred much to the advantage of Scipio.

writers any thing to object to him, but that he fell off[o] from the honest party, he fell off from the senate [descivit a bonis, descivit a senatu]: that is, he quitted the faction of the oppressors of their country, men determined to proceed in a course that was contrary to all law and compassion, and directly tended to enslave Rome. Year of ROME 620. B. C. 132. 319th consulship.

And, it seems, it was through want of wisdom that Tiberius persisted in the thought of humbling this imperious, oppressive faction. "Lælius (says the writer of the Political Discourses), that accomplished Roman, the celebrated friend of the great Scipio Africanus, as virtuous and public-spirited a man as either of the Gracchi, and, I think, more wise, was sensibly touched with the same grievances, which so much piqued them, and whilst he was a tribune of the people, conceived a design to cure them; but gave it over upon a view of its extreme difficulty and peril. Had he seen any prospect of succeeding, by methods that were not desperate and threatening to the commonwealth, it is likely he would have pursued his intention. Surely the temptation was great to an honest and humane mind, to make the rich and wanton restore the bread which they had robbed from the poor and innocent, to cut up daring oppression by the roots, to restore the baffled laws to their former force, and to establish a just and equal administration in a free commonwealth. But he would not attempt what he foresaw no man could accomplish without making himself master of all the rest; and particular acts of injustice, perhaps, seemed to him more tolerable than the tyranny, that is, the power, of one over all. The Gracchi actually assumed and exercised that power, which, had not they been destroyed, would, in all likelihood, have destroyed the republic." Pol. Disc. p. 80.

[o] When Cicero [de Harusp. Resp. c. 20.] imputes Tiberius's forsaking the honest party to his resentment against the senate, for their breaking the Numantine league, which had been negotiated by him; it seems just as candid and pertinent, as it would have been in Catiline, to impute the consul's zeal against him and his machinations to personal hatred: because the conspirator had been Cicero's competitor for the consulship.

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Liberty and the republic are cant words, where the bulk of a people have neither property nor the privilege of living by their labour. Did our laws allow of any slavery in this island, and should the landed gentlemen, the proprietors of large estates, in order to make the most of them, take them out of the hands of their tenants, and import negroes to cultivate the farms; so that the British husbandmen and labourers, far from having any encouragement to marry, had no means to subsist: would an universal practice of this sort be called particular acts of injustice? And could no public-spirited popular man attempt a cure of this evil, without being seditious, because the "evil was far spread," and he knew, that "the great and the rich were engaged in pride and interest to support it, and to oppose every remedy?" And the case in question was much stronger than what is here put; the lands which the poor Romans were not suffered to cultivate, being of right their own, and detained from them bydaring usurpers and oppressors.

But, according to the writer of the Political Discourses, the future evils to be apprehended from the cure of the present, were greater than the present; because this cure "no man could accomplish, without making himself master of all the rest." And so Lælius would not attempt it, because he would by no means be master of all the rest; the present evils, perhaps, seeming to him more tolerable, than his having power over all. I can hardly believe that Lælius was diverted by this consideration, from attempting, when tribune, to succour and set free, by wholesome laws, the distressed and enslaved plebeians. Is it not much more probable that fear for his own safety, his fear of the resentment of the rich oppressors, got the better of his patriot inclinations? And, perhaps, his connexion with that same Scipio Africanus, who was so much a party man, and had so little virtue as to approve of his cousin's introducing armed slaves into an assembly of the legislature,

and murdering a tribune, had no small influence in determining the conduct of the public-spirited man, "more wise than either of the Gracchi." Year of ROME 620. B.C. 132.

I might here ask, how came Lælius to foresee so clearly that the reformations in question no man could accomplish, without making himself master of all the rest? According to Plutarch, the men of the highest reputation at Rome for virtue and sound judgment did not foresee this terrible consequence. Among these were Mucius Scævola,[p] an eminent civilian, and then consul; Appius Claudius, president of the senate; and Crassus [soon after] pontifex maximus. We do not find that Licinius Stolo (a man not so virtuous as Tiberius Gracchus, not so pure in his motives, nor so justifiable in his proceedings) either aimed at the tyranny, or was thought to aim at it; though his adversaries might, perhaps, in passion throw out words of that import. He achieved his enterprise, and to the advantage of the public. His laws produced that union at home, which made the Romans so successful in their wars abroad; an union that was never totally broken, till by the gradual, but at length outrageous violation of his Agrarian law, oppression became intolerable. 319th consulship.

To the question put by our author, "What is it that introduces this greatest of all corruptions and calamities [tyranny and servitude] but the power of one man to do what he pleases?" I answer (in his own manner), The power of a few to do what they please. The rich nobles had usurped this power. And Gracchus's attempt, therefore, was to overturn a power, which, if not overturned, would introduce the greatest of all corruptions and calamities, tyranny and servitude. "In a free state, the overgrown riches, and consequently power of one, or a few, tend directly to the enthralling of all;" Pol. Disc. p. 80.

p Cicero (in Orat. pro Planc. c. 36.) would persuade us, that Scævola changed his opinion, and that he [who did not think that his office of consul authorized him to put any citizen to death, before legal condemnation, yet], after Tiberius was killed, defended, as a just action, a private man's taking arms for that end. But are we to believe every thing that Cicero relates of party matters?

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and "there could, therefore, be nothing more just, nothing more equitable, or more conducing to mutual peace among fellow-citizens, and to the equality so necessary in a free state—than the ascertaining the Agrarian law, and restoring the usurped lands to the injured and necessitous proprietors."

Pol. Disc. p. 79.

But, though "the professions of the Gracchi were plausible; and the open and daring abuses of the nobility furnished them with fair pretences—who knows their intentions?"

We commonly judge of men's intentions by their known characters, their past conduct, the nature of their new undertakings, and the means they employ to accomplish them. Now, in all these respects, Tiberius, as we have seen, stands in the fairest light. I am not speaking of Caius. If the latter, from an eager desire to revenge the murder of a brother, was carried to more excesses, this affects not the present question. Tiberius, to save the state, did some things that were out of the ordinary methods, but nothing unjustifiable or unconstitutional. And to say that, by procuring such benefits to the people as he proposed, he would have acquired that tyranny over them, from which the benefits themselves were a natural preservative, would not be very logical. His purpose was not to enrich legionary soldiers under his command, and at his devotion; but to rescue the poor Romans from misery and oppression, raise them above all temptation to sell what yet remained of their liberty, and reinstate them in the possession of what they had lost of it. In a word, the reformations he undertook were in their own nature (as our author speaks) "conducing to that equality so necessary in a free state."

I could wish that a writer who makes this concession, had told us, how that equality, so necessary in a free state, could have been preserved, or rather restored, in Rome, without such reformation as Tiberius had in view; and if such reformations were needful for restor-

ing such necessary equality, by what other means they could have been brought about, than by the efforts and influence of one or a few such men as Tiberius Gracchus (many such were never to be found living at the same time, in any one nation of the world): or whether we must adhere to this maxim, that it is more eligible to have far-spread evils, abuses "directly tending to enslave a people," subsist, than "to incur the danger of slavery," by suffering one, or a few, virtuous public-spirited men to live, if they happen to be possessed of so much authority as is necessary to accomplish the cure of those evils and abuses.

Year of ROME 620. B.C. 132. 319th consulship.

It is asserted in the Discourses (as we have seen) that "The Gracchi assumed that power, which, if they had not been destroyed, would, in all likelihood, have destroyed the republic." I have already observed, that there appears no proof of Tiberius's assuming any power: nor can I see that the power he had, would, in all likelihood, have destroyed the republic, if he himself had not been destroyed. But this, I imagine, every body must see, that the power assumed by the senate to destroy Tiberius, did, in all certainty, destroy the commonwealth.

And thus much the learned writer of the Life of Cicero has found himself obliged to allow. For though he treats both the Gracchi as seditious, yet he imputes the destruction of Roman liberty, not to their sedition, but to the measures taken by the senate to suppress it.

"It must seem strange to observe, how those two illustrious brothers, who, of all men, were the dearest to the Roman people, yet upon the first resort to arms [by the nobles], were severally deserted by the multitude, in the very height of their authority, and suffered to be cruelly massacred in the face of the whole city: which shews what little stress is to be laid on the assistance of the populace, when the dispute comes to blows; and that sedition, though it may often shake, yet will never

Dr. Middl. Pref. to Hist. of the Life of Cic. p. 38.

Year of ROME 620. B. C. 132. 319th consulship.

destroy a free state, while it continues unarmed and unsupported by a military force. But this vigorous conduct of the senate, though it seemed necessary[q] to the present quiet of the city, yet soon after proved fatal to it; as it taught all the ambitious, by a most sensible experiment, that there was no way of supporting an usurped authority, but by force: so that from this time, as we shall find in the following story, all those who aspired to extraordinary powers, and a dominion in the republic, seldom troubled themselves with what the senate or people were voting at Rome, but came attended by armies to enforce their pretensions, which were always decided by the longest sword.

"The popularity of the Gracchi was founded on the real affections of the people, gained by many extraordinary privileges and substantial benefits conferred upon them: but when force was found necessary to control the authority of the senate, and to support that interest which was falsely called popular, instead of courting the multitude by real services and beneficial laws, it was found a much shorter way to corrupt them by money; a method wholly unknown in the times of the Gracchi; by which the men of power had always a number of mercenaries at their devotion, ready to fill the Forum at any warning, who by clamour and violence carried all before them in the public assemblies, and came prepared to ratify whatever was proposed to them: this kept up the form of a legal proceeding; while by the terror of arms, and a superior force, the great could easily support, and carry into execution, whatever votes they had once procured in their favour by faction and bribery."

To this I shall only add, that it seems hard to conceive, how that bribery, so fatal in its consequences, could possibly have been prevented, but by such regulations as Tiberius Gracchus proposed: regulations

[q] Not more necessary, I presume, to the present quiet of the city, than were afterward Marius's massacres and Sylla's proscriptions to the like quiet.

which, had they taken place, the ambitious would not have had the power they afterward possessed, of corrupting; nor the people, through indigence, have been tempted to barter their liberty for gold. Tiberius doubtless foresaw, that the commonwealth must perish, unless some effectual measures were taken to crush the monstrous heads of that oligarchy which already began to shew itself, and which, if not destroyed, would infallibly produce another, monster more hideous, if possible, Monarchic Despotism.—The generous tribune hazarded and lost his life in the pursuit of so glorious an enterprise; and, if his character, his views, his conduct, be impartially considered, I cannot imagine, but he must appear the most accomplished patriot that ever Rome produced.

Year of ROME 620. B. C. 132. 319th consulship.

CHAP. VIII.

The slaves in Sicily, having broke out into rebellion, vanquish several Roman prætors, but are routed by the consul Calpurnius Piso, whose successor, Rupilius, finishes the war with the destruction of the rebels. P. Licinius Crassus, consul and pontifex maximus, is sent into Asia against Aristonicus (a bastard brother of Attalus the late king), who had taken possession of the throne of Pergamus. Two plebeians are chosen censors for the first time. Crassus is defeated, falls alive into the hands of the enemy, and is killed by a Thracian soldier. Next year, the consul Perperna vanquishes Aristonicus, takes him prisoner, and sends him to Rome. Atinius Labeo, a tribune of the people, makes an outrageous attempt upon the person of the censor, Metellus Macedonicus. The same Atinius procures a law, ordaining that the tribunes of the people shall be senators. M. Aquilius, by the basest methods, finishes the conquest of Pergamus; after which, in conjunction with ten commissioners, he reduces it into the form of a province.

Servile war in Sicily. 621. 622. 623. 624.

THE consular fasces were transferred to P. Popillius Lænas and P. Rupilius. Rome had now no war abroad to sustain, but against the revolted slaves in Sicily; a war which had already lasted some years, and was kindled upon the following occasion: the best estates in that country were in the hands of some rich men of the natives, and of the Roman knights (those opulent publicans), who, finding their account more in employing slaves, than husbandmen of free condition, to cultivate the farms, had transported such multitudes of slaves

Year of ROME 621. B. C. 131. 320th consulship.

Year of ROME 621. B.C.131. 320th consul-ship.

thither, that the island swarmed with them. The ill treatment these wretches suffered from their masters, who scarce allowed them necessary food or raiment, put them upon seeking by rapine, what was needful for the support of life. They frequently went out in gangs, plundered villages, and exercised all kinds of violence.—The several prætors successively sent from Rome into the island, had, out of fear of the masters to whom the slaves belonged, neglected doing any thing effectual to remedy these disorders: for the Roman knights were a powerful body, whom it was dangerous to disoblige. Impunity naturally increased the mischief; the slaves grew daily more licentious; and their going out in bands to rob, gave them an opportunity of forming plots to deliver themselves from the yoke of servitude.

Diod. Sic. in Eclog. b. 34. Flor. b. 3. c. 19.

It happened that one Antigenes, a Sicilian, had a Syrian slave, named Eunus, a man of spirit, and who had a particular talent for imposing on the multitude. He pretended to have, by dreams and sensible apparitions, intercourse with the gods. By breathing flames out of his mouth, and a variety of other juggling tricks, he got at length into such vogue as to pass for an oracle. Whole crowds came to him to be told their fortunes. As to himself, he constantly published that his destiny was to be a king. His master, diverted with this whim, used frequently, when at table, to question him concerning his future royalty, and the manner in which he would treat each of the guests then present. According to his different answers, some insulted him, others sent him meat from the table, craving his future protection, when he should be upon his throne. The jest proved serious in the event, as we shall presently see, and Eunus did not forget the different treatment he had met with from his master's guests.

Among those who repaired to this prophet for advice, there came at length the slaves of one Damophilus of Enna, a man of a brutal character, and who had a wife

no less inhuman. Cruelly treated by both, the slaves had formed a plot to murder both. However, before they proceeded to action, they thought it advisable to ask the oracle of the country, Whether the gods would prosper them in an enterprise they were meditating? Eunus answered, "That whatever were their project, it was agreeable to the gods, and would infallibly succeed, provided they did not defer the execution." The slaves thereupon, to the number of 400, armed with forks and scythes, and other rustic weapons, assembled themselves in all haste, put Eunus at their head, and straight marched to Enna; where, being joined by the slaves of the town, they massacred the inhabitants, without regard to age or sex, and plundered the houses. As for Damophilus, Eunus, to try him in form, erected in the public theatre a court of judicature, where he himself presided. Some of those slaves whom the prisoner had treated barbarously, made themselves the accusers; and the multitude was judge. Damophilus pleaded earnestly for himself, and moved many to compassion; but Hermias and Zeuxis, two slaves, more spirited with revenge, and more audacious than the rest, approaching the accused, one of them, without farther ceremony, ran him through with a sword, and the other cut off his head with an axe. And now Eunus was elected king, not for his valour or skill in martial affairs, but on account of his pretended inspirations. He began his reign by putting to death all the prisoners, except such as could make arms, and those of his master's acquaintance who had used him civilly. He also gave up Damophilus's wife, Megallis, into the hands of her women slaves, who, when they had whipped and otherwise tormented her as much as they pleased, threw her headlong down a precipice: but as for her daughter, who had always disapproved the barbarity of her parents, and shewed great compassion to the slaves, they treated her with all imaginable respect and tenderness, and conveyed her safely to Ca-

Year of ROME 621. B. C. 131. 320th consulship.

Year of ROME 621. B. C. 131. 120th consulship

tana, where they delivered her into the care of some of her relations. Eunus with his own hands slew Pytho and Antigenes, the two masters he had successively served. After which, putting the regal circle on his head, and assuming the other ornaments of sovereignty, he took the name of Antiochus, and called his followers Syrians. His next affair was to establish a form of government among his subjects. He chose out some of the ablest men to be his council, and gave the command of his troops to an Achæan, an old soldier, who by his bravery and experience was qualified to command a better army. In three days, his followers increasing to more than 6000 men, he commenced his military expeditions. It was in the year of Rome 615, that this tumult began, Didus being then prætor of Sicily. In 616, Manilius, who succeeded him, was defeated by the rebels, and his camp plundered. The like misfortune happened to P. Cornelius Lentulus in 617; and, in 618, when Calpurnius Piso was prætor, Eunus had still the advantage over the Romans. Three prætors thus vanquished successively by the slaves, struck a terror throughout the whole island. Eunus's army grew daily more numerous. Cleon, a Cilician slave, had taken it into his head to imitate him; and, having got together 5000 slaves, had pillaged Agrigentum, and the territory about it. It was hoped at first, that these two leaders would be competitors for dominion, and destroy one another; but, contrary to all men's expectations, they joined forces, and Cleon served as general under Eunus.

Flor. b. 3. c. 9.

Diod. Sic. Eclog. b. 34.

The Roman affairs were in this bad situation, when the prætor Plautius Hypsæus, in the year 619, came into Sicily to restore them. Far from succeeding, he suffered a total defeat by the rebels; whose army, after this victory, augmented to near 200,000 men, they ravaged the whole country, and took many cities.

The example of the slaves in Sicily infected those in Italy and Greece, and occasioned insurrections there.

These, however, were easily quelled. To reduce king Antiochus and his Syrians, the senate, in the year 619, thought it expedient to send a consular army, under the command of Fulvius, the colleague of Scipio. What fortune Fulvius had, the historians have not told us. His successor, Calpurnius Piso, one of the consuls for the year 620, having first restored discipline, that was much relaxed among the troops, overthrew the slaves before Messina, to which they had laid siege; 8000 of them perished in the action, and the prisoners were all crucified. Notwithstanding this victory, the war continued, till Rupilius, one of the consuls of the present year 621, had the command of the Roman forces. After his arrival in the island, he successively laid siege to Tauromenium and Enna, the strongest places in the possession of the slaves. Both were betrayed into his hands; 20,000 of the rebels are said to have been cut off. Eunus, with 600 of his guards, escaped from Enna, and took refuge in a steep rocky place. Being there invested by the Romans, and having no hope to escape, the 600 slew one another, to avoid a more painful death. King Eunus hid himself in a cave, whence he was quickly dragged out, together with his cook, his baker, the man that used to rub him when he bathed, and a buffoon, whose business had been to divert him at his meals. Rupilius sent him in chains to Murgentia; where, consumed with vermin, he miserably ended his days in prison.

Year of ROME 621. B.C. 131. 320th consulship.

Oros. b. 5. c. 9.

Diod. Sic. Eclog. b. 35. Oros. b. 5. c. 9.

This rebellion was no sooner suppressed, than the republic entered upon a new war in Asia, to make good her claim to the country of Pergamus; a claim founded, as we have before observed, on the testament of Attalus Philometor Aristonicus, a bastard brother of Attalus, assisted by the Thracians from the other side of the Bosphorus, as likewise by a strong party of the Pergamenians, had got possession of the throne; and to dispossess him, it was thought at Rome that no less than a con-

Justin. b. 36 c. 4. Val. Max. b. 3. c. 2. § 12.

Year of ROME 622. B. C. 130. 321st consulship.

sular army would be requisite. But now a warm dispute arose between the consuls, P. Licinius Crassus and L. Valerius Flaccus, for the honour of commanding in this expedition. Crassus, in virtue of his authority as pontifex maximus, subjected his colleague, who was flamen, or priest of Mars, to a fine, in case he left his priestly functions. On the other hand, Valerius pretended that a supreme pontiff was, by his office, incapable of commanding an army out of Italy; and, indeed, there had been hitherto no example of it. The decision of the affair devolved at length upon the people; and then a third party appeared in favour of Scipio Africanus, lately arrived from Spain. Crassus carried his point. Scipio had for him the votes of only two tribes; and these were, perhaps, more than he had reason to expect, considering he was now but a private man, and the people in general not well affected to him: for it was publicly known that, when at Numantia he received the news of Tiberius's death, he repeated a line out of Homer to this effect:

Liv. Epit. b. 59.

Cic. Philip. 11. 8.

Plut. in Grac.

So perish all who imitate his crimes.[r]

He soon confirmed the multitude in their dislike to him. C. Papirius Carbo, a bold man and a great orator, but of no character for virtue, was at this time in the tribuneship, and warmly espoused the cause of the people against the nobles. One day, in a public assembly, he called to Scipio, and asked him, What he thought of the death of Tiberius? meaning probably, by this question, to draw an answer from him that would hurt his credit, either with the senate or the people. Scipio, without hesitation, declared that, in his opinion, Tiberius was justly slain. And when the multitude let him know their displeasure by a loud cry, he boldly returned, "Cease your noise: do you think, by your clamour, to frighten me, who am used, unterrified, to hear the shouts of embattled enemies?"

Cic. pro Milon. c. 7. et de Orat. l. 2. c. 25. Vell. Pat. b. 2. Val. Max. b. 6. c. 2. § 3.

[r] Ὡς ἀπόλοιτο καὶ ἄλλος, ὅστις τοιαῦτά γε ῥέζοι. Odyss. α. 47.

The law formerly mentioned,* enacting, that the people should vote by tablets, in making and repealing laws, was now obtained by this Carbo. He offered another, importing, that the same person might be re-elected to the tribuneship, as often as the people pleased.—The party of the nobles, in opposing this, employed their whole credit; and the eloquence of Scipio and his friend Lælius, thus assisted, prevailed against that of C. Gracchus and Carbo. Year of ROME 622. B.C. 130. 321st consulship.

* See p. 570.

This year the *comitia*, for the first time, chose both the censors out of the plebeian order: they were Q. Cæcilius Metellus Macedonicus and Q. Pompeius. That the Roman people might increase and multiply, Metellus published a censorial edict, recommending marriage; and, on that subject made a speech, of which A. Gellius has preserved two fragments, but ascribes them to Metellus Numidicus. Liv. Epit. l. 59. Aul. Gell c. 6

"If, Romans, the race of men could be preserved without wives, we should all spare ourselves the trouble of them: but since nature has so ordered it, that there is no living comfortably with them, nor living at all without them, we ought to have more regard to the welfare and perpetuity of the republic, than to the ease of a life that is of so short duration."

Speaking of the corruption of manners, "The immortal gods are powerful: but we have no right to expect they should be more indulgent to us than are our parents. Now if we persist in evil courses, our parents disinherit us. What then have we to hope from the gods, if we do not put an end to our extravagances? Those only who are not enemies to themselves, have a title to their favour. It is the part of the gods to reward virtue, not to give it."

We left the consul Crassus just appointed to conduct an expedition into the east. He entered the territories of Pergamus at the head of a powerful army, strengthened by auxiliaries from Mithridates, king of Pontus (father of the famous king of that name), and from the P. Oros. b. 5. c. 13. Justin. b. 36 c. 4

Year of ROME 622. B.C.130. 321st consul-ship. Frontin. Stratag. b. 4. c. 5. §. 16. Val Max. b. 3. c. 2. §. 12. Flor. b. 2. c. 20.

kings of Cappadocia, Bithynia, and Paphlagonia.—According to Justin, the Roman general was more intent on plundering the country, than gaining a victory. Towards the end of the year, being on a march, he was attacked by the enemy, his whole army routed, and he himself taken prisoner; yet he avoided the disgrace of slavery, being killed by a Thracian soldier, whom he purposely provoked by thrusting a rod into his eye.*

Year of ROME 623. B.C.129. 322d consul-ship. Val. Max. b. 3. c. 4 §. 5. Justin. b. 36. c. 4. Oros. b. 5. c. 10.

In the appointment of consuls for the new year, the choice fell upon C. Claudius Pulcher and M. Perperna; the latter (if we may believe Valerius Maximus) not a Roman citizen at the time of his election. Perperna being commissioned to prosecute the war against the king of Pergamus, vanquished him in the field, and afterward took him prisoner in Stratonice, where he had shut himself up. The consul put the treasures of Attalus, together with Aristonicus, on board the fleet, to be conveyed to Rome; but, dying soon after in Asia, left to his successor the honour of leading the captive in triumph.

Plin. Hist. Nat. b. 7. c. 44.

Atinius Labeo, one of the tribunes of this year, to revenge himself on the censor Metellus Macedonicus, who (according to Pliny) had expelled him the senate, made a most outrageous attempt upon his life. As the censor was returning home from the Campus Marcius at noonday, the streets of Rome empty of people, the tribune caused him to be seized, and was dragging him away, to throw him headlong from the Tarpeian rock, when another of the tribunes, at the request of Metellus's sons, came and rescued him. Atinius nevertheless consecrated to Ceres the estate of Metellus, and thereby reduced him to live on the bounty of others.

Varro. ap. Aul. Gell. l. 14. c. 8.

The same Atinius got a law passed, that the tribunes of the people should be senators, which they were not before this time, though they had a right of convening the senate.†

* Strabo reports that Crassus was slain in battle.

† "Nam et tribunis plebis senatus habendi jus erat, quamquam senatores non essent, ante Atinium plebiscitum."

M. Aquilius, raised to the consulship with C. Sempronius Tudinatus, finished the reduction of Pergamus by the basest methods. He poisoned the springs from which the towns that held out against him were supplied with water. Yet the Romans not only continued him in the government of Pergamus three years after the expiration of his consulship, but suffered him, when he came home, to triumph for his exploits. Year of ROME 624. B.C. 128. 323d consulship.

Before his return, the senate nominated ten commissioners, of whom Aquilius was chief, to reduce the kingdom into the form of a province: and, by way of

What is meant here by the word 'senators,' I cannot pretend to say. According to the learned writer of the History of the Life of Cicero, it should mean complete senators, like those that were enrolled in the censorial list. For he supposes that the quæstorship was the first step in the legal ascent and gradation of public honours, and the office of tribune or ædile the next, and that the quæstorship gave an immediate right to the senate, and, after the expiration of the office, an actual admission into it, during life. He adds, "And though, strictly speaking, none were held to be complete senators till they were enrolled at the next lustrum, in the list of the censors, yet that was only matter of form, and what could not be denied to them, unless for the charge and notoriety of some crime, for which every other senator was equally liable to be degraded. These quæstors, therefore, chosen annually by the people, were the regular and ordinary supply of the vacancies of the senate, which consisted at this time of about 500; by which excellent institution, the way to the highest order in the state was laid open to the virtue and industry of every private citizen, and the dignity of this sovereign council maintained by a succession of members, whose distinguished merit had first recommended them to the notice and favour of their countrymen." Dr. Midd Life of Cic. vol. p. 57. 74.

The learned writer, in support of what is here said, gives, in the margin, the following passages from Cicero "Quæstura primus gradus honoris—[in Ver. Act. 1. 4.] Populum Romanum, cujus honoribus in amplissimo consilio, et in altissimo gradu dignitatis, atque in hac omnium terrarum arce collocati sumus. [Post red. in Sen. 1.] Ita magistratus annos creaverunt, ut concilium senatis reip. proponerent sempiternum, deligerentur autem in id concilium ab universo populo, aditusque in illum summum ordinem omnium civium industriæ ac virtuti pateret."—Pro. Sect. 65.

That from Sylla's dictatorship to the time of Cicero's quæstorship (a short period of six or seven years), the quæstors were the regular and ordinary supply of the vacancies of the senate (though, perhaps, it cannot be proved), may well enough be imagined; because the quæstors chosen annually, were then twenty in number. But it plainly appears from the words immediately preceding those which are quoted from Cic. pro Sect. that the passage refers to the times before Sylla, and even to the earliest times of the republic. "Majores nostri, cum regum potestatem non tulissent, ita magistratus annuos creaverunt," &c. Now the number of quæstors annually chosen was, to the year of Rome 333, only two; from that time to 488, but four; and thence to Sylla's dictatorship, in 672, did not exceed eight; which last and largest number, if sufficient to supply the vacancies of a senate consisting of 300 members (many of whom serving in the wars, some must be supposed to perish in battle), yet certainly could not be sufficient to furnish annually ten new tribunes and four new ædiles. Of these fourteen magistrates, who are all supposed by the learned historian to have places in the senate, six must every year, taking one year with another, obtain their magistracies, and rise to the senate, without passing through the office of quæstor.

That in all the ages of the republic, the magistrates chosen annually were the ordinary supply of the vacancies in the senate, seems highly probable from the passages quoted by the learned historian, and from many other. See Cic. pro Rab. c. 7. et pro Cluent. c. 56.

Year of ROME 624. B. C. 126. recompence for the services of Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, who lost his life in the war, bestowed on his children Lycaonia and Cilicia: and Appian says, that Aquilius sold the Greater Phrygia to Mithridates for a sum of money, but that the senate afterward annulled the bargain. Be that as it will, it was not long before the republic claimed, as her own, Ionia, Eolis, Caria, Lydia, Doris, Lycaonia, Pisidia, and the two Phrygias; and the whole, including Pergamus, was called the province of Asia. From this conquest arose that perpetual commerce of Rome with the Asiatics; and hence that excess of luxury, and that refinement in vice, which completed the corruption of Roman manners.

223d consulship.

Justin. b. 37. c. 1. App. de Bell. Mithrid p. 177.

CHAP. IX.

The Roman senate, at the motion of Scipio Æmilianus, takes from the triumvirs the right of judging in causes relating to the resumption of the public lands, and transfers it to the consul Sempronius, who soon after leaves the city on pretence of a rebellion in Iapidia, a canton of Illyricum. Scipio dies suddenly, which occasions surmises about the cause of his death. The consul is vanquished in battle by the Iapidians, but afterwards obtains a victory over them, for which he triumphs. Nothing very remarkable happens to Rome in the two succeeding years.

Scipio Æmil. dies. 625. 626. 627.

In 627, Caius Gracchus goes quæstor into Sardinia with the consul Aurelius, who is sent thither to quell a revolt. Caius persuades the allied cities in that island to furnish clothes for the Roman army, though the senate, at their request, had freed them from that burden. Fulvius Flaccus, a friend of Caius, being raised to the consulship, proposes a law for granting the rights of Roman citizenship to the Italian allies, but drops his enterprise to undertake an expedition against the Saluvii, a nation of Transalpine Gaul, who had made incursions into the territory of Marseilles. The prætor L. Opimius razes the town of Fregellæ, to punish the inhabitants for a plot they had formed to shake off the Roman yoke.

628.

629 630. Caius Gracchus.

Caius Gracchus returns to Rome from Sardinia, is accused before the censors of a misdemeanour, in leaving his general, and is acquitted. Being chosen tribune, he, to the great mortification of the nobility, obtains several laws advantageous to the commons. In the meantime the consul Metellus subdues the inhabitants of the Baleares. Sextius Calvinus, one of the consuls for the last year, having reduced the Saluvii, builds Aquæ Sextiæ (now Aix in Provence), and there establishes a Roman colony.

Of the three commissioners, for resuming and dividing the public lands, P. Crassus and Appius Claudius were now dead. In the place of these, the people elected Papirius Carbo and Fulvius Flaccus, men of no probity, and of very turbulent dispositions. Appian tells us, that when the triumvirs attempted to put in execution the

Agrarian law, numberless disputes arose concerning the boundaries of estates, and the titles of the possessors; that many of the Italians, finding themselves aggrieved by the judgments given in these causes, had recourse to Scipio Africanus, and begged his protection; and that Scipio, though he durst not act any thing directly against the law of Tiberius, yet engaged the senate to take from the triumvirs, as biassed and partial judges, the cognizance of those disputes. The fathers assigned it to the consul Sempronius Tuditanus: but he, perceiving how difficult a province he should have to manage, left the city very soon, pretending that his presence was necessary in Iapidia, a canton of Illyricum, whither he had been before commissioned to go, on account of a rebellion in that country. Year of ROME 624. B. C. 128. 323d consulship.

By his absence all those lawsuits remained undecided; and consequently the functions of the triumvirs were suspended: a disappointment to the people, which exceedingly provoked them against Scipio, the author of it. They reproached him, that though, contrary to the laws, they had twice raised him to the consulship, he was not ashamed of appearing among their greatest enemies.

It is thought, and with good reason, that Scipio aspired to the dictatorship, and that the conscript fathers intended to raise him to that supreme dignity, in order to settle the state; [in other words, to crush by the weight of an absolute and uncontrollable power, all those men, good and bad, who espoused the cause of the injured people, against their oppressors.] He was, at this time, so great a favourite with the senate, that one day the whole body of them, followed by a crowd of Latins, and other Italians, conducted him home from the senate-house. Cic. in Somn. Scipion. Id. de Amic. c. 3.

Next morning he was found dead in his bed, "without any appearance of a wound (says Appian): whether it were that Cornelia, the mother of the Gracchi, in concert with her daughter Sempronia, the wife of Scipio

Year of ROME 624. B. C. 128. 323d consulship.

(who, because she was barren, and not handsome, did not love her, and who was not beloved by her), had poisoned him, lest he should get the Agrarian law repealed: or whether it were, as some think, that he killed himself, because he found he could not accomplish what he had undertaken. There are others (adds the same historian) who say, that his slaves, being put to the torture, confessed, that certain persons unknown, who were admitted into the house by a back door, had strangled him; and that, as for themselves, they had not dared to discover this murder, because they knew that the people, hating Scipio, rejoiced at his death."

De Orat. b. 2. c. 40. De Amic. c. 5

Cicero, in one part of his writings, introduces the orator Crassus accusing Carbo of being an accomplice in the murder: and, in another part, represents Lælius as at a loss to say what death Scipio died.

Plutarch tells us, "That it was thought there appeared, on the dead body, some marks of blows and violence: that most people openly accused Fulvius, Scipio's declared enemy, and who, the day before, had, from the rostra, broke out into bitter railings against him. that there was some suspicion even of Caius Gracchus: and that the people, for fear he should be found guilty, would not suffer any inquiry into the matter."

L. 2. c. 4.

"No inquisition was made (says Velleius Paterculus) concerning the death of so great a man; and he, by whose exploits Rome had raised her head above all the world, was carried to his funeral with his head covered."[u]

[u] The writer of the Lives of Illustrious Men, will have it, that Scipio's head was covered, to hinder the livid spots in his face from being seen. But if, as we learn from Cicero (pro Murən. c. 36.) and Valerius Maximus (l. 7. c. 5. § 1.) Fabius and Tubero, the nephews of Scipio, had the care of his funeral, it is hard to account for their causing his head to be covered, unless it were a trick, to hinder people from seeing that there were no marks of violence upon it, and consequently no ground for the calumnies industriously propagated.

From the variety of reports about the violence done to Scipio, and about the authors of it, it seems most probable, that prejudice and party-spirit invented the whole, and that he truly died a natural death, which according to Velleius Paterculus, was the opinion of many authors.

The writer of the political Discourses, prefixed to the new translation of Sallust, tells us, (p. 14.) that "Caius Gracchus observed a scandalous neutrality and silence upon an inquiry into the death of Scipio, his brother-in-law.' But surely Caius was the last man, from whom it could be reasonably expected, that he should give him-

Whether he died a natural death, as many authors have delivered, or by treachery, as some have reported [" seu fatalem, ut plures, seu conflatam insidiis, ut aliqui prodidere memoriæ, mortem obiit," &c.] certain it is, that the glory of his life was never surpassed but by that of

Year of ROME 624. B. C. 128. 332d consulship.

self much trouble to discover, whether Scipio was poisoned or hanged; a man who had publicly declared his approbation of the murder of his brother-in-law, Caius's own brother, Tiberius. And, as to Caius's clearing himself from suspicion, he would have sinned against the dignity of his own character, had he supposed, that any body could sincerely believe him capable of assassinating a man in his sleep.

I cannot but observe here, how easily M. Rollin (prepossessed against the popular cause and its patrons) not only gives up Caius Gracchus, and his sister Sempronia, as concerned in the assassination of her husband, Scipio, but involves likewise Cornelia in the guilt. Vol. ix. p 65.

"It is not to be doubted (says M. Rollin) but this murder was committed by the faction of the Gracchi, and it is hard not to believe, that Caius had a hand in it, seeing all those with whom he had the closest connexion were suspected. Plutarch says expressly, that Fulvius was suspected. Pompey thought that Carbo was certainly guilty. Sempronia, sister of the Gracchi, and wife of Scipio, is charged [*i. e.* reported to have been suspected] in the epitome of Livy and by Oriosus; and Appian makes her mother Cornelia an accomplice with her in the murder. [*i. e.* Appian speaks of such a rumour, but at the same time tells us, that some were of opinion, that Scipio killed himself.] Cic. ad Q. Fr. l. 2. Ep. 3.

"From the testimonies of these different authors it results, that Sempronia, readily hearkening to the suggestions of Cornelia and the triumvirs, either poisoned her husband, or brought into the house, by night, assassins who strangled him."

It will appear the more extraordinary that M. Rollin should by such testimonies be persuaded, beyond all doubt, of the guilt of Cornelia, if we turn to what he says of her in other parts of his Roman History. [Plutarch is his voucher.]

"Cornelia, after the death of her husband (who left her twelve children), applied herself to the care of her family, with a wisdom and prudence that acquired her great esteem. Plutarch tells us, that Ptolemy, king of Egypt (it must have been Ptolemy Physcon), would have shared his crown with her, and sent to ask her in marriage; but she refused him. Certainly he would have been a husband very unworthy of so accomplished a spouse." Vol. ix. p 6.

She lost all her children, except one daughter, Sempronia, whom she married to Scipio Africanus; and two sons, Tiberius and Caius, whom she educated with so much care, and though they were generally known to be young men of excellent natural parts and dispositions, yet it was thought, that they owed still more to education than to nature.

"The body of Caius was carried to Misenum, whither Cornelia had retired after the death of Tiberius. She there passed the remainder of her days in a country-house, without changing any thing in her manner of living. Her extraordinary merit drew constantly a good deal of company about her, men of letters, and men of the first rank in the commonwealth. She charmed all her visitors when she related the particulars of her father's life, and described his manner of living. But they were filled with admiration, when, without shedding a tear, or shewing any sign of grief, she gave the history of all that her sons had done and suffered, as if she had been speaking of persons indifferent to her. When she mentioned the sanctuaries where they had been slain, she used to say, 'They were tombs worthy of the Gracchi.' This firmness of soul seemed so extraordinary to some, that they imagined her understanding impaired by years and the weight of her adversities. Senseless judges! (says Plutarch) ignorant how much an excellent natural temper, and a good education, can exalt the soul above fortune, and enable it to triumph over sorrow." Vol. ix. p. 12.

This accomplished lady, this excellent mother, so admirably skilled in the art of educating children, this elevated soul, so universally esteemed and revered to the end of her life, is the person of whom M. Rollin entertains no doubt. "That she promoted and persuaded her daughter either to poison her husband, or to introduce assassins, by night, into the house, to strangle him."

Year of ROME 624. B.C. 128. his grandfather, the first Africanus. The second finished his days in the fifty-sixth year of his age."

He was doubtless a man of letters, wit, and politeness; a fine gentleman; not only free from avarice, but noble and generous in money affairs; and, though his exploits in war are not very striking, a brave and able commander. As for Cicero's extravagant praises of him, they may well be considered as the language of one party-zealot extolling another of the same party. There needs no better proof of Cicero's being determined, at any rate, to make him a hero of the first class, than his representing the war with the Numantines, as a contest whether Rome should exist or not; and his comparing Scipio's victory over them with Marius's victory over the Cimbri.[x]

323d consulship.

Year of ROME 625. B.C. 127. Sempronius, the consul, was defeated in his first battle with the Iapidians; but, in a second, he obtained so complete a victory, as to be rewarded with a triumph.

324th consulship. Liv. Epit. b. 59 Justin. b. 37 c. 1. The year 625 (Cn. Octavius and T. Annius Luscus consuls), proved a year of tranquillity, both at home and abroad; nor was the following consulate of L. Cassius Longinus and L. Cornelius Cinna, remarkable for any thing but the complaisance of the Romans for a people in their alliance. The senate had ordered Phocæa, a city of Asia, to be razed; because the inhabitants had given assistance to Aristonicus. These, in their distress, had recourse to the mediation of the Massilienses,[y] who came originally from Phocæa, and still preserved the language and the form of government their ancestors brought from thence: and as the Massilienses had signalized their invariable attachment to Rome in doubtful times, as well as in those of her greatest posterity, they had credit enough with the senate, to get the sentence against the Phocæans reversed.

Year of ROME 626 B.C. 126.

325th consulship.

[x] Sic cum Celtiberis, cum Cimbris bellum, ut cum inimicis gerebatur, uter esset, non uter imperaret. Cic. de Off. 1. 12. See Orat. pro Manil. c. 20. et pro Murən. c. 23.

[y] The people of Marseilles.

The next year, when the consular fasces were transferred to M. Æmilius Lepidus and L. Aurelius Orestes, Caius Gracchus was chosen quæstor,[a] and appointed to serve under Aurelius, who had commission to pass with an army into Sardinia, on account of a rebellion in that island. Year of ROME 627. B. C. 125. 36th consulship.

Caius, whilst a candidate for the quæstorship, dreamed one night, that his brother Tiberius appeared to him, and said, "You may linger, Caius, and recoil, as much as you please; but you must die the same death with mine; there is no avoiding it."[b] Cicero firmly believes that Caius's dream was a revelation of what was to happen to him; and Plutarch urges the same dream, as a proof that he entered into public life rather by fatality than choice. Liv. Epit. b. 60. Divin. l. c. 26.

The quæstor, after his arrival at Sardinia, not only signalized his bravery on all occasions, but greatly distinguished himself by his simplicity of manners, temperance, justice, humanity, diligence in the execution of his office, observance of discipline, affection and respect for his general. Plut. in Grac.

It happened to be a hard winter, and very unhealthy. Aurelius wanting clothes for his troops, and having demanded of several cities in the island to supply him, these, by deputies dispatched to the senate, begged to be discharged from that burdensome imposition. The fathers complied, and ordered the general to find some other way to clothe his army. While he was at a loss what course to take, for relieving the soldiers, who suf-

[a] Plutarch reports, that Caius, soon after the death of his brother, began to absent himself from the assemblies of the people, and to live a private life, as a man entirely discouraged from meddling with public affairs. This retreat, however (if it can at all be reconciled with his commission of triumvir) did not last long. For the very next year (as we have seen) he was busy in assisting Carbo to get his law passed concerning the re-election of tribunes. And that, in a public pleading, he defended a friend of his, named Vettius, with an eloquence that astonished and transported the people, we have the authority of the same historian. And, as we shall presently find that Caius, in the year before his first tribuneship, and when he was but twenty-nine years of age, had made twelve campaigns, it is evident he could not have spent a great deal of time in retirement.

[b] —— Quam vellet cunctaretur, tamen eodem sibi leto, quo ipse interisset, esse pereundum—quo somnio quid inveniri potest certius?

Year of ROME 627. B.C. 125. 326th consulship.

fered extremely, the quæstor, of his own motion, made a progress through Sardinia, and prevailed with the cities voluntarily to furnish the Romans with what they wanted.

The news of this great service, by Caius performed, and which could not fail to gain him the affections of the people at Rome, caused much uneasiness to the senate. About the same time arrived from Micipsa, king of Numidia, certain ambassadors, who signified to the fathers, that the king, out of his particular regard for Caius Gracchus, was sending to the Roman general in Sardinia, a considerable supply of corn: a declaration which so provoked their anger, that after many opprobrious words, they drove the ambassadors out of the assembly.

Year of ROME 628 B.C. 124. 327th consulship.

The senate received a new mortification, when, at the next election of consuls, one of their most inveterate enemies was raised to that dignity. With M. Plautius Hypsæus, the *comitia* joined M. Fulvius Flaccus, the associate of Gracchus and Carbo, in the commission for resuming and dividing the usurped lands. Fulvius proposed two laws to the *comitia;* the first, "That the right of Roman citizenship should be granted to the Italian allies:" the second, "That, if a dispute arose with regard to any man's claim, in consequence of the first law, the claimant should have the right of appeal to the people." Some of the senators admonished the consul, others entreated him, to desist from a project that would put the subjects of Rome upon an equality with her citizens. He did not deign to give them any answer. However, he dropped the affair for the sake of going upon an expedition to assist the people of Marseilles against the Saluvii,[c] who had ravaged their territory.

App. de Bell Civ l. 1. p. 362. Val. Max l. 9. c 5. §. 1.

Ep. b. 60. Vell. Pat. l. 2.

About this time was discovered a plot, formed by the people of Fregellæ (a town not far from the Liris), to

[c] Sometimes called Sallyes; a people near Aix in Provence.

throw off the yoke of the republic. Numitorius Pullus, one of the chiefs of the conspiracy, betrayed his associates. And when L. Opimius, the prætor, came from Rome with an army to besiege the place, the same Numitorius contrived to have it delivered into his hands. Opimius razed it to the ground; and this severity is said to have deterred many other Italian towns from breaking out into rebellion, to which, provoked by their disappointment in relation to the freedom of Rome, they were now strongly inclined.[d] Year of ROME 628. B. C. 124. 327th consulship. Jul. Obs. l. 90 Cic. de Invent. l 2. c. 34.

In the beginning of the consulship of C. Cassius Longinus and C. Sextius Calvinus, the senate recalled the army of Aurelius from Sardinia, and sent new levies thither, to be commanded by the same general. Their reason for continuing Aurelius in the island, was to detain Caius Gracchus there, who, they imagined, would not leave him: but Caius no sooner perceived the design, than he embarked for Italy. When, contrary to the public expectation, he appeared at Rome, he was blamed not only by his enemies, but by the people themselves, who thought it very strange that a quæstor should return home before his general. Being cited to answer, before the censors, for this misdemeanour, he, in his defence, represented, that, though not obliged to serve more than ten campaigns, he had served twelve; and that he had stayed in the province about two years, though, by law, a quæstor might come home at the end of one year. His plea was allowed. Year of ROME 629. B. C. 125. 328th consulship. De fin. l. 5. c. 22. Orat. in Pison. c. 39. et Ascon. in loc. Plut. in Grac.

Aulus Gellius has given us some parts of an oration, which Caius made to an assembly of the people, soon after his return from Sardinia.—"In the discharge of

[d] It is reported, that this year a violent east wind brought such a cloud of locusts, that the coast of Africa was quite covered with them. They devoured all sorts of grain to the very roots, and did not spare the hardest barks of trees; and when a south wind afterward blew them into the sea, they did much more mischief dead than when they were living. The waves drove them upon the beach, where corrupting, they caused an infection in the air, all the way from Cyrenaica to Utica, and far up into the inland countries. The plague is said to have carried off 800,000 persons in the kingdom of Numidia alone, besides 200,000 upon the sea-coast; and in the prætorian army, appointed to guard Africa, there perished 30,000 Roman soldiers. Jul. Obs. c. 90. Liv. Epit. l. 60. P. Oros. l. 5. c. 11.

Year of ROME 629. B.C. 123. 328th consulship.

my office, I have always pursued what, I thought, your interest required, not any views of my own ambition. I gave no splendid entertainments, nor was I served by handsome boys. Your children were as sober and decent at my table, as when in the presence of their officers in the camp. If any prostitute has entered my house, or any man's slave been enticed by me, let me be esteemed the most profligate and most contemptible of mankind. I have been above two years in the province, yet no man can say with truth, that ever I received even the smallest present from him, or that he was at any expense on my account. When I returned to Rome, my purse, which I had carried out full, I brought back empty; whereas others having carried, into the province, vessels full of wine, having brought them back full of money."

Aul. Gell. l. 15. c. 12.

Plut. in Grac.

The enemies of Caius, not succeeding in their first attempt to hurt his credit, made a second, by a charge against him of having excited the Italians to revolt, and particularly those of Fregallæ, whom Opimius had so severely punished. The accused easily cleared himself from this imputation; and his character remaining without a blemish, he was chosen tribune for the next year (the consulate of Q. Cæcilius Metellus and T. Quinctius Flamininus). His mother Cornelia is said to have employed all the arts of persuasion, as well as the most earnest intreaties, but in vain, to divert him from courting an office that had proved so fatal to his brother. The great and the rich had formed a powerful combination to disappoint him. But, on the other hand, the people, to favour his election, had, from all parts of Italy, flocked in such numbers to the city, that the Forum could not contain the multitude; so that many of them, getting upon the tops of the houses, had from thence given him their suffrages.

Year of ROME 630. B.C. 122. 329th consulship. Fragm. Corn. Nep.

Cic. in Brut. c. 33.

Caius Gracchus, bred to letters from his childhood, had, with solid and shining parts, unwearied applica-

tion: his diction was copious, his expression full of dignity, his thoughts just, and the whole composition of his discourse grave and elevated. He is said to have been the first of the Roman orators that, in speaking, moved about in the rostra, and used vehemence of action: and such care he took with regard to the modulation of his voice in his public harangues, as to have always behind him a musician, who, when he raised it too high, or sunk it too low, brought it, by means of a flageolet, to the proper pitch. Year of ROME 630. B. C. 122. 329th consulship. Plut. in Grac Cic. de Or. l. 3. c. 60.

The murder of Tiberius—his body dragged from the Capitol through the streets, and thrown into the Tiber—his friends condemned to death by the nobles, without trial, or form of justice—his own forlorn and distressful condition:—on these topics the eloquence of Caius had a peculiar force to move his hearers.—"Ah, wretch! Whither turn myself? Where hide me? The Capitol a refuge?—There bleeds Tiberius, a brother. Fly home then?—Disconsolate to behold a mother, greatly miserable and despairing." [Quo me miser conferam? Quo vertam?—In Capitolium-ne? At fratris sanguine redundat.—An Domum? Matrem-ne ut miseram, lamentantemque videam et abjectam?] Cicero tells us, that when Caius uttered these words, such a power there was in his look, his action, the tone of his voice, that he drew tears even from his enemies.[e]

Soon after his entering upon the tribuneship, he published two edicts. The first declared, that a magistrate deposed by the people should be for ever incapable of any office in the state. This was levelled against Octavius, deposed at the motion of Tiberius; but Plutarch informs us, that Caius, at the request of his mother Cornelia, to whom Octavius was related, consented to the revocation of this edict. The other, which passed into a law, ordained, that no Roman citizen should Plut. in Grac. Cic. pro. Rabir. c. 4.

[e] Quæ sic ab illo acta esse constabat, oculis, voce, gestu, inimici ut lacrimas tenere non possent. De Orat. l. 3. c. 56.

Year of ROME 630. B. C. 122.

be capitally tried, without an express order from the people.[f]

329th consulship.

Caius's next step was to get the Agrarian law of Tiberius enforced: but he added a clause to it, charging the lands to be divided, with a certain annual tribute, payable into the treasury. After which he proposed and carried several other laws in favour of the commons.

Liv. Epit. l. 60. Vell. Pat. l. 2. Plut. in Grac.

One to forbid the enlisting any Roman citizen for the war, before the age of seventeen.

Another for clothing the soldiers at the public expense, without retrenching any thing of their pay on that account.

De Rep. Ord. Ep. 2. in frag. Sallust.

A third, that in creating magistrates, the order, in which the centuries should vote, should be determined by lot, and not by their census, as formerly.

App. de Bell. Civ. l. 1. p. 362. Cic. 3. in Ver. c. 6. Flor. 3. 15. Fest.

A fourth for a monthly distribution of corn to the people, at the expense of the treasury,[g] as some authors say. Others write, that this fourth law was for lowering the price of corn: be that as it will, the tribune got the revenues of Attalus's late kingdom appropriated for supplying the corn; and, to hold it, built storehouses, which were afterward called the granaries of Sempronius.

A fifth for making highways: a work to which he applied himself with the greatest pleasure and diligence; carrying on these roads in a straight line, levelling the ground, and building bridges, where water courses or other hollows made it necessary; erecting mile stones,[h] and on both sides of the road placing other stones, for the convenience of travellers in mounting their horses; for stirrups were not then in use.

Plut. in Grac.

[f] According to Plutarch, the law was to this effect, That any magistrate, who banished a Roman citizen, without previous trial, should be brought into judgment before the people: he adds, that this law was designed chiefly against Popillius, who, when prætor, had banished the friends of Tiberius, without observing the usual forms of justice; and that Popillius, not daring to stand a prosecution, left Italy.

[g] Cicero, though he approves of moderate largesses to the people, condemns this of Caius as excessive, draining the treasury, and encouraging the poor in idleness. De Offic. l. 2. c. 21. et pro Sext. c. 48.

[h] Hence the expressions in Latin authors, "tertio, quarto ab urbe lapide," to signify three, four miles from the town.

Caius in person directed the execution of these enterprises, and had many other affairs upon his hands; yet was not oppressed or embarrassed with their weight or number. In his various intercourse with ambassadors, officers, soldiers, men of letters, architects, and workmen, he constantly preserved his gravity, dignity, and politeness, suiting himself to the rank and characters of the persons with whom he conversed; insomuch that even his enemies could not help admiring his superior talents. Year of ROME 630. B. C. 122. 329th consulship.

While the tribune was thus busied in useful works of peace, the consul Metullus conducted a war in the islands called Baleares.[1] The inhabitants, says Strabo, were, generally speaking, of a peaceable disposition; but some of them having associated themselves with pirates, the Romans made this a pretext for invading and subduing the whole nation. It was effected without great difficulty, their chief offensive weapon being a sling. In the use of this, they are said to have been expert beyond any people in the world; being accustomed, when children, to earn their breakfast by their dexterity. The mother, for a mark, set up a piece of bread, and the hungry boy, placed at a certain distance, was obliged, with a stone from his sling, to hit the mark, before he was allowed to eat it. Strabo. b. 3. p. 167. Flor. b. 3. c. 8. Diod. Sic. b. 5. c. 1.

Metellus built some towns in the conquered islands; and having transplanted thither 3000 Romans from the Spanish colonies, returned to Rome, had a triumph, and took the surname of Balearicus.

In the mean time Sextius Calvinus, one of the consuls of the last year, and now proconsul, carried on the war, which his predecessor Fulvius had begun against the Saluvii, commanded in the field by their king Teutomalius. Sextius obtained a complete victory, and totally subdued the nation: after which he built a town in a place that abounded with excellent waters, both hot and cold; and Liv. Epit. b. 61

[1] Majorca and Minorca.

Year of ROME 630. B. C. 122. 329th consulship.

from his own name, called it Aquæ Sextiæ, now Aix [in Provence]. And here he established the first Roman colony that ever passed into Transalpine Gaul.

CHAP. X.

Caius Gracchus is chosen tribune a second time, and by his credit with the people,
631. obtains the consulship for C. Fannius Strabo, in opposition to L. Opimius. The tribune transfers the right of judicature from the senators to the Roman knights; ordains that the senate shall, before every election of chief magistrates, determine what provinces shall be consular and what prætorian; plants new colonies; and gives the freedom of Rome to the Italian allies. Drusus, one of his colleagues, being gained over to the party of the senate, endeavours by unworthy methods to make them gracious among the people, and to supplant Caius in their esteem. The latter goes into Africa, at the head of a colony, in order to rebuild Carthage. On his return to Rome he proposes several new laws. Many of the Italians flocking to the city to give their votes, the consul Fannius publishes an edict, forbidding any of the allies to appear within five miles of Rome, till the *comitia*, shall have determined concerning the laws in question. Caius stands candidate for the tribuneship a third time, and loses his election. L. Opimius being raised to
632. the consulship, purposes to get several of Caius's laws repealed. Antyllius, one of the consul's lictors, is slain by some of the followers of Fulvius Flaccus, one of the triumvirs, a warm opposer of the measures of Opimius. The senate, as if the commonwealth were in the utmost danger, vest Opimius with a dictatorial power. He commands the senators and knights to take arms. Next morning Fulvius and his party possess themselves of the Aventine hill. Cains persuades them to send to the consul, and propose an accommodation. Opimius disdains to treat, and advancing with his troops, disperses the followers of Caius and Fulvius. These two Romans, with many others, are slain, and their dead bodies thrown into the Tiber. Opimius builds a temple to Concord. the people raise statues to the Gracchi, and worship before them. The Agrarian law is repealed; and the rich get possession of the lands.

App. de Bell. Civ. b. 1. p. 362. Plut. in Grac.

A NEW decree having been lately made by the *comitia*, "That if a tribune wanted time to complete any useful undertaking, particular regard should be had to him at the next elections," Caius Gracchus, without any solicitation on his part, was rechosen to that office. Some few days before the meeting of the centuries to name new consuls, he told the people, in a speech from the rostra, that he had one favour to ask of them, which, if he obtained it, he should look upon as a full recompense for all his services: nevertheless, that he should not complain, if it were refused. As he did not mention the thing desired, many persons imagined, at first, that he intended to ask the consulship, with permission to hold it, together with his office of tribune. But, upon the day of

election, he came into the assembly, leading by the hand C. Fannius Strabo, whom he recommended to the citizens for their votes. His view was to defeat the pretensions of L. Opimius (the destroyer of Fregellæ), one of the candidates, a man of great sway in the senate, and whom Plutarch calls an oligarchic man. The people readily granted the request of their favourite tribune, and raised Fannius to the consular dignity with Cn. Domitius Ænobarbus. Year of ROME 631. B.C. 121. 330th consulship.

It fell by lot to Domitius to continue the war beyond the Alps, and to his colleague to administer affairs at home.

Caius, in his second tribuneship, passed a law, that took from the senate the right of judicature, which they had exercised from the foundation of Rome, and transferred it to the knights.[k] "This act [how sensibly soever it affected the senate] was equitable: for as the senators possessed all the magistracies and governments of the empire, so they were the men whose oppressions were the most severely felt, and most frequently complained of: yet, while the judgment of all causes continued in their hands, it was their common practice to favour and absolve one another in their turns, to the general scandal and injury, both of the subjects and allies; of which some late and notorious instances had given a plausible pretext for Gracchus's law; particularly Aurelius Cotta, Salinator, and M'. Acquillius, had been convicted of extortion, by most clear and undeniable proofs, yet had escaped punishment, through the corruption of their judges; corruption so manifest, that the senate, says Appian, were ashamed to make any opposition to the charge. App. loc. cit. Vell. Pat. 1. 2. Ascon. Præd. in Divin. in Cæcil. n. r. Di. Middl. Pref. to Life of Cic.

Plutarch tells us, that Caius, when he proposed this new law, instead of turning his face to the senate, as had hitherto been the custom of those who spoke from the rostra, turned his face towards the people, and that Plut. in Grac.

[k] The epitome of Livy (b. 60.) places this act in the first tribuneship of Caius.

Year of ROME 631. B.C. 121. 330th consul. ship.

he always continued this practice[l] meaning thereby to express the people's superior authority to that of the senate. The same historian adds, that the *comitia* referred to Caius the choice of the knights that were to be judges.

The tribune, to shew that what he acted in favour of the people, did not proceed from passion, or any design to ruin the just authority of the senate, procured a law, that this assembly should every year, before the election of consuls and prætors, determine which of the provinces should be consular, and which prætorian; and that, with regard to the consular provinces, even the tribunes should not have the right of intercession, or opposition. This law, though violated, on certain occasions, by some turbulent tribunes, continued to the times of the monarchy.

Cic. de Prov. Consular. c. 2. et 7 et pro Dom. c. 9. Flor. b. 3. c. 13. Sallust. Bell. Jugurth. Plut. in Grac. V. Pat. L. 2. Plut. loc. cit.

Caius passed a decree for planting colonies at Capua and Tarentum; and, if we may credit some writers, he actually obtained the right of Roman citizenship for the Latins, and the other Italian allies.[m]

The senate, dreading lest his power should become irresistible, had recourse to a very extraordinary method, to gain from him the affections of the people. It was by loading them with such favours as should make those they had received, or yet expected from Caius, appear inconsiderable. In this view they applied themselves to M. Livius Drusus, one of the tribunes, a man of good

[l] This custom was first introduced in the year 608, by C. Licinius Crassus, when endeavouring, in his tribuneship, to transfer from the pontifical college to the people the right of choosing priests. Cic. de Amic. c. 25. Var. de re Rustic. l. 1. c. 2.

[m] Appian writes, that Caius invited the Latins to petition for the rights of Roman citizenship, and proposed, contrary to the ancient custom, to give the right of suffrage to the other allies, designing to make use of their assistance to get enacted the laws which he had in view. The senate, greatly alarmed at this project, passed a decree, that the consuls should by edict forbid all who had not the right of voting to be at Rome, or within five miles of it, till the *comitia* should have determined with regard to the laws in question. They also persuaded Livius Drusus, the colleague of Gracchus, to oppose the passing of the laws, without assigning a reason for his opposition, and gave the same right to any [tribune] that would intercede. And to appease the populace, twelve colonies were granted, which being extremely agreeable to the multitude, they despised Gracchus's laws; whereupon he, frustrated of the favour of the people, went into Africa, together with Fulvius Flaccus, to settle a colony, &c.

parts, natural and acquired, a great orator, and very rich: and by their solicitations engaged him to combine with them against his colleague. Drusus, prostituting his office to serve their ends, promulgated laws, in which his aim was not the good of the people, but only the supplanting Caius in their esteem; and the senate supported with their authority all the proposals of their creature. They had railed against Caius as a flatterer of the populace, for planting two colonies, though he had chosen out very worthy citizens for that purpose; but they aided Drusus in procuring a decree for planting twelve new colonies each of 3000 Romans. When Caius distributed lands to the poor, he charged on those lands a certain yearly rent payable into the treasury, yet the senate accused him of basely courting the people for private views; but they approved of Drusus's remitting those rents to the possessors of the lands. They likewise assisted him to get a law passed, That no Roman general should cause any soldier of the Latin nations to be beaten with rods. The tribune, on his part, never failed to declare publicly, that he made all his proposals by the advice of the senate, ever solicitous for the good of the people: whose hatred to the nobles he, by this artful management, almost totally extinguished; and he himself rose to a high degree of favour. In one respect his conduct was more popular than that of Caius Gracchus; for Drusus constantly avoided meddling with the public money, and committed to others the charge of effecting all that he ordained; whereas Caius took upon himself the execution of the most and the greatest of his projects.

Year of ROME 631. B. C. 121. 330th consulship.

Rubrius, one of the tribunes, having passed a law for rebuilding Carthage, and settling there a colony of 6000 Romans, and it falling by lot to Caius to go at the head of this commission, he soon after embarked for Africa. The senate did not dislike an enterprise which carried away from Rome the man they most hated, and with

Plut. in Grac. App. de Bell. Civ. l. 1. p. 364.

Year of ROME 631. B.C. 121. 330th consul-ship.

him, a great number of plebeians, the most troublesome to them in the *comitia;* and Drusus laid hold of this opportunity to ingratiate himself farther with the multitude.

When Caius had spent about two months in raising, on the ruins of Carthage, a new city, which he called Junonia, he returned to Rome, on advice that his presence was necessary there, both to support his own credit, and to disappoint the views of Opimius, who now again stood candidate for the consulship. Plutarch relates, that the tribune, to make his court to the populace, took a house near the Forum, in a quarter inhabited by the meanest of the citizens, and that he then proposed the rest of his laws; but the historian does not tell us what these laws imported. A vast crowd of people flocked from the country to Rome, to give their votes. The consul Fannius, though raised to his office by the interest of Caius, had long since been gained over by the nobles; and now, in consequence of a decree of the senate, he published a very extraordinary edict, forbidding any man of the allies to appear in the city, or (according to Appian) within five miles of it, while the proposed laws were under deliberation. Caius, on the other hand, by edict, encouraged the allies to remain in Rome, promising them his assistance against the consul: yet when he saw one of these, who had been his host, seized upon by Fannius's lictors, he quietly suffered it; either, says Plutarch, because he was unwilling to discover the weakness of his party, then on the decline; or, as he himself asserted, that he might not furnish his enemies with what they had hitherto sought in vain, a pretence for having recourse to arms. It is probabable, that the intended laws were dropped, no farther mention being made of them.

In the next *comitia* for choosing tribunes, Caius, a third time, stood candidate, and some say he had a majority for him; but his colleagues, whose business it was

to count the votes, being displeased with him, made a false return. Be that as it will, he now missed his aim: and this disappointment was soon followed by the promotion of his enemy, L. Opimius (with Q. Fabius Maximus), to the consulship; who, according to expectation, presently exerted the whole power of his office to procure the repeal of Caius's laws, and to get his proceedings at Carthage condemned. Caius, though in a disposition to be passive, yet, at the instigation of Fulvius, the triumvir, assembled his friends, in order to defeat the consul's measures.

Year of ROME 632. B.C. 120. 331st consulship.

On the day fixed for proposing to the *comitia* the abrogation of the laws in question,[n] both parties, early in the morning, repaired to the Capitol. While the consul was performing the customary sacrifice, Q. Antyllius, one of his lictors, carrying away the entrails of the victim, said to the friends of Caius and Fulvius, "Make way there, ye worthless citizens, for honest men!" And, as some add, he, at the same time, used an action, with his hand, indecent and contemptuous: in resentment of which they instantly fell upon him, and slew him with the pins of their table-books.

The people in general were much disturbed at the rash and criminal act, and nobody more than Caius, who reproached his followers with having madly given their enemies a pretext for violence. Opimius, on the other hand, excited his party to take immediate revenge, imagining he had now a favourable opportunity to destroy Caius: but a great rain obliged the multitude to separate.

Next day, while the fathers, assembled by order of the consul, were sitting, some of his creatures, having laid the dead body of Antyllius naked on a bier, carried it through the Forum to the senate-house, making loud lamentation as they went along. Opimius pretended

[n] Florus (b. 3. c. 15.) says, Minucius, a tribune, was going to abrogate the laws of Gracchus. According to Appian, the *comitia* assembled to determine only with regard to the affair of the colony at Carthage. It was pretended that Caius ought to have desisted from the undertaking, on account of some prodigies, said to have [illegible] while he was laying the foundation of the city.

Year of ROME 632. B. C. 120. 331st consulship

ignorance and surprise; and, with all the senators, went out to see what the matter was. The body being set down in the midst of them, they began to mourn, and wail, as for some public and terrible calamity: a low, wretched farce, that could not but excite a hatred and detestation of the actors. They had, with premeditated malice, murdered, even in the Capitol, and when tribune, that excellent citizen Tiberius Gracchus, and had thrown his dead body into the river; yet, when the corpse of a hireling lictor (who, if he had not merited his fate, had, at least, brought it upon himself by his imprudence) was exposed in the Forum, the Roman senate, those venerable fathers, stood round the bier, lamenting the loss of so precious a life, and doing honour, by a solemnity of sorrow, to the dear departed tipstaff: and this merely with a view to destroy the only protector of the Roman people. Being returned to the senate-house, they passed a decree, that the consul[o] should defend the state, vesting him, by this decree, with a dictatorial power; a method of proceeding not authorized by law, but which had been sometimes practised by the senate, in cases of sudden and extreme danger threatening the republic. Opimius commanded all the senators to take arms, and all the knights,[p] each with two slaves well armed, to assemble the next morning. On the other side, Fulvius prepared to make resistance, and drew together a vast

Cic. Phil. 2. c. 4.

[o] The other consul was probably, at this time, in his province, which was Transalpine Gaul.

[p] It may seem strange that the knights should be employed to destroy C. Gracchus, who had procured them so great privileges: but there is a passage in Sallust, which gives ground to conjecture, that the principal men of the knights had been drawn away from the popular interest, by the hopes of being admitted into the senate. The passage runs thus: "Postquam Tiberius et Caius Gracchus,——vindicare plebem in libertatem, et paucorum scelera patefacere cœpere: nobilitas noxia, atque eo perculsa, modo per socios ac nomen Latinum, interdum per equites Romanos, quos *spes societatis* a plebe dimoverat, Gracchorum actionibus obviam ierat," &c. Bell. Jug. 46. Havere. Thus translated by Mr. Gordon: "After Tiberius Gracchus and his brother Caius—attempted to recover to the people their ancient liberties, and to expose to public view the iniquity and encroachments of a few domineering grandees; the nobility, conscious of their own guilt, and thence sorely dismayed, had recourse sometimes to the aid of our Italian allies, and to such as enjoyed the rights of Latium; sometimes to the Roman knights (whom the hopes of a confederacy in power with the patricians had detached from the interest of the commonalty); and, thus assisted, set themselves forcibly to defeat the pursuits of the Gracchi." &c.

crowd of people: who, with him, spent the night in drinking and boasting, he himself setting them the example. Next morning he led them in arms to Mount Aventine, of which they took possession. When Caius, with only a short dagger hid under his gown, was leaving his house, in order to join them, his wife fell on her knees before him at the threshold of the door; and, catching hold of him by one of her hands, while with the other she held her son, "You are leaving me, Caius (said she), not to attend the rostra, a tribune as heretofore, and a legislator; not to take part in the dangers of a glorious war, where should you fall, my mourning would at least be honourable: you are going to expose yourself to the murderers of Tiberius; without arms indeed, and this is noble, rather to suffer, than to do an injury; but can the republic reap any advantage from your destruction?—Iniquity now reigns; every thing is decided by violence and the sword.—Had your brother been slain before Numantia, a truce would have restored him to us dead. Now, perhaps, I also must become a suppliant to some river or the sea, to discover where your body lies concealed: for, after the murder of Tiberius, how can you trust any longer to the protection either of the laws or of the gods?" Caius stole himself gently from her, and went on silent with his friends to Mount Aventine. There he persuaded Fulvius to send the younger of his sons, a beautiful youth, bearing a caduceus in his hand, to make proposals of peace. The boy, with tears and a blushing modesty, executed his commission. Many of those who were with Opimius would have listened to an accommodation; but he answered, "That it was not by messengers Fulvius and his followers could make satisfaction to the senate; that they must surrender themselves at mercy, as criminals convicted; and then, if they pleased, they might deprecate punishment;" and he forbade the young herald to come any more, unless to signify the

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submission of those that sent him. On the report of this answer, Caius, as some say, would have gone in person to treat with the senate, and endeavour to bring them to temper; but all his party disapproving this design, Fulvius sent his son with a second message to Opimius. The consul in anger ordered the youth to be seized and detained prisoner. And, now impatient to come to blows, he instantly marched away towards the Aventine hill with a good body of infantry and some Cretan archers. Being arrived there, he proclaimed pardon to all who should desert Caius and Fulvius; and to whoever should bring him the heads of those two men, he promised the weight of them in gold. The greater part of their followers are said to have abandoned them immediately, and the rest to have been, presently after, put to flight by the Cretans. Fulvius took refuge in an old bagnio, whence he was dragged out and slain, together with his eldest son. Caius made no attempt towards a defence; but in much grief for what passed, retired to the temple of Diana; where he would have killed himself, if he had not been hindered by Pomponius and Licinius, two of his most faithful friends, who took his dagger from him, and persuaded him to fly. Coming to the bridge Sublicius, they exhorted him to make the best of his way, while they defended the entrance of the bridge; in which undertaking they fought so resolutely, that, till they were both slain, not one of the pursuers could pass. Many of the people called out to Caius to make his escape; but no man, of all that multitude he had so much obliged, would furnish him with a horse, though he often asked for one as he passed along. He at length sought shelter in a certain wood consecrated to the Furies, where, perceiving the enemy approach to kill him, he chose to fall by the hand of a faithful slave; who, after he had done his master this last service, dispatched himself.

Val. Max. l. 6. c. 8. §. 3. Plut. loc. cit.

Caius's head was brought to the consul by one Septi-